

The Annual Register of Work









THE
ANNUAL REGISTER
1902

ALL THE VOLUMES OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE
ANNUAL REGISTER
1863 to 1901

MAY BE HAD

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER

A
REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS AT HOME
AND ABROAD

FOR THE YEAR

1902

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE Editor of the ANNUAL REGISTER thinks it necessary to state that in no case does he claim to offer original reports of speeches in Parliament or elsewhere. For the former he cordially acknowledges his great indebtedness to the summary and full reports, used by special permission of *The Times*, which have appeared in that journal, and he has also pleasure in expressing his sense of obligation to the Editors of "Ross's Parliamentary Record," *The Spectator*, and *The Guardian*, for the valuable assistance which, by their consent, he has derived from their summaries and reports, towards presenting a compact view of the course of Parliamentary proceedings. To the Editors of the two last-named papers he further desires to tender his best thanks for their permission to make use of the summaries of speeches delivered outside Parliament appearing in their columns.

T. BAINES.

ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

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DURING the first half of January, 1902, which was all that was allowed to elapse before the re-assembling of Parliament, public attention was chiefly engaged on the one hand by the chances of Liberal reunion opened up by the reception given to Lord Rosebery's Chesterfield speech, and on the other hand by the interchange of what Mr. Asquith, with not very felicitous irony, called "amenities" between leading Ministers of Germany and of England. On New Year's Day there was issued, in pamphlet form, a revised edition of the Chesterfield speech, with a prefatory note, in which the author observed that its policy appeared to have received "a large meed of general approval," but appealed for the "spade-work" needed to secure that the "wave of popular adhesion" should not be "lost in space." Sir Edward Grey made a ready response to this appeal in a speech at Newcastle-on-Tyne (Jan. 7). From the reception which the Chesterfield speech had met with in the country at large, he drew the inference that public opinion was awakening, and

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that the same consciousness of national crisis and national need which had induced Lord Rosebery to re-enter public life was working in men's minds towards a concentration of attention upon stopping abuses, strengthening weak places, and raising the whole standard of national efficiency. It was to this subject that, the Government's stock of ideas being exhausted, the Liberal party must devote its attention. Among Liberals Lord Rosebery's speech had produced a great desire for unity, and in Sir E. Grey's opinion unity could only be obtained on the lines of that speech, because "there are some of us who adhere to those lines with such intensity and such conviction that, though we may be prepared to make some sacrifices of individual opinion if necessary in adhering to these lines, we are not prepared to abandon them under any conditions."

As to dropping the Irish question, which course somebody had suggested to Lord Rosebery, "you may as well," said Sir E. Grey, "talk about dropping the atmosphere. There are many parts of the Irish question. There is Home Rule, there is the Crimes Act, there is the land question. You may drop one or all of these things, but you do not drop the Irish question."

As to the war, Sir E. Grey proceeded, we must stand together and indignantly repudiate charges of savagery or injustice that are unjustly brought against the British Army or against any British Government. As regarded the settlement after the war, he intimated that he would recall all the proclamations except that incorporating the Boer dominions in the Empire, and he advocated the extension of lavish aid to the Boers after peace was restored. But he held (1) that in Cape Colony it would be necessary to give compensation to the man who had fought for us, and temporarily disfranchise the man who had fought against us; (2) that, while letting it be understood that any peace overtures from the Boers would be received, we could make no overtures to them, and that before any negotiations took place the talk of independence must drop.

Very different in tone was a speech delivered by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at St. James's Hall (Jan. 13) at the inaugural meeting of the London Liberal Federation, a body recently formed for the purpose of improving and strengthening the organisation of the Liberal party in the metropolis. This gathering was made the occasion of frequent manifestations of bitter hostility to Lord Rosebery, which had apparently been pre-arranged, leaflets being circulated among the audience warning them against a "conspiracy" to supplant Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, "the only Liberal leader," by Lord Rosebery, Mr. Asquith and Sir H. Fowler, to each of whom some depreciatory reference was made. It was in an atmosphere of this kind that Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman delivered a speech in which he sought to make the most of the points of agreement between his own views and those set forth in Lord Rosebery's

Chesterfield speech. Between himself and his Majesty's Government there was, he said, a "cardinal difference," his desire being for a peace based on the assent of the Boers rather than on their subjugation, on which he regarded the King's Ministers as insisting. While for months he and his friends had done their best to urge the adoption of the more reasonable alternative, they had lately been reinforced from a quarter, perhaps the most influential from which support could have come. He referred of course to the recent important speech of Lord Rosebery. He had always regretted Lord Rosebery's withdrawal from public life, and had, on several occasions, publicly and privately, urged him to renew co-operation with his old friends, among whom he would be cordially welcomed. The Chesterfield speech appeared to indicate a willingness in the speaker to rejoin his old party, and he (Sir Henry) had thought it right to renew to Lord Rosebery the expression of the feeling entertained by those who had formerly acted with him; and though Lord Rosebery seemed to desire to retain his independent position, it was still to be hoped that the Liberal party would receive his powerful help on the most urgent of all questions—the re-establishment of peace, as to which he saw no vital difference between Lord Rosebery's views and his own. They agreed that the war should be vigorously prosecuted, and also that overtures from any responsible quarter should receive a hearing; they agreed in regretting the tone of Lord Milner's speech at Durban, when he said that the war might never formally be at an end; in denouncing the proclamation which fixed the end of hostilities at September 15, 1901, and consigned to banishment any leaders found in arms after that date; in recommending a prompt and liberal amnesty. They differed on the question of opening negotiations with the Boers, but the difference was little more than one of etiquette and punctilio—it was whether we should say to them, "Come and negotiate: these are our main terms," or "Why do you not offer to come and negotiate and see how nice our terms will be?" They differed too on the question of the concentration camps and the severities which had accompanied some parts of the military operations. Lord Rosebery said that war was always cruel; but he could hardly regard with complacency some phases of this long campaign. In any case the Government had practically admitted the force of the condemnation passed on their measures. As to the question of martial law, he did not believe that there was such a cleavage between himself and Lord Rosebery as had been asserted. Lord Rosebery was against the recall of Lord Milner, yet he had intimated that Lord Kitchener might well conclude a peace with the Boers—in other words, that Lord Milner could be set aside in the negotiations.

Lord Spencer, who followed Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, took occasion to say that, during Lord Kimberley's much-regretted illness, he had accepted the temporary leadership of the

Opposition in the Upper House, "with the friendly concurrence of Lord Rosebery and other Liberal peers."

In speeches made respectively at Birmingham (Jan. 6) and Manchester (Jan. 10) Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour had indulged in some half-ironic, half-sympathetic allusions to the possibilities of the effective and permanent conversion of the Liberal Imperialists to Unionist principles; but serious Ministerial discussion of the Chesterfield speech in its bearing on the chances of peace in South Africa was reserved for the debate on the Address. On January 11, however, the Colonial Secretary delivered, also at Birmingham, an answer, for which everybody was waiting, to some remarkable criticisms passed by the Imperial Chancellor of Germany in the Reichstag on his speech at Edinburgh of October 25, 1901. It will be convenient to quote the passage to which, very possibly in a misreported shape, so much exception was taken in Germany [see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1901, pp. 211, 216 and 286]. Referring to the question raised at home in some quarters friendly to the Government, of the possible necessity of a resort to sterner measures for the suppression of the guerilla warfare so persistently carried on by the Boers, Mr. Chamberlain said: "I think that the time has come—is coming—when measures of greater severity may be necessary, and if that time comes we can find precedents for anything we may do in the action of those nations who now criticise our 'barbarity' and 'cruelty,' but whose example in Poland, in the Caucasus, in Algeria, in Tongking, in Bosnia, in the Franco-German war—whose example we have never even approached." When the Reichstag reassembled (Jan. 8) Count von Stolberg-Wernigerode, one of its Vice-Presidents, having called attention to the indignation which the passage in question had aroused in Germany, Count von Bülow replied in the following terms: "I think that we shall all agree, and I think that all sensible people in England will agree with us, that when a Minister finds himself constrained to justify his policy—a thing which may happen—he does well to let foreign countries alone. But if, nevertheless, he wishes to adduce foreign examples, it is expedient that he should do so with the greatest circumspection, else there is a danger, not only of his being misunderstood, but also and without any such intention—as I will assume in the present instance and as I must assume in accordance with the assurances given me from the other side—there is a danger of hurting foreign feelings. This is the more to be regretted when it happens to a Minister in dealing with a country which, as Count Stolberg has just pointed out, has always maintained good and friendly relations with his own—relations the undisturbed continuance of which is equally in accordance with the interests of both parties. It was altogether intelligible that in a nation which is so closely bound up with its glorious army as is the German people the general feeling rose up against the attempt, and even against

the appearance of an attempt, to misrepresent the heroic character and the moral basis of our struggles for national unity. The German army, however, stands far too high and its escutcheon is far too clean that it should be affected by distorted judgments. With regard to anything of that kind, the remark of Frederick the Great holds good when he said, on being told that some one had attacked him and the Prussian army, 'Let the man alone and don't excite yourselves, he is biting at granite.'"

Laughter and cries of "Very good" greeted this very singular utterance on the part of the German Chancellor. In the German Press also it was generally applauded, and the view appeared to be held there for a day or two that Mr. Chamberlain had received a rebuke which he and the English people, so far as he represented them, must accept with the best grace which they could muster. It need hardly be said that in this country Count von Bülow's language excited widespread and profound indignation. It was regarded both as markedly disrespectful to the British Minister referred to and as implying the Chancellor's acceptance of the offensive allegations current in Germany with regard to the British troops in South Africa. Mr. Chamberlain did not keep the country waiting long for his reply. On January 11, at Birmingham, he said he knew that in some quarters foreign animosity against this country, which, in his opinion, was promoted by the libels against the British Army and Government spread by British political partisans, was attributed to the indiscreet oratory of the Colonial Secretary. Mr. Chamberlain then proceeded: "What I have said I have said. I withdraw nothing. I qualify nothing. I defend nothing. As I read history, no British Minister has ever served his country faithfully and at the same time enjoyed popularity abroad. . . . I make allowance for foreign criticism. I will not follow an example which has been set to me. I do not want to give lessons to a foreign Minister, and I will not accept any at his hands. I am responsible only to my own Sovereign and to my own countrymen; but I am ready to meet that form of criticism which is made at home, which is manufactured here for export by the friends of every country but their own; and in reference to these I would ask you, How can it be due to a few words in a speech that was delivered only a few weeks ago that for months and for years, from the very beginning of this war, the foreign Press has teemed with abuse of this country? How can the Colonial Secretary be made responsible for what Sir E. Grey has called the 'foul and filthy lies,' for what Lord Rosebery has described as the vile and infamous falsehoods which have been disseminated in foreign countries, without a syllable of protest, without the slightest interference by the responsible authorities? No, my opponents must find some other scapegoat. They must look further for the causes of that feeling of hostility which I do not think we have deserved,

but which has existed, more or less, for a century at least, which always comes to the surface when we are in any difficulty, but which, I am glad to say, has never done us any serious harm."

It had been recently stated, Mr. Chamberlain continued, that the Government coming into office found peace with honour abroad; on the contrary six burning questions were left to Lord Salisbury which he had settled successfully—Siam, the Venezuelan boundary, the *Hinterland* question in our West African possessions as affecting Germany and France, Samoa and the Pacific Islands, and the French position on the Nile. Besides that, they maintained British interests in the East, and had got rid of a long-standing cause of difference with the United States by the Isthmian Canal Treaty. But what was even more important than the goodwill of foreign nations was the confidence and affection of their kinsmen beyond the sea. This war had united the British race throughout the world, and had shown that if we should have ever again, as we had done in the past, to fight for our existence against a world in arms, we should not be alone. Hardly any sacrifice could be too great for that. Mr. Chamberlain went on to refer to the evidences afforded by a recent speech by Mr. Seddon, "the powerful and patriotic Prime Minister of New Zealand," and by many other expressions of feeling in the Colonies, of the disapproval excited there by pro-Boer tactics at home. "A new factor," he said, had "entered into the politics of this country." It would be necessary in the future to have regard to the opinion of the Colonies, and when they were advised to negotiate in casual public-houses on the Continent, or to withdraw proclamations approved by Colonial Governments, or to accept terms of peace which would in substance, if not in form, preserve, as Lord Milner had said, political dualism in South Africa, they must remember that they were not entitled to make peace without the consent of their allies. Meanwhile the war went on, slowly, no doubt, but inevitably, to its settled conclusion. There had been a great improvement in the situation during the recess. The railways in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony were now working almost as in normal times. Every day a larger area was being cleared of the enemy, and being protected by that iron girdle of blockhouses which Lord Kitchener had devised. . . . "We are proud," continued Mr. Chamberlain, "of the general. We are proud of the Army. To compare any other army to it is to pay the highest compliment in our power. . . . We are proud also of our administrator—proud of Lord Milner—that great public servant whose labours no man can overestimate; who, day and night, is working out the great scheme for the regeneration of the new Colonies. . . . As the military operations progress the civil Government follows close upon their heels. When peace has been proclaimed we shall find an administration already in our

hands. The industry of the two Colonies is reviving. The refugees are returning in great numbers to their homes and their work. Large schemes of development are being devised, and preparation is being made for the resettlement of the land and for the resumption of agricultural operations. That is not all. The obsolete and corrupt legislation of the Transvaal Government has been reviewed. We have wiped the slate clean—that is nothing, any schoolboy can do that—but we have written on the slate that we have cleaned the principles of just and honest government, under which in the future the two races may live in mutual respect, enjoying equal rights and equal liberties, and under which that vast population of natives for which we have become responsible may receive due protection and consideration.”

This speech of Mr. Chamberlain's produced a very favourable impression both in Great Britain and throughout the Empire. Even among politicians here, to whom his personality and controversial methods were generally uncongenial, there was a widespread feeling that he had given the German Chancellor exactly the right kind of answer, and the great body of the nation which had throughout supported the war applauded him with unmistakable enthusiasm. The Corporation of the City of London gave utterance to the general feeling at home by a unanimous resolve (Jan. 16) that an address (in a suitable gold casket) should be presented to the Colonial Secretary, “expressive of the admiration of this Court of his statesman-like policy and patriotic action in the true interests of the British Empire.” Two days earlier the Australian House of Representatives, on the motion of the Federal Premier, Mr. Barton, seconded by Mr. Reid, Leader of the Opposition, had unanimously expressed its “indignation at the baseless charges made abroad against the honour of the people and the humanity and valour of the soldiers of the Empire.” The resolution had in view the despatch of another Australian contingent, 1,000 strong, as had been just requested by Mr. Chamberlain, and promptly agreed to by the Federal Government. A similar reinforcement was asked from and as readily accorded by New Zealand, and at a great meeting at Wellington in that Colony, which was addressed by Mr. Seddon, the Premier, and the Chief-Justice, Sir Robert Stout, emphatic appreciation was expressed of the complete refutation by Mr. Chamberlain of foreign slanders upon the honour of the British forces serving in South Africa. In a word, it was evident that the sole effect of Count von Bülow's clumsy attempt to gratify anti-British feeling in Germany—some further manifestations of which feeling he almost immediately found it necessary to reprove in the Reichstag—had been to quicken the sense of British Imperial unity and to strengthen the position of the Minister whom he had so imprudently endeavoured to rebuke.

Very wisely King Edward was advised to make an allusion

to the signally good conduct of the British troops in South Africa a leading feature of his Speech, when, on January 16, he opened Parliament in person. The Speech opened cheerfully.

"Since the close of the last session of Parliament," said his Majesty, "I have had the happiness to welcome back the Prince and Princess of Wales on their return from their lengthened voyage to various parts of my Empire. They have everywhere been received with demonstrations of the liveliest affection, and I am convinced that their presence has served to rivet more closely the bonds of mutual regard and loyalty by which the vigour of the Empire is maintained.

"My relations," proceeded the King, "with other Powers continue to be of a friendly character.

"I regret that the war in South Africa has not been yet concluded, though the course of the operations has been favourable to our arms. The area of the war has been largely reduced, and industries are being resumed in my new Colonies. In spite of the tedious character of the campaign, my soldiers have throughout displayed a cheerfulness in the endurance of the hardships incident to guerilla warfare, and a humanity, even to their own detriment, in the treatment of the enemy, which is deserving of the highest praise. The necessity of relieving those of my troops who have most felt the strain of the war has afforded me an opportunity of again availing myself of the loyal and patriotic offers of my Colonies, and further contingents will shortly reach South Africa from the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, and from New Zealand.

"On the invitation of the King of the Belgians, an International Conference on Sugar Bounties has recently reassembled at Brussels. I trust that its decision may lead to the abandonment of a system by which the sugar-producing Colonies, and the home manufacturers of sugar, have been unfairly weighted in the prosecution of this most important industry.

"I have concluded with the President of the United States a treaty, the provisions of which will facilitate the construction of an interoceanic canal under guarantees that its neutrality will be maintained, and that it will be open to the commerce and shipping of all nations."

The King then announced the reference to the arbitration of the King of Italy of questions relative to the frontier between British Guiana and Brazil; mentioned the deficiency in the Indian rainfall, and the consequent necessity of continued relief measures, though on a diminished scale, in certain parts of the Bombay Presidency and the adjoining Native States; and recorded that the Ameer Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan had been succeeded on his death by his son and appointed heir, Habibullah, who had expressed an earnest desire for a maintenance of friendly relations with the Indian Empire.

Addressing the House of Commons, the King said that the Estimates for the service of the year had been framed as eco-

nomically as a due regard to efficiency rendered possible, in the special circumstances of the present exigency.

His Majesty then concluded with a programme of the legislation for the session. "Proposals," he said, "for the co-ordination and improvement of primary and secondary education will be laid before you. A measure will be introduced for amending the administration of the water supply in the area at present controlled by the London Water Companies. A bill for facilitating the sale and purchase of land in Ireland will be submitted for your consideration.

"Measures will be proposed to you for improving the law of valuation; for amending the law relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors and for the registration of clubs; for amending the patent law; and for sundry reforms in the law of lunacy."

In the Lords, the Address having been moved by the Earl of Harrowby, and seconded by the Earl of Lytton, Lord Spencer rose and began by expressing his deep regret that continued illness prevented Lord Kimberley from being present in his place as Leader of the Opposition. He referred in very sympathetic terms to the "enormous importance to the Empire" of the work done by the tour of the Prince and Princess of Wales in cementing and increasing those bonds of patriotism and loyalty evidence of which had been so signally displayed in the action of the Colonies during the war. Lord Spencer proceeded to express his admiration of the bravery, the endurance, and the consummate humanity of our troops. He inquired whether the policy styled that of "unconditional surrender" was that of his Majesty's Government. He himself believed that that policy was absolutely wrong. Without suing for peace, he thought that in some way or other information should be given to the Boers with regard to the general terms on which a peace might be discussed. He agreed that it was impossible to grant independence to the Boers after the sacrifices which this country had made. He and his friends held that when peace was restored, but not immediately, constitutional self-government should be conceded to the two Colonies on the model of Australia and Canada. He considered, moreover, that it would be impossible for our people to live side by side with the Boers unless a very liberal amnesty was granted. Lord Spencer admitted that it might have been quite necessary to suspend the Cape Constitution and proclaim martial law in that Colony. But he asked whether his Majesty's Government intended to bring in a bill legalising the action that had been taken under the first head, and inquired also as to the number of members of courts martial in capital cases, and as to why, in view of the practice of the great Duke of Wellington, civilians and lawyers had not been employed on those tribunals. In reference to the proposed Education Bill Lord Spencer said the party whom he represented would regard with disfavour any measure strengthening mere denominational management

or overthrowing the School Boards which had conferred such signal benefits on the country.

The Marquess of Salisbury, in the course of a vigorous reply, said that although for two years he had been very severely censured for saying that we could never admit that the Boers should retain a shred of independence, he adhered entirely to the language he had used, though he was afraid it did not entirely please Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman. He was glad to hear Lord Spencer state without unnecessary adornments of phrase that the independence of the Boers was impossible. It was impossible for us to ask the Boers on what terms they would make peace. When our assailants asked to be forgiven it would be quite time for those who had the disposal of events to say on what terms peace would be accorded. The Prime Minister went on to declare his opinion that if the military authorities in the middle of a long and anxious war, were not to be able to use the authority of martial law, it was high time that Parliament gave them the power. It was impossible, indeed, for them to conduct their difficult operations with any prospect of success if their hands were tied behind them by litigious difficulties. Questions of indemnity to the military authorities and to those of the Cape Colony for irregular proceedings would have to be dealt with when the war was over. The highest Imperial interests were concerned in bringing the war to a completely satisfactory issue, and in avoiding any approach to the "kind of semi-submission which," said Lord Salisbury, "you are exhorted to pay to the Boers and rebels who are in arms against you." It was absolutely essential, he urged, for us to have the supreme power in the South African Colonies of keeping foreigners at a distance, and preventing the accumulation of hostile armaments.

The Earl of Rosebery maintained that, in addressing himself to the point just mentioned, the Prime Minister had pommelled a dummy, while avoiding the points actually raised by Lord Spencer. As to martial law, Lord Rosebery thought that it ought to have been declared much sooner, in order to stop the influx of supplies which reached the enemy; but he doubted, from stories he heard, whether it was administered without undue harshness by some of the subaltern officers employed in such work. He then referred to his own Chesterfield declaration in favour of a "passive policy of peace"—that was, of receiving overtures, even if made by the exiled Boer Government in Europe. He inquired whether no such overtures had been made. Lord Salisbury said "No," and indicated denial when Lord Rosebery suggested that the Dutch Premier (Baron de Kuyper), who had been in London lately, must have had some diplomatic errand, and could not have come over only to see the "Old Masters." Then, with reference to Mr. Chamberlain's speech of January 11, Lord Rosebery denied that he and his late colleagues were under the delusion that they

were universally beloved in Europe. "But," he went on, "the late Government were not universally detested. That is the difference between the position in which we find the country now and the position as we left it." Having criticised unfavourably the claims made by Mr. Chamberlain in regard to the success of the present Government's diplomacy in dealing with such questions as those of Samoa and Siam—"You very nearly," he said, "settled Siam itself. All that we had contended for, or nearly all, you handed over to the other side"—Lord Rosebery went on to say that he had "nothing but commendation" for Mr. Chamberlain's reply to Count von Bülow, though he was "a little anxious about these sudden controversies with Germany or with other Powers to which the dialectics of the Colonial Secretary had so singularly contributed." He hoped, at any rate, that the defensive strength of the country was sufficient to maintain that position of splendid isolation which Ministers strangely seemed to consider desirable.

The Marquess of Lansdowne (Foreign Secretary) having expressed his satisfaction at the return of the Chinese Court to Peking, and mentioned that the number of our troops in China was reduced to 6,000, said that Sir James Mackay, who had been appointed to conduct the resumed negotiations at Shanghai for a commercial arrangement, was eminently well fitted for that duty. Lord Lansdowne proceeded to express his deep regret at Lord Rosebery having made the statement that we were "universally detested" in Europe. He admitted, indeed, that we "enjoyed a very great and very inconvenient amount of unpopularity" on the Continent, on account of the South African war, but he did not consider that our position was unsatisfactory or undignified. "I believe, on the contrary," said the Foreign Secretary, "that the manner in which this country has demeaned itself during the South African war, the manner in which the war has brought out the solidarity of the Empire, and the amount of support which is forthcoming for us from our great Colonies—I believe all that has gone to increase immensely the respect, and I will say the esteem, with which we are regarded in other countries."

In the Commons, the sessional order against the interference of Peers in Parliamentary elections was again vainly proposed to be amended by Mr. James Lowther (*Thanet, Kent*). His amendment, limiting the operation of the order to Lords-Lieutenant, was rejected by 341 votes to 86. The Address was then moved by Colonel McCalmont (*Newmarket, Cambridgeshire*), and seconded by Sir E. Vincent (*Exeter*). Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) took occasion, while expressing satisfaction at the conclusion of the Isthmian Canal treaty with the United States, to offer a cordial tribute to the services of Lord Pauncefoot, in knitting, through many years, the bonds of amity between the British and American nations. In regard to South Africa Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman recalled

that on November 9, 1901, at the Lord Mayor's banquet, Lord Salisbury said that full information about the state of affairs could not be supplied, but that if the Government told all they knew the public would be reassured. He asked, could not the facts to which Lord Salisbury then referred be disclosed now? He complained of the scanty and meagre information which was vouchsafed by the Government why the Cape Parliament was not summoned in October, and declared that its continued prorogation needed justification. Then, with regard to the administration of martial law, particulars ought to be furnished. For example, returns ought to be given showing in how many cases capital punishment had been inflicted. He wished to know whether the practice of farm-burning had been discontinued, and what changes had been introduced in the management of the concentration camps. But the urgent question in South Africa was the question of peace. He believed in the necessity of establishing our military superiority, but did not believe in the expediency of a policy of subjugation. He did not believe in the policy of "squeezing the Boers and not fidgeting about negotiations." [This referred to phrases employed in a speech delivered by Lord Milner at Johannesburg on January 8.] The essential thing to bear in mind was that a settlement should be come to by assent and not by force. How did the Government propose to end the war? Upon that point there ought to be a clear declaration.

With respect to contemplated reform of parliamentary procedure, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman urged the Government not to base their proposals merely on the personal convenience of members. He was ready to facilitate orderly proceedings and to defend the dignity of the House, but its freedom ought not to be interfered with or the power of the Executive Government unduly increased. Upon the subject of education he expressed a hope that the Government would introduce a measure framed on broad democratic lines and maintaining public control. As to Ireland, the state of which he described as being most serious, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman taunted the Government with having failed to kill Home Rule by kindness. "The contemplation of the Government," he proceeded, in words apparently chosen with much care, "after all that has been tried and done, floundering in the old familiar traditional way between conciliation and coercion is calculated to confirm us in conviction of the wisdom of that policy towards Ireland and Irish government which has been and is the remedy approved by the Liberal party."

This formal declaration of adhesion to Home Rule, so strongly at variance with the drift of the brief Irish reference in Lord Rosebery's Chesterfield speech, was calculated to, and did, attract general attention, and Mr. Balfour, who immediately followed Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, did not fail to emphasise its importance. He expressed his strong dissent from the

Leader of the Opposition's minimising tone in respect of the importance of consulting the comfort of Members in any new rules of procedure, and said that he might make his mind easy as to any danger of an enhancement by those rules of the powers of the Executive at the expense of the rights and privileges of the House of Commons. As to Home Rule, Mr. Balfour said that for some years past he had observed a certain shyness on the part of the front Opposition bench in regard to that question. The declaration now made by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Balfour said, "is an interesting and an important announcement made, I presume, after due deliberation and after consultation with all the various sections of that party which the right hon. gentleman is privileged to lead. As such it will be received with the utmost attention and interest in the country, and I am glad to think—or sorry to think, perhaps I should say—that my own previsions as to the position of the Home Rule question are not erroneous, and that it is absolutely impossible for right hon. gentlemen opposite, whether they desire it or whether they do not desire it, to escape from that *damnosa hereditas* which has been left them by the unfortunate events of 1885."

With reference to a complaint by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman of the meagre character of the information supplied from South Africa, Mr. Balfour observed that burdened with work as Lord Kitchener and his staff already were, it would not be right to transform them into a supplementary news agency merely in order to satisfy a legitimate curiosity. After remarking that on some topics to which the right hon. gentleman had referred considerable light was thrown by a Blue-book which had just been published, he stated that the Cape Ministers were responsible for the fact that the Cape Parliament had not met. Of their action his Majesty's Ministers, of course, thoroughly approved. The Constitution had been suspended by the Governor on the advice of the Cape Ministers. With regard to the administration of martial law, information would shortly be supplied. As to farm-burning, it was not given up in those cases in which it was considered to be a military necessity. There were circumstances which rendered it expedient and right to resort to farm-burning, and he trusted that our generals would not shrink from that course when circumstances necessitated it. In South Africa unfortunately military events sank into insignificance, from the point of view of the Boers, as compared with the public utterances of the leader of the Opposition and other gentlemen. The Boers hoped that if a change of Government should take place they would retain their independence. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman had said that the Boers ought not to be subjugated, but, as they were not prepared to surrender their independence and we were equally determined that they should surrender it, Mr. Balfour maintained that they must be conquered and subjugated.

Mr. W. Redmond (*Clare, E.*) and other Irish members attacked the administration of Irish affairs as involving the suppression of the rights of free speech and the exhibition of "rancour and barbarity" on the part of the Chief Secretary, and questions were asked and answered (by Lord Cranborne) about the Persian Gulf. These subjects will be better noticed in connection with the amendments to the Address moved relating to them. Reference must, however, be made to an elaborate and vehement speech in which Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*) contended that the suspension of Parliamentary rights at the Cape was a violation of the statute law and grossly unconstitutional. It was monstrous, he maintained, to assert, as the Government did, that temporary Ministers of the Crown had the power to suspend the Constitution through a Governor. If the Constitution had to be suspended it ought only to have been done with the assent of the Cape Parliament itself or by the Imperial Parliament. He discussed, with much reference to legal authorities, the question of the administration of martial law at the Cape, maintaining that such law ought never to be enforced except where it was impossible to enforce the ordinary civil law. It was not in the competence of a Constitutional Executive to destroy the liberties of a community without the authority of Parliament. Where civil courts were sitting, as they were at the Cape, the Executive, Sir W. Harcourt maintained, had no right to summon defendants before military courts. Martial law, exercised under the sole authority of the Executive, was justifiable only in great emergencies. If it was thought that martial law ought to be administered generally throughout the Cape the consent of Parliament ought to be obtained.

Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*), Colonial Secretary, recognised that the questions raised by Sir W. Harcourt were of immense importance, for they involved the relations of the United Kingdom with its Colonies and closely concerned the powers of our self-governing Colonies. But the attack of the right hon. gentleman ought, he thought, to have been followed by an amendment upon which the sense of the House could have been taken. The postponement of the meeting of Parliament at the Cape and the establishment of martial law were decided on by the Ministers of the Colony themselves. They had technically, no doubt, committed illegal and unconstitutional acts, and at the proper time they would ask their Parliament for an Act of Indemnity. This was a matter to be considered from a common-sense point of view, and Sir W. Harcourt's lore would not avail him much. As the House knew, the Government approved what the Cape Ministers had done. It was ridiculous, therefore, to ask the Government to veto their decisions. Martial law was, of course, the abrogation of the ordinary law and the substitution of an arbitrary law; but it was justifiable in emergencies. In Africa we were dealing with

war and even rebellion, and the universal practice in such emergencies was to abrogate the ordinary law. He held that it would be the height of folly to abandon the power which martial law conferred upon us or to call the Cape Parliament together at the present moment, as that would cause confusion and encourage the enemies of the country.

On January 17, several Members having made inquiry with regard to the "assurances" that no offence was intended, said by Count von Bülow, in his speech in the Reichstag, to have been received by him in relation to Mr. Chamberlain's Edinburgh speech, Mr. Balfour replied as follows:—"No assurances have been officially asked for on the subject. There were no charges of barbarity made by my right hon. friend against the German or any other army, as is suggested in the question of the hon. and learned gentleman the member for South Donegal (Mr. MacNeill). In an unofficial conversation this fact was pointed out by Lord Lansdowne to the German Ambassador. Nothing, in the opinion of the Government, requires to be said in the direction of either qualifying or withdrawing the speech of my right hon. friend."

This identification of the Government as a whole with the position of Mr. Chamberlain *vis-à-vis* the German Chancellor was loudly applauded in the House of Commons, and produced cordial satisfaction in the country at large. There ensued discussions of two domestic amendments to the Address. The first, moved by Dr. Macnamara (*Camberwell, N.*), urged that immediate parliamentary attention was required to the question of the lack of proper housing accommodation for the working classes. The mover maintained that the measures touching the housing question passed by the King's Ministers had proved abortive, and he urged them to introduce a bill permitting municipalities to extend the period for the repayment of loans incurred in carrying out rehousing schemes, and to treat the land which had to be acquired, for a period of years, as a permanent, undiminishing asset. A new Cheap Trains Act was also needed.

Captain Norton (*Newington, W.*), who seconded the amendment, advocated, among other changes, the taxation of ground-rents, and urged the appointment of a Royal Commission.

Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincs.*) denied that the legislation passed when he was a member of the Government had been a failure. On the contrary, schemes for the rehousing of the people were initiated under that legislation almost as soon as it came into force—for example, the purchase by the London County Council of 250 acres at Tottenham, outside its area, with a view to the housing of 40,000 people. He adhered to the opinion—which he held when he was in office—that the arguments in favour of extending the time for the repayment of loans were greatly outweighed by the objections to that proposal. What ought to be done was to stimulate local

authorities to make more effective use of the powers which they possessed.

Mr. Caine (*Camborne, Cornwall*) endorsed the views of the mover and seconder of the amendment, and Sir A. Rollit (*Islington, S.*) also favoured an extension of the time for the repayment of loans. Mr. Price (*Norfolk, E.*) insisted that the conditions under which the working classes were housed in the rural districts were in many places unsatisfactory, and pointed out that if steps were taken to provide labourers with good accommodation they would be more likely to stay upon the land. Sir J. Dickson-Poynder (*Chippenham, Wilts*), while he recognised that it would be unreasonable to ask the Government to introduce any large scheme dealing with the housing question this session, hoped they might find it possible to pass a small measure for the amendment of the existing acts. He asked the Government to appoint a committee to consider various points which required investigation, including the question of the great expense incurred in clearing slums. The substantial compensation now payable to owners of insanitary areas certainly called for attention.

Mr. Long (*Bristol, S.*), President of the Local Government Board, expressed the conviction that the housing problem could only be solved satisfactorily by removing people from the centre to the outskirts of towns, and he trusted that in future means would be found to facilitate transit at cheap rates. As to the prices paid for insanitary areas, where a property became insanitary through the gross neglect of the owner, he ought clearly to receive no more than the actual value of the land. A great deal of property, however, became insanitary through no fault of the owner. He was willing that the whole question of the term for repayment of loans, as to which conflicting opinions had been expressed by committees on private bills and the House itself, should now be referred for reconsideration to a special committee, which would also deal with the question as to whether land acquired ought to be treated as a permanent asset. Sir W. Foster (*Ilkeston, Derbyshire*) supported the amendment, and Mr. Duke (*Plymouth*), from the Ministerial benches, urged that the Local Government Board was in the habit of insisting, in the case of houses to be built by local authorities for the working classes, upon conditions much more rigid than those prescribed by building bye-laws to which the same authorities had obtained the sanction of the Board. On a division, taken during the dinner-hour, the amendment was only rejected by 153 votes to 123.

The next amendment expressed regret at the absence from the King's Speech of any reference to questions specially affecting the interests of the people of Wales, and in view of the failure of Parliament during six years to consider those interests, declared that it was "desirable that there should be conferred upon the Principality a large extension of powers of local self-

government." The mover, Mr. Lewis (*Flint Boroughs*), maintained that the right of Wales to separate legislation had been established by such measures as the Welsh Intermediate Education and Sunday Closing Acts, but having been thus acknowledged, it had, without justification, been year after year neglected. He and other speakers also complained of the unreasonable and costly delays to which Welsh private bill legislation was exposed. The precise nature of the desired extension of local government did not come out very clearly in the speeches of the various Welsh Liberal members who supported the resolution, but separatist aspirations were strongly disclaimed on their behalf by Mr. Herbert Roberts (*Denbighshire, W.*) and Mr. Humphreys-Owen (*Montgomery*). Mr. Long, who replied for the Government, contended that the speeches which had been delivered failed to show that Wales suffered under any special grievance. It had been argued that a scheme of devolution for private bill business, like that which was working with such satisfactory results in Scotland, ought to be introduced for Wales. He was in favour of devolution of this kind, but he saw no reason for extending the system to Wales before it was extended to other localities in the United Kingdom. To the devolution of certain business from the Government departments to the County Councils there was no objection in principle, but there were practical difficulties in the way which could not be easily surmounted. Mr. Long expressed himself as ready to consider whether the devolution of some of the work of his own department was practicable, and undertook to receive a deputation with whom to discuss the question. But he could not entertain any proposals for the separate treatment of England and Wales; nor, of course, could the present Government countenance separate legislation for Wales on the land question. One of the complaints that had been made was that amendments to the Welsh Sunday Closing Act were necessary, but could not be made owing to the press of business in Parliament. This he met by reminding the House that the Government were about to introduce a bill dealing with the drink question, which would apply to Wales as well as to England. The amendment was negatived, but only by 164 votes to 117.

On January 20, in the Commons, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs made an interesting statement in regard to the part played by Great Britain, as between the Continental Powers on the one hand and the United States on the other, before the outbreak of the Spanish-American war. Replying to Mr. Norman (*Wolverhampton, S.*), Lord Cranborne said that immediately before the war several communications were received from other Powers suggesting the presentation of a joint note to the President of the United States, and her late Majesty's Government agreed to join with other Powers in a note expressing a hope that further negotiations might lead

in a general statement accompanied by guarantees for the maintenance of order in Cuba. "But," he added, "they first want steps to ascertain that the presentation of such a note, as well as its terms, would be acceptable to the President. Her Majesty's Government declined to associate themselves with other subsequent proposals which seemed to them open to objection as having the appearance of putting pressure on the Government of the United States, and offering an opinion as to their attitude. I am not able to lay on the table any papers on this subject."

Complete and very cordial unanimity marked the adoption of a resolution moved by Mr. Balfour and seconded by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, thanking Mr. Archibald Milman, who was retiring through failing health from the post of Clerk of the House of Commons, for the long and much-valued assistance which he had rendered to the House and its Members. It was a melancholy circumstance that Mr. Milman, who on his retirement was raised to the Knight Commandership of the Bath, did not survive more than three weeks the announcement of the termination of what the resolution fitly termed "his forty five years' devoted service" to the House.

The House proceeded (Jan. 20) to the consideration of an amendment to the Address, on which much ingenuity had been bestowed with a view to securing for it the support of all sections of, at any rate, the British Opposition. It proposed to represent to the King "that this House, while prepared to support all proper measures for the effective prosecution of the war in South Africa, is of opinion that the course pursued by your Majesty's Ministers and their attitude with regard to a settlement have not conduced to the early termination of the war and the establishment of a durable peace." The moving of this amendment was entrusted to Mr. Cawley (*Prestwich, Lancs.*), who had hitherto taken very little, if any, part in Parliamentary debate. He explained that the difference of opinion between the supporters of the amendment and the Government was as to the means which should be taken to bring about peace, and he condemned the Government in that connection for having sanctioned farm burning, for having allowed Boer women in some cases to be put on half rations; and also, above all, with reference to the barbarous policy of compelling the relatives and friends of rebels condemned to death to witness the executions. The amendment was seconded by Mr. McKenna (*Monmouth, N.*), who described Lord Rosebery's policy, expounded at Chesterfield, of ending the war by regular terms of peace as the antithesis of the policy which he attributed to the Government, of insisting on unconditional surrender. On the other side Major Seely (*Isle of Wight*), who had served eighteen months in South Africa, affirmed that during that period he had seen "no severity in any way comparable with what might reasonably have been expected," and expressed

his conviction that the concentration of women and children in camps was absolutely necessary to protect them from a largely hostile black population. As to peace, the Boers, he argued, were too brave an enemy to be in any way cajoled into submission. Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Gloucester*) blamed the Government for having done things which made it impossible for them to treat with the enemy without incurring some humiliation, and laid stress on the want of vigour with which they had carried on the war and on the constant tardiness of their preparations. Sir Howard Vincent (*Sheffield, Central*), who also had been in South Africa, dwelt on the importance of producing by their debates on the minds of the Boers the impression of unanimous determination here. Mr. Trevelyan (*Elland, W. R., Yorks*) complained of the "unreasonable optimism" which had led the Government, as he maintained, into inadequacy of preparation both for military operations and for the requirements of the concentration camps. He condemned the proclamation of August 7, 1901, which threatened with banishment any Boer leaders found in arms after September 15, as a useless threat which had delayed peace.

Mr. Chamberlain then delivered an important and elaborate speech, the main effect of which was to declare the very close identity between the South African policy of the Government and that set forth by Lord Rosebery and the Liberal Imperialists. In vindicating the establishment and general management of the concentration camps, he pointed out that it was clear from a despatch from Lord Kitchener in a recently issued Blue-book that the formation of the camps was forced upon him by the insistence of General Botha on his right to force every burgher to join him, and "if they did not do so to confiscate their property and leave their families on the veldt." This explanation, Mr. Chamberlain observed, must have come as a revelation to many Members. With a humanity unprecedented in the history of war we had accepted responsibility for women and children for whom General Botha would do nothing. It had been the general practice of belligerents to refuse to relieve enemies of the pressure exercised upon them by the presence of women and children. If we had followed that practice and had refused to take care of the women and children he believed the war would have been over long ago. As to the mortality in the camps, which he deplored, there had been gross and disgraceful exaggerations in Radical publications. In computing the mortality due to the war the normal amount of mortality must be deducted. The slow progress in numbers of the Boer population could only be due to the great mortality among the children in normal times. It was, of course, the duty of the Government to find a remedy for the mortality in the camps if any could be found. The chief cause of the loss of life was the epidemic of measles, and another cause was the ignorance of the Boers of remedial measures. To the detriment

of our own troops every effort had been made to bring sufficient supplies to the camps, and, with the sole exception of Miss Hobhouse, every visitor to the camps had recognised the care and humanity of those in charge. General Viljoen himself had spoken in terms of high approval of what was done. Neither the War Department nor the Colonial Department had been remiss in this matter, and he was glad to say that a very considerable diminution in the mortality had now been brought about.

Coming to the question of the final settlement, Mr. Chamberlain showed from Boer documents that the burghers had always laid stress on their determination to fight until they obtained their independence. Referring to Lord Rosebery's statement that he would not be deaf to overtures from any responsible authority and to the similar statements by Mr. Asquith and Sir E. Grey, he observed that the difference between those politicians and the Government was imperceptible. He agreed with Lord Rosebery upon this point, but he did not agree with him when he said that the Boers should be granted at any time the terms offered to them by Lord Kitchener. Surely it would be a dangerous precedent to set to allow the Boers to suppose that, when they had refused certain terms, they could obtain similar terms whenever they chose. That would be bad policy, for it would encourage them to continue the struggle, and we had incurred heavy losses in life and treasure since the Boers refused Lord Kitchener's terms. The terms which would be granted remained the same as far as their spirit was concerned, but their details were open to modification. Then we had a right to say to persons claiming to represent the Boers, "What are your credentials?" The Government must first know that the representatives had a right to speak for the combatants in the field. But were there any representatives having such authority? Mr. Kruger and his *entourage* had lost the confidence of the Boers in the field, as was natural; and he questioned whether Mr. Steyn, or Mr. Schalk Burger, or Delarey, or De Wet could speak for all the different commandos. But supposing any one was found who was entitled to speak for all the Boers in the field, the terms must be such as to ensure a lasting peace.

Mr. Chamberlain challenged Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman to produce any proof in support of his charge that it was the intention of the Government to exterminate the Boers. He doubted whether any member of the Government had made use of the expression "unconditional surrender"; but in any case unconditional surrender did not in these days mean extermination. Those among the Opposition who laid stress, as Mr. M'Kenna had done, on the precedent of the Canadian rebellion and Lord Durham's action forgot that his policy actually was one of unconditional surrender. Lord Durham refused amnesty to the ringleaders. Twenty-five were executed and 158 leaders

were banished or transported. Everything which the Government had done could be justified by this precedent and by the example set by the North in the American Civil War. In South Africa there would not be any general confiscation of property, and the people had been promised equal justice and privileges. We were certainly more lenient than the United States. He did not believe in the permanent alienation of the Boers. Among the reasons adducible for his opinion he referred to the formation of the Burgher Corps of Scouts—now numbering 2,000—and to the fact that a large body of the Boer prisoners in Bermuda were willing to take the oath of neutrality. In Ceylon many prisoners had even been willing to join our army and to fight under the British flag. We all desired a solid peace—a peace that should not be broken—and in order that this might be secured the beaten nation must recognise its defeat. In the circumstances no humiliation would be involved in that. The Government were not animated by any vindictive feeling and would not be deaf to reasonable overtures of peace from responsible authorities. But they were not willing to take any action which might be construed as weakness or vacillation, and therefore they refused to withdraw the proclamation of August 7, 1901. Under this proclamation leaders who were likely in the future to intrigue in Africa against the Government would be deprived of the opportunity of doing so. With regard to the question of amnesty, he pointed out that a universal amnesty had not been advocated by Lord Rosebery or any other Liberal Imperialist; but stated that the largest possible measure of amnesty would be granted. The Colonial Secretary concluded, amid loud cheers, with the declaration that the Government intended to retain the confidence and support of the country and the Empire, and that the claim of the Colonies to be heard with regard to the final settlement would certainly be allowed in spite of the protests of a small section of the Opposition.

Mr. Labouchere agreed with a taunt of Mr. Chamberlain's that he and those who with him had taken part in the notorious Queen's Hall pro-Boer meeting could not vote for an amendment pledging them to "support all proper measures for the effective prosecution of the war." It was now "a war of conquest carried on in a barbarous manner." This point of view was put in an amendment to the Opposition amendment—denouncing the "systematic devastation" of the two South African Republics and the conduct of the concentration camps as "barbarous"—which was moved in a violent speech by Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*). The Opposition Whips told against this proposal and it was defeated by 283 votes to 64—majority 219. Thereafter the support of the original amendment was resumed by Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*), who censured the Government for having neglected political considerations in their conduct of the war, and for not having suggested terms to the moderate

elements in the Boer army after its first serious reverses. The annexation proclamation issued by Lord Roberts he described as indefensible and as most unfortunate in its effects, and he also dwelt on the impolicy of some subsequent proclamations, as well as of farm burning. The result of the Government's mistaken methods was the spread of disaffection in Cape Colony. He believed, in spite of the expressed claim of the Boer leaders to independence, that, if negotiations were opened, they would be quite willing to abate their demand. In the interests of future peace he urged the Government to grant generous terms.

Before the resumption of the debate, on January 21, Mr. Chamberlain informed Mr. Buxton (*Poplar, Tower Hamlets*) that no sentence of banishment had been promulgated against Boer leaders captured since September 15, 1901, when the proclamation issued on August 7 came into force. For the present the captured persons, numbering 105, who came within the provisions of the proclamation, were being detained like ordinary prisoners of war.

Mr. Churchill (*Oldham*) opposed Mr. Cawley's amendment, but in a very detached speech, in which he complained that the Government had not provided for a continuous supply of efficient troops, questioned whether Lord Kitchener had sufficient troops at the present time, and dwelt on the desirability of preparing reinforcements of 30,000 men. As between settlement by compromise and settlement by force he preferred the former, but the latter would be necessary if the Boers would not give up their continued aspirations for independence.

A long speech which followed from Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*) was chiefly remarkable for the strenuous effort it embodied to establish the existence of material differences between the position of the Government as expounded in Mr. Chamberlain's speech and also in recent utterances of Lord Milner's and that of Lord Rosebery. Thus he deplored the determination of the Colonial Secretary not to withdraw, as Lord Rosebery would do, the proclamation issued in August requiring the Boer leaders to surrender by September 15, 1901. The right hon. gentleman's reason for his attitude was that the withdrawal of the proclamation would be a sign of weakness, in fact he was afraid of being thought afraid. A wise statesmanship would encourage the Boers to make overtures; but the Government had discouraged them from doing so by issuing this proclamation. The leaders, if banished, would become martyrs, as Lord Rosebery had said, and they would be received with enthusiasm by foreign nations in Europe. Discussing the question of the terms of settlement, Sir W. Harcourt questioned whether the Boers were likely to make overtures unless some information was given as to the terms that would be granted. Everybody had hoped that the terms offered in March were still open to the Boers for acceptance; but on Monday they had

heard from the Colonial Secretary that some of those terms were not to be renewed. Having animadverted on the action of the Cape Ministers in proclaiming martial law and suspending the Constitution, he contended that before peace could be established self-government must be restored in the Colony. The policy of the Government had been mistaken from first to last ; it had led to the prolongation of this unhappy war, and he could see nothing in it which gave promise of a durable peace.

Mr. Elliot (*Durham*) described the amendment as a weighty indictment which the Opposition as yet had failed to justify. For the speech delivered by the Colonial Secretary on Jan. 20 he had nothing but admiration. Having regard to the immense difficulties we should have to face when peace was restored, it would be politic to show as much generosity to the Boers as was compatible with our main policy.

Mr. Norman (*Wolverhampton, S.*) supported the amendment, as a Liberal Imperialist, mainly on account of what he held to be the inadequacy of the military preparations of the Government, and Mr. Gibson Bowles, while condemning the amendment, unfavourably criticised the Government on account both of military inefficiency and of unwise interference with Lord Kitchener's negotiations with Botha. The amendment having been supported by Mr. C. Hobhouse (*Bristol, E.*) and Mr. Scott (*Leigh, Lancs.*), and opposed by Mr. Renwick (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) and Mr. Gray (*West Ham, N.*), was fiercely torn to pieces by Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon Boroughs*). It meant, he said, that "one set of gentlemen were asked to support what they regarded as a criminal enterprise, as an inducement for another set of gentlemen to vote for a proposition which they did not believe to be true." Unity could not be got, he maintained, on any such basis as that. He asked Members who voted for the amendment, would they vote, if their party could come into power, for the prosecution of an unrighteous war? If not, what was the meaning of the amendment? If, on the other hand, they were prepared to go on with it, what did their past denunciation of the war mean? He admitted that opposition to the war was unpopular, but for Liberals it was "a mistake to pawn, as it were, the heirlooms of their party in order to buy off unpopularity."

Sir E. Lees (*Birkenhead*) opposed the amendment in a speech in the course of which he bore strong evidence, as the result of a year of South African service, to the admirable conduct of our soldiers. He was all in favour of dealing very liberally with the Boers, but it would be the gravest mistake to come to political terms with them.

Mr. Balfour, rising to wind up the debate for the Government, felt dispensed from the necessity of much criticism of the amendment by Mr. Lloyd-George's vehemently destructive analysis of it. Dealing with the criticisms levelled against the Government

and the Secretary for War, he reminded the House that the old Yeomanry were sent home by Lord Kitchener and not brought home by the Government. Then the new Yeomanry were sent out untrained at Lord Kitchener's own request, as he believed that it would be wise to train them in South Africa. They had done excellent service. Mr. Balfour next cited a number of interesting figures relating to the reinforcements sent out at different periods, and, viewing the administrative performance of the War Department as a whole, he asserted that it was extraordinary and unequalled in the history of the Empire. The attacks that were made upon the War Office, he said, filled him with disgust. Turning to the main issue raised by the amendment, he commented on the absence of vigour and fire from the debate, and suggested that the speech of the Secretary for the Colonies had "knocked everybody out of time." The controversy after that speech was delivered degenerated into mere quibbling and word-splitting. He bantered Sir W. Harcourt upon his agreement with Lord Rosebery, expressing surprise at the conversion which the Chesterfield speech had apparently effected. Defining unconditional surrender, he said that after all it only meant a surrender such as was made in the case of Alsace-Lorraine and in all cases where incorporation took place. One had only to read what the Boers said to understand that the differences which prevented peace were not small differences, as some Members alleged. Peace was delayed because the Boers were fighting for their independence, which we did not intend to give them. Appealing to the Radical Opposition to pause before they went to a division, Mr. Balfour said that the issues in South Africa might be profoundly influenced by what they did. A division which showed strength in the opponents of the Government would infuse renewed vigour into our enemies in the field. He hoped that in future the Opposition would allow the South African question to be treated as neutral ground.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman declared emphatically that it was because the Opposition conscientiously believed that the policy of the Government did not conduce to peace and tranquillity in South Africa that they had brought the amendment forward. The communities with whom we were fighting formed an essential part of the whole South African community, and were unalterably attached to their country. The Boers were not men we could look forward to keeping down by force of arms. The strain would be too severe, and such a course would be contrary to all our principles and traditions. The Government, therefore, ought to have done nothing likely to exacerbate the feelings of the Boers. After asking a series of questions with reference to farm-burning and the concentration camps, he characterised the whole devastation policy as a gigantic political blunder. These views he had expressed in June, when he affirmed that he brought no charge of cruelty against our

officers and men. Some of the reforms which were then pointed out as desirable had since been introduced into the camps, but they ought to have been introduced earlier. This concentration, with its deplorable consequences, was an offence against civilisation, a military mistake, and a political disaster. Were the Government, he asked, honestly desirous to bring about a generous and magnanimous peace by means of negotiations? He believed that the great majority of the country were in favour of such a peace, and therefore why should we not make our desire known? No display of force would do so much for peace as the announcement of generous intentions.

The division being then taken, the amendment was defeated by 333 votes to 123—majority 210. The remarkably poor figure cut by the Opposition was caused by the abstention of the whole of the Nationalists, of a certain number of extreme Radicals, who agreed with Mr. Lloyd-George, and of a rather larger number of Liberal Imperialists. These last, including Sir E. Grey and Mr. Haldane, it was understood, had refrained from voting on the ground that Mr. Chamberlain's speech had indicated so near an approach on the part of the Government to sound lines of policy that there was no justification for passing a censure on them in presence of the enemy. In any case the result of the first trial of the strength of the Liberal party in the House of Commons in the new session was the reverse of a triumph for the leadership of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman. Whether it pointed towards a likelihood of the consolidation of the party in Parliament and the country at some later date under the leadership of Lord Rosebery was, however, by no means equally clear.

A debate of much interest took place (Jan. 22) on an amendment to the Address, asking that adequate measures should be taken to safeguard the commercial and political interests of the British Empire in Persia. This was moved by Mr. J. Walton, the Liberal Member for Barnsley, who had just returned from spending the recess in Persia. Referring to the influence which Russia had gained by railway extension, the construction of roads, and by other means in Northern Persia, he alleged that our trade in that part of the country had been almost killed, and he contended that if we were to maintain our commercial position in Southern Persia we must have recourse to new methods. Roads ought to be developed in order that our goods might be carried into the interior, and we ought to come to an agreement with Russia as to our rights of railway construction. In the south we should have a prior right of construction. British influence had undoubtedly declined in Persia in recent years, and among the causes which had led to this state of things was the unfortunate refusal of the British Government to guarantee the 2,500,000*l.* loan to Persia in 1900. This gave Russia her opportunity; she guaranteed the loan and imposed terms upon Persia which were unfavourable

to British commerce. The Government should protest against any negotiations between Persia and Russia which might be detrimental to British trade. Mr. Walton also urged strongly that if Russia were ever to acquire a port in the Persian Gulf, which would become a naval base, British interests would be most seriously affected. He was moved to make this protest, which was received with Ministerial cheers, by the recent appearance in English reviews and newspapers of articles advocating the acquiescence by this country in Russian aspirations towards the Gulf.

The amendment was seconded by Lord Percy (*Kensington, S.*), who had also travelled in Persia. He desired that we should treat Persia in a sympathetic manner, as we had done in the past; but he thought that we might fairly put some pressure upon her Government in the interest of the construction of roads in the southern part of the country, such improvements having been carried out under pressure from Russia in the north. Mr. Norman (*Walterhampton, S.*) expressed his opinion that there was reason to fear that a secret agreement with Germany, as to the existence and application of which to the Persian Gulf Lord Cranborne had declined to answer questions, did exist and did relate to that region. For his part, he favoured a general understanding with Russia, including acquiescence in her obtaining access to the Persian Gulf, as to the dangers of which policy he disagreed with Mr. Walton. Sir E. Grey (*Berwick, Northumberland*) urged that if there was to be Russian expansion in that part of the world it should come about as the result of agreement with the British Government, not as the result of a policy of drift on our part. The first thing to do was to find out what the Russian Government wanted and to determine whether her designs were compatible with British interests. He approved of the policy of maintaining the independence and integrity of Persia, but we must be prepared for eventualities. The British Government should relax no effort to maintain the position we already had in Persia, and at the same time there should be increasing efforts to come to an agreement with Russia and other Powers.

Lord Cranborne (*Rocheester*), Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said that, speaking generally, our wise policy in Asia was to maintain the *status quo*, but this was not free from difficulties, and might be mistaken for a policy of drift, which it was not. In Persia we had vast interests to maintain, which should not endanger our friendly relations with Russia; but such relations, while we sought them, were not to be bought at the cost of any treaty rights which we possessed, and it would not become us to go cap in hand to Russia or any other Power to ask for an understanding. The notes interchanged in 1888 showed that a mutual assurance had been given that the policy of Great Britain and Russia was the maintenance of the integrity of Persia; and he had every reason to believe that

the assurance had been acted upon by both sides. The Under-Secretary proceeded, however, to modify the effect of this assertion by saying that the policy of maintaining the integrity of Persia could not be pursued independently of the action of other countries, for the balance of power must always be considered. It was true not only of the Persian Gulf, but of the southern provinces of Persia, and those provinces which bordered on our Indian Empire, that "our rights there, and our position of ascendancy, we cannot abandon." For the development of Persia the Government were most anxious, and they welcomed such development from whatever source it came. He stated that the reason why the loan guaranteed by Russia was not guaranteed by Great Britain was that the security was not such as business men could approve. Explaining what the Government had done to further British interests, Lord Cranborne said that they had extended considerably our consular representation in Persia, and that more would be done in that direction if necessary. He also mentioned that a convention for the creation of a central Persian telegraph was on the point of being settled. The reform introduced in the Customs administration had proved highly beneficial. As to our commercial policy in Persia it was calculated to benefit every interest concerned. The House might rest assured that the Government would continue to uphold the position which they considered it essential that this country should maintain in Persia, and especially in the Persian Gulf. After a few more speeches the amendment was withdrawn.

On the same afternoon, an amendment in favour of the policy known as "Home Rule all round" was moved by Mr. Pirie (*Aberdeen, N.*), but attracted very little interest—no Member on the front Opposition bench giving it any support—and was negatived without a division.

The next two sittings of the House of Commons were occupied with the discussion of a lengthy amendment to the Address, moved (Jan. 23) by Mr. J. Redmond (*Waterford*), representing that the refusal of the Government to settle the Irish land question by a comprehensive measure of compulsory sale in the tenants' interest, and by conferring larger powers on the Congested Districts Board, had caused widespread discontent and agitation in Ireland; and complaining that the Irish Government, instead of striving to remove the grievances of the people, had, at a time when Ireland was absolutely free from agrarian crime, put the Coercion Act once more into operation, suppressed the right of free speech, dispersed legal and peaceable meetings with unprovoked and brutal police violence, and substituted for trial by jury trial by removable magistrates, in order that they might imprison Members of Parliament and others for no other offence than that of asserting their right to address public meetings. With the present system of dual ownership in Ireland, Mr. Redmond declared that no one was satisfied; and yet the

Government, while they admitted the grievance, held out no hope of any adequate remedy. He justified the action of the United Irish League, and affirmed that the policy of that organisation was to suppress crime. He went in some detail into the causes of the trouble on the De Freyne estate, the effect of his contention being that the conditions on that estate being exactly like those on the Dillon estate, the De Freyne tenants were justified in combining to secure at least the reduction of their rents to the level of the instalments of purchase-money fixed for the occupiers on the Dillon estate by the Congested Districts Board, which had bought and was re-selling it. Mr. Redmond concluded with a fervent denunciation of the methods of the Government, to which, he held, resistance was a duty, while even rebellion against it was merely a question of expediency. In seconding the amendment, Mr. Hayden (*Roscommon, S.*) maintained that the struggle on the De Freyne estate had originated with the tenantry, and not at the prompting of the United Irish League. Incidentally he claimed that there were now nearly 2,000 branches of the league in existence. Colonel Saunderson (*Armagh, N.*) blamed the Government for having delayed so long before taking steps to cope with the league, and remarked that the attitude of the Chief Secretary would not have been one of contemptuous contemplation if he had been among the boycotted in Sligo. Mr. Moore (*Antrim, N.*), a Conservative, said that what they wanted in the North of Ireland was universal sale, and compulsory sale seemed to them the only way, because up to the present the operation of the voluntary acts had only been partial. Failing compulsion, any satisfactory measure would have to supply its place by strong inducement. Sir J. Colomb (*Great Yarmouth*) supported the recently declared policy of the Government, while their action was condemned by Mr. Tomkinson (*Crewe, Chester*) and Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*), among English Liberals, as well as by most Irish Nationalist members.

Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*), Chief Secretary for Ireland, denied that free speech was suppressed, and found the strongest argument against compulsory purchase in the certainty that there would be a temptation to fight through the courts every question that could be raised between landlord and tenant. Voluntary arrangements were likely to work more smoothly, and voluntary purchase held the field; though if Home Rule were granted to-morrow and the exchequers of the two countries separated, there would be little likelihood of the continuance of that great credit operation. Referring to the United Irish League, he allowed that it had between 1,100 and 1,200 branches "as political organisations, as party machines," but "there were no more than seventy-four branches which were having a prejudicial effect on the economics of the country." As a rule the methods of the league were erroneous, but not illegal. But it had sometimes stepped beyond the law, and it was responsible

for certain cases of boycotting, though he did not believe that out of 211 persons who were now boycotted, more than twenty-seven had been placed in that position through the influence of the league. He warned Irish members that they were treating economic questions in a manner which was likely to harden the hearts of the British people; for it had to be borne in mind that an ill-considered scheme of land purchase for Ireland could not be launched without danger to any well-considered scheme for the housing of the working-classes in this country. "I trust," said Mr. Wyndham in conclusion, "we never shall be false to our Unionist creed. Our policy is not that of killing Home Rule with kindness. Harmony is not between Ireland and this country, and time must elapse before such harmony can be secured. And meanwhile we apply ourselves to measures for encouragement of agriculture, industry, and education with no ulterior political object but in the honest belief that honest work sincerely done is always worth any man's doing."

Resuming the adjourned debate on Mr. Redmond's amendment, on January 24, Mr. T. P. O'Connor (*Scotland Division, Liverpool*) vindicated a strike against rent among the De Freyne tenantry in view of the contrast between their position and that of the tenantry on the neighbouring Dillon estate, which had been bought by the Congested Districts Board. Mr. Macartney (*Antrim, S.*) complained strongly of the dangerous extent to which the United Irish League had been allowed to develop and of the interference with individual liberty which it exercised. He also expressed the dissatisfaction of Irish Unionists with the Government for its having appointed well-known Home Rulers to important posts. Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*), on the other side, said that if the Chief Secretary would give any undertaking to use his influence in obtaining for the tenants on the De Freyne estate such a settlement as had been secured by those on the neighbouring Dillon estate, he would himself go down to Roscommon and urge the tenants to pay their rents. Other Nationalist members having supported the amendment, the Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson) denied that the Government were abandoning their friends. Replying to the Irish Unionist demand for stronger measures, he observed that to proclaim the United Irish League an illegal association would be useless, as it might be dissolved one day and revived under another name the next. Equally futile, to judge from past experience, would be any attempt to punish the Press, under the Crimes Act, for publishing the notices of the league. The expedient of changing the venue could only be resorted to in the case of crimes of violence, and such crimes had not been committed. Indeed, there was no serious crime in Ireland. But in certain districts there were conspiracies against the payment of rent, and there was boycotting; and to meet these the Executive had taken advantage of the clause in the Act which provided, under

certain circumstances, for trial, before resident magistrates, without a jury. There was an appeal, on questions of law, to the superior courts, if the magistrate stated a case, and on questions of fact, to the County Court judge, if the sentence given was of over a month's imprisonment. The Government would continue to afford protection to every person in Ireland by steadily and resolutely enforcing the law. Mr. J. Morley (*Montrose Burghs*) commented on the curious fact that coercion was being reintroduced at the very time of an official declaration that there was no serious crime. He thought that the measures lately adopted by the Irish Government were more likely to increase existing difficulties and dangers than to remove them. As to the land question, a system of continued rent-fixing would, in his opinion, have been wiser than the existing system of voluntary purchase; and it was with some misgiving that he should support the Chief Secretary's promised bill for the extension of the latter. He should vote for the amendment because compulsory purchase was not indefensible in principle, and the application of the principle must depend on legislation; and because he would vote for any motion that carried (as, he held, this one did) a proposal to confer on the people of Ireland the same right to govern themselves as our Colonies enjoyed. Mr. Redmond's amendment was then negatived by 237 votes to 134, the minority including Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and seventy other Liberals.

The House of Lords, as usual, for the most part suspended its dignified activities during the continuance of the debate on the Address in the Commons. On January 27, however, Lord Wemyss, by way of correcting any mischief that might possibly accrue to Imperial interests from the proceedings of the Lower House in relation to South Africa, moved a resolution declaring that in the opinion of the Peers it was "only by the vigorous prosecution of the war and through the surrender of the Boer guerilla forces still in the field that a satisfactory and lasting peace could be assured," and that the House of Lords "approved in these respects, and heartily supported, the action of his Majesty's Government". Lord Wemyss said that he thought that a resolution of this kind, which he proposed solely on his own initiative as a private member of the House, would, if supported by a large majority, make for peace. Lord Welby moved to omit the words after "assured." There was no reason why they should not give a unanimous vote in favour of the first part of the resolution, but many of them could not approve of the way in which the Government had carried on the war. The amendment was supported by Lord Tweedmouth and opposed by the Earl of Camperdown, Lord Stanmore, and Lord Raglan—who made a spirited defence of the War Office. The Bishop of Hereford objected chiefly to the use of the word "only" in the resolution before the words "by the vigorous prosecution of the war." That seemed an attempt

to revive in his Majesty's Government the spirit of the policy of unconditional surrender. Since the Chesterfield speech they had seen many indications that Ministers were ready to bury this term "unconditional surrender," and he could not believe that the resolution was really acceptable to the Premier. The amendment having been rejected by 60 to 16, Earl Spencer explained that he and his friends did not regard "only" as implying a demand for unconditional surrender, and he should certainly not say "content" to the motion if he thought that it did. The Marquis of Salisbury artlessly disclaimed any responsibility for the wording of the resolution; it was, he said, for Lord Wemyss to interpret his own motion. The resolution was then agreed to without a division.

On the same day, in the Commons, Sir J. Dimsdale (*City of London*) moved an amendment to the Address, asking for a complete inquiry into the practical effect of the recent agreement between the Post Office and the National Telephone Company as to telephonic service in the metropolitan area, and urging the desirability of suspending further transactions or negotiations with the company until after such inquiry. He reminded the House that in 1898 the Select Committee on Telephones recommended that the Post Office should undertake to compete effectively with the National Telephone Company, and it was understood that Ministers had assented to that view. As a matter of fact, however, the Post Office had rather entered into partnership than competition with the company, and the charges for the use of the telephone were to remain substantially unaltered. Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*), who seconded the amendment, complained that the agreement allowed the company to retain its monopoly for another nine years, and, in fact, transferred every right which the Government possessed to the company. He suggested that the good terms which the latter had got were possibly due to the influence which its representatives in that House were able to exert.

For this suggestion Mr. Lough was sharply rebuked by Mr. A. Chamberlain (*Worcestershire, E.*), Financial Secretary to the Treasury, who vindicated the agreement between the Post Office and the National Telephone Company in an able and elaborate speech. In its course he pointed out that the object of the Post Office was not to crush the company, but to promote general efficiency. As to the scale of charges, the case of London was quite different from that of smaller centres. The city which came nearest to it was New York, but even there the telephone areas comprised a population of no more than 2,500,000 as against the 6,000,000 of Greater London. The mileage area of New York was twenty square miles, of Greater London over 600 square miles. Yet the rate for unlimited user in New York was 48*l.* while in London it was only 17*l.* By its very nature the telephone business involved what economists called a diminishing return, because the profits did

not increase with the increase of the operations. In London 60 or 70 per cent. of the messages were junction messages, in other words messages passing over more than one exchange and necessitating additional labour without corresponding gain. The annual "flat" charge of 17*l.* for unlimited user was not unreasonable, Mr. A. Chamberlain maintained, and, on the other hand, the combinations of low fixed and "toll" charges now established brought the use of the telephone for the first time within the reach of working-class householders. In any case the new tariff was experimental and subject to early revision. The Postmaster-General would report to Parliament from year to year upon the working of the system. The amendment was supported from the front Opposition Bench by Mr. Buxton (*Poplar, Tower Hamlets*), who contended that the House ought to receive fuller information as to the grounds of the agreement, and as to the reason why none of the local authorities were consulted before its conclusion. Mr. Hanbury (*Preston*), Postmaster-General, emphasised the democratic aspect of the arrangements which the Post Office had made, as benefiting the poorer classes, instead of being reserved, as with even the low "flat" rate of 10*l.* (for which the London County Council had declared itself willing to supply an unlimited service) the telephone would be, to the practically exclusive advantage of the well-to-do. He further maintained that the Government had really broken down the monopoly of the National Telephone Company in London.

Sir J. Dimsdale wished to withdraw his amendment, but leave was refused, and, after further discussion, it was negatived by 227 to 139. The voting almost entirely followed party lines. Some supporters of the Ministry were probably influenced by the promises of an early revision of charges if the facts appeared to justify it. But on the whole the Government were thought to have made out a much better case for the telephone agreement than had been expected.

The first part of the sitting of the House of Commons on January 28 was occupied with a debate on an amendment to the Address, asking for an inquiry into the question of the food supplies of the United Kingdom in time of war. It was moved by Mr. Seton-Karr (*St. Helens*), who contended that, even if we had the command of the sea, our position might be very unfavourably affected in a war by a wheat corner in the United States. He suggested that the merits of the following expedients should be considered:—a system of preferential duties in favour of our Colonies; the establishment of national granaries; and a system of public control over our supplies in time of emergency. Sir H. Vincent (*Sheffield, Central*), who seconded the amendment, reminded the House that we had a bare sixty days' supply of food in the United Kingdom. The amendment was vigorously opposed by Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*), who observed that in the event of war wheat would not be con-

signed to England, but to Continental neutral ports like Hamburg, Antwerp or Ostend, and no enemy would dare to attack neutral ships carrying a neutral cargo. The only risk would be run when the cargo was brought across the Channel to this country, and at that point we must trust to our fleet. A fatal objection to corn storage spread over a long period would be its enormous cost. On this point Mr. G. Balfour (*Leeds, Central*), President of the Board of Trade, agreed with Sir W. Harcourt. He also maintained that a prohibition, such as had been suggested, of the export of corn to this country by a belligerent Power could not be effective unless it applied also to other countries, which thus would suffer as much as ourselves, and so be made hostile to our enemy. The effect of corners upon price, he argued, could be gathered from the Leiter operations, which affected the price for about a month in America and for a very short time in this country. So in time of war there might be a rapid rise in price, but that would at once attract corn from all quarters of the world, with the result that the price would again fall. In the opinion of the Government there was nothing to inquire into. The outbreak of a war would not in their opinion cause real scarcity or panic prices as long as we had a Navy adequate to the needs of the country. If we had not such a Navy the Government should not be asked to grant an inquiry, but should be impeached. After some further speeches, including one in its support from Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincs*) and against it from Mr. Gibson Bowles (*King's Lynn*), the amendment was withdrawn.

On the same day there took place a discussion of the affairs of Malta, Mr. Boland (*Kerry, S.*) moving an amendment to the Address, representing that the people of Malta had been restrained from exercising the right to hold public meetings, at which the proposed substitution of English for the Italian language in the law courts and the increase of taxation were to be discussed, and that the abrogation of the order with regard to the language and the restoration of complete civil rights were essential to the re-establishment of peaceful conditions in Malta. Mr. Boscawen (*Tonbridge, Kent*), from personal knowledge of Malta, maintained that Italian was certainly not the colloquial, nor even the literary, language of the people of the island, and the amendment was also opposed by Sir F. Flannery (*Shipley, Yorks*). Mr. Buxton (*Poplar, Tower Hamlets*) expressed himself as having been in general accord with the policy of the Colonial Secretary in regard to Malta, though he had not quite agreed with all the steps he had taken. He desired fuller information as to the situation.

Mr. Chamberlain then made a statement of considerable fulness and elaboration. It was not the fact, he said, that the people of Malta had been restrained from exercising the right of public meeting. On the contrary, the Executive had assisted the people to hold meetings, although at some of them seditious

things had been said. There had been nothing in the nature of a riot, as had been alleged, and it would be a great mistake to imagine that there was any serious discontent among the Maltese people, who were loyal subjects of the Crown. Malta, he reminded the House, was held as a fortress, which was essential to our position in the Mediterranean, and in a fortress anything in the nature of seditious agitation could not be tolerated. Having given a short account of the growth of the Constitution of Malta in order to show that under our rule the tendency had been to sanction greater and greater representation, he said that since 1887, when specially generous treatment was accorded to the island, there had been almost continuous friction between the elected members and the Imperial Government. The most serious difficulty arose in connection with the marriage question, which was now fortunately in abeyance. The vast majority of the people did not vote for the elected members, and the more highly educated inhabitants could not be induced to present themselves for election or to vote, and so were not represented.

With regard to the language question, the Colonial Secretary said it was absurd to imagine that Italian was the national language of Malta. The real language was an Arabic patois. Italian was not understood by one in seven of the population, and the people on the island who spoke and read English outnumbered those who read and spoke Italian. The Italian language was certainly the official language formerly, but in recent years the English visitors, military and civil, to Malta had largely increased in numbers, rendering a change in the language regulations necessary. Since 1899 parents had been given the right to choose either English or Italian as the language which their children should learn. The real grievance of the elected representatives was that the people had been given a free choice. Until the agitation began 98 per cent. of the parents chose English; after the agitation the percentage fell to 75, and now it had risen again to 80. At all hazards the Government were determined to preserve to the parents their freedom of choice. Then a proclamation had been issued declaring the intention of the Government to make English at a subsequent date the official language of the courts, if it should be desirable to do so; but this proclamation had no binding force on future Governments. Coming to the taxation question, he said that the elected members had abused their powers by refusing to pass estimates for necessary purposes. Where the interests concerned were purely local, the elected members had been allowed to act as they pleased; but in regard to matters of Imperial concern the Government had imposed by Order in Council the necessary taxation. The greater part of this taxation, however, would fall upon the British and not upon the Maltese. The avowed determination of the elected members was to wreck the administration of the island unless

the Government gave way on the language question. If this opposition was to continue the time would come when it might become necessary to do away with the Constitution or to modify it so as to give the Government a controlling voice in the administration. Before concluding, however, Mr. Chamberlain announced a concession. The action which the Government had taken had caused, he was sorry to say, through misunderstanding of its real character, some irritation and pain in Italy. He deeply regretted this, and was most anxious to remove the feeling of discontent, for friendship between Italy and England was for both countries a national asset. The relations between the two countries had always been friendly, and their interests, especially in the Mediterranean, were mutual. Therefore, as the Italians took exception to his proclamation with regard to the official use of English in the law courts fifteen or twenty years hence, he was prepared formally to withdraw it. He hoped also that this concession would have a favourable effect on the attitude of the elected members of the Council of Malta.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman having said that he thought the concession of the right hon. gentleman would have satisfactory consequences, the amendment was withdrawn.

A debate was then begun, and concluded on January 29, on an amendment to the Address moved by Mr. L. Sinclair (*Romford, Essex*), urging the desirability of remedying the defects and anomalies in our electoral system by a measure providing for a redistribution of seats, and also for the permanent representation of the British dominions beyond the seas in the Imperial Parliament. In the course of an interesting speech the mover pointed out that at present the representative strength of Newry was to that of London in the proportion of eighteen to one; and that while in England the average number of electors to a constituency was 10,897, in Scotland it was 9,600, and in Ireland only 7,144. On the basis of population Ireland was only entitled now to forty-four members, or, on the basis of contribution, to sixteen members. In the present House of Commons 270 members represented more electors than the other 400 members. With regard to the second part of the amendment, his object was, not to ask that Colonial members should attend that House, but to create in this country an Imperial defence council, to which eminent Colonials should be invited, to consider what could be done to make the defence of the Empire efficient.

The amendment was seconded by Mr. Coghill (*Stoke-upon-Trent*), and supported by Mr. Kimber (*Wandsworth*), who argued that under our present system if the majority in the House of Commons really represented the will of the nation, it did so by accident. England was entitled, he maintained, to be represented by 499 members instead of by 465, as at present. The electorate of Scotland numbered 700,000, and that country sent seventy-two members to Parliament, while Ireland with an

electorate of 735,000 was represented by 103 members, an excess of thirty-one.

The debate was noteworthy for the tone in which the subject was dealt with by Mr. Balfour, which was distinctly at variance with the stress laid in recent writing, as well as speaking, by some Unionists on the excessive representation possessed by Ireland. He acknowledged that the anomalies of our representation were growing and likely to grow, and would require treatment, but pointed out that legislation upon this subject ought not to be undertaken in the earlier years of a Parliament. He said that he did not approve of basing a scheme of redistribution merely upon numbers. The character of communities, the history of localities, and other considerations had always been taken into account. He distrusted arguments upon this subject which were founded upon nationalities. Members represented constituencies and not nationalities, and the controversy as to the redistribution of seats ought not to degenerate into a struggle between the three countries for the greatest relative amount of representation. The consideration of the question to which his friends had drawn attention could not be postponed indefinitely, and it was his confident hope that before this Parliament came to an end the House would have an opportunity of discussing the subject in a practical spirit.

Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*) expressed satisfaction at what Mr. Balfour had said in deprecation of a controversy between nationalities or countries on the question of representation. They had also, he urged, to remember that in any scheme of redistribution the question of the representation of the Universities and of plural voting would have to be dealt with. In the course of the debate, Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) insisted that any reduction of the Irish representation would be a breach of the compact made at the time of the Union. In the end Mr. Sinclair offered, but was refused permission, to withdraw his amendment, and it was negatived by 302 votes to 23. The subject of Colonial representation was very little referred to in the debate.

The last of the multitude of amendments to the Address elicited an announcement of some domestic importance on the part of the Government. Major Evans-Gordon (*Stepney, Tower Hamlets*) moved, and Mr. S. F. Ridley (*Bethnal Green, S.W.*) seconded, a declaration of the urgent necessity of legislation to regulate and restrict the immigration of destitute aliens. Both speakers dwelt earnestly on the social and industrial evils caused in the poorer parts of London by the immigration in question. In reply Mr. G. Balfour (*Leeds, Central*), President of the Board of Trade, acknowledged that the evils following unrestricted immigration could not be gainsaid; and that it was anomalous that in this country alone there was no power to exclude or expel aliens, however injurious their presence might be to the community. He pointed out, however, that mere provisions for the exclusion of destitute aliens would not

seriously reduce the evils complained of. Into America, where such provisions existed, the influx of poor Russian and Polish immigrants was considerably larger than into this country. Any proposed remedy, therefore, must be more drastic than the remedies hitherto contemplated; but the Government did not think that drastic measures would be justifiable without further inquiry. Such an inquiry, he announced, the Government were prepared to sanction. At present the alien immigration laws of America were inoperative and ineffective; but should they be made effective the immigration into this country would certainly increase largely; and, therefore, he held that we must adopt betimes some measures of self-preservation.

In view of this statement the amendment was withdrawn, and the Address in answer to the Speech from the Throne was then at last agreed to without a division.

Before proceeding to the business of the session ensuing on the manifold, and, in some cases, interesting and important, preliminary discussions described in the foregoing pages, it may be recorded that the question of old-age pensions was considered, on January 14 and 15, at a conference in London called by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the Committee of the Co-operative Congress. The discussions of the assembly issued in the adoption, with great enthusiasm, of resolutions affirming the urgent necessity of the establishment of a national system of old age pensions, the cost to be entirely defrayed by the Imperial Exchequer, which should secure to every citizen, male or female, a pension of at least 5s. a week on attaining the age of sixty years. Replying to a correspondent on this subject a few days later Mr. Chamberlain wrote that it was impossible for him to anticipate in any way the possibilities of legislation in future sessions. He went on to say that he regarded the results of the recent conference of co-operative and trade union delegates as distinctly hurtful. The conference had unanimously voted in favour of universal pensions, absolutely independent of character and thrift. No such scheme, in Mr. Chamberlain's opinion, was ever likely to be accepted, while the extraordinary views expressed at the conference were, he thought, not calculated to make converts to the principle.

A question of considerable ecclesiastical interest was before the country in January and the early part of February. In November, 1901, the Rev. Charles Gore, Canon of Westminster, a liberal High Churchman and Church Reformer, wielding very wide influence by reason of the spirituality of his character, the extent of his learning, and the breadth of his sympathies, was nominated by the Crown to succeed Bishop Perowne, who, on account of age and infirmity, had resigned the See of Worcester. Canon Gore was duly elected to the bishopric by the Dean and Chapter, and the only remaining preliminary to his consecration was the "confirmation" of the capitular election—

a ceremony performed by the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of the province, and until lately almost always regarded as a merely technical function. In view, however, of somewhat noisy proceedings which had recently taken place at the "confirmations" of one or two bishops, against whom too great height or breadth of views had been alleged, it was determined that in future the ceremony of confirmation of episcopal elections should take place at the Church House, Westminster, instead of in Bow Church, as heretofore. In the case of Canon Gore it was soon known that objection to the confirmation of his election to the See of Worcester would be raised both on grounds of alleged heterodoxy of views in regard to the inspiration of the Scriptures, as expressed in the article by him included in the series of essays called *Lux Mundi* and published under his editorship about 1890, and also on account of his alleged "Romanising" tendencies as shown in his membership until lately of the English Church Union, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, and other societies. The order of procedure observed was that on January 16 a citation was read at the Church House on behalf of the Primate, summoning all opposers of the confirmation of Canon Gore's election to appear there before the Primate or his Vicar-General or Surrogate, on January 22, when it was intended to proceed with the confirmation, and requiring all intending objectors to send in written notice of their objections before 4 P.M. on the 21st. When, however, having sent in their notices, they did present themselves before the Vicar-General (Mr. C. A. Cripps, K.C., M.P.) on the appointed day, he firmly refused to hear any of them, on the ground, as he carefully explained, that their objections all related to points of doctrine, and that in accordance with a decision of his predecessor, Sir Travers Twiss, in the Temple case, the only objections which could be entertained were such as related to defects in the form or manner of the election, or as alleged that the person presenting himself for confirmation was not he on whom the choice of the Crown had fallen.

Strong protests were made against this decision by Mr. Kensit, who appeared as an individual objector, and others; and counsel on behalf of the Church Association and other strongly Protestant bodies asked for an adjournment of the proceedings in order to allow of an application to the King's Bench Division. The Vicar-General, however, put aside the protests, and, refusing the adjournment requested, proceeded, amid cries of "Farce!" and "Fraud!" to read the decree of confirmation. On January 24, however, application being made to the King's Bench, on behalf of the Church Association and the Imperial Protestant Federation, for a rule *nisi* for a *mandamus* to the Primate and his Vicar-General to hear and consider the objections put forward by those bodies against the confirmation of Canon Gore's election, the Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Darling granted the rules asked for, saying

that the matter appeared to them one that ought to be discussed. The case came on for further hearing in the King's Bench Division on February 3, the Lord Chief Justice being again present, and the arguments lasted through three days. On February 10 judgment was given against the parties claiming to have their objections heard. The Lord Chief Justice read an elaborate judgment, in which, for reasons which he fully set forth, he held that there was nothing in the Act of 25 Henry VIII., c. 20, to show that the Archbishop or Vicar-General could in any way question the fitness of the person nominated to a bishopric by the Crown, and that, therefore, they could have no jurisdiction to consider objections to the fitness of such person on doctrinal grounds. He, therefore, decided that the rules must be discharged, and Mr. Justice Wright and Mr. Justice Ridley having read judgments to the same effect, the rules were accordingly discharged. The Lord Chief Justice accompanied his judgment by the natural remark that it seemed to him worthy of consideration whether the form of public citation, which ought to be retained for some purposes, should not be modified so as to meet the real case and remove the possibility of the observation that it was a temptation to people to raise questions at an unsuitable time and place.

The judgment gave general satisfaction, as removing all further obstacles in the way of the consecration of Canon Gore. His elevation to the Episcopate was approved by the great majority of Churchmen, and was looked upon sympathetically by many Nonconformists; but he had very properly deferred presenting himself to be consecrated until the legal questions raised had been determined. At the same time it was recognised that the decision tended to emphasise the formal character of ceremonies seeming to enshrine the residue of a greater freedom once enjoyed from State supremacy by the Church, and a certain irony was felt to attach to the fact that such emphasis should have been evoked in connection with the accession to episcopal office of a clergyman very specially associated with the advocacy of larger independent activities on the part of the Church of England.

CHAPTER II.

Statement of New Procedure Rules—Introduction of London Water Bill and Licensing Bill—Report of Committee on Hungarian Horse Purchases: Discussed on Supplementary War Estimate—Indian Famine Debate—Lords' Debate on Remounts—The Dutch Government's Attempted Intervention—Lord Salisbury's Speech—Debates on Welsh Disestablishment and Deceased Wife's Sister Bill—Loitering in Division Lobby—Debates and Divisions on New Procedure Rules—Wei-hai-wei—Anglo-Japanese Alliance: Favourable Reception; Discussed in Both Houses—Mr. Chamberlain and the City—Proceedings in Parliament on Urban (Site Values) Rating, Shops (Early Closing), Factory Act (1901) Amendment, and Midwives Bills; Railway Servants' Hours; and Lead Poisoning in Potteries—Navy Estimates: First Lord's Memorandum; Secretary to Admiralty's Statement; Debates in Commons—Lords' War Contracts Debate—Lord Rosebery at Liverpool—Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman at Leicester—Lord Rosebery's "Definite Separation" Letter—The Liberal League—Unionist Comment—Mr. Asquith on Ireland—Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman on the Liberal League—Irish Debate in Commons—Lord Methuen's Disaster; Nationalist Cheers—Army Estimates: The War Secretary's Statement; Increased Soldiers' Pay—Concentration Camps Debate—Army Debates—Lord Rosebery at Glasgow—Mr. Morley at Manchester—Abandonment of Royal Visit to Ireland—Mr. Asquith at St. Leonards—Irish Debates in the Commons—London County Council (Electric Supply) Bill—Mines Bills Rejected—War Contracts Inquiry Debate in Commons—Lord C. Beresford in the City—Aged Pensioners and Shop Clubs Bills—Debate on the War—Mr. Dillon's Suspension—Beginning of Peace Negotiations—Death of Mr. Rhodes—Introduction of Education Bill—Irish Land Purchase Bill.

THURSDAY, January 30, was a notable Parliamentary day, for it witnessed the description by Mr. Balfour of the Ministerial scheme for the reform of the procedure of the House of Commons, and the introduction and exposition by the Ministers respectively in charge of them of the Government legislative projects dealing with the supply of water in London and the sale of alcoholic liquor in England and Wales. The general ground taken up by Mr. Balfour was that the existing system of Parliamentary procedure, while it might have been quite suited to days when, as in the middle of the eighteenth century, the only considerable Parliamentary difficulty was to induce the stream of oratory to flow, had distinctly ceased to be suited to our own times. Having cited figures to show how immensely the work of the House had increased of late years, he went on to indicate first a number of minor alterations which he proposed with a view to economising Parliamentary time. Thus it was proposed to restrict the right of challenging divisions on various occasions. The first reading of ordinary Bills would be granted as a matter of course. It was also proposed to simplify the procedure on the report stages of Bills which had been considered in committee of the whole House. An assistant-chairman was to be appointed to take the place of the chairman of committees when necessary, and to exercise all his powers, whether as chairman or Deputy-Speaker. (At present only the Speaker or chairman of committees could put a motion for closure.) Questions of privilege not arising out of

controversies between the two Houses would, instead of giving rise to immediate and very possibly protracted debate, be referred, on the motion of a Minister of the Crown, to the Committee of Privileges.

The next set of changes dealt with breaches of Parliamentary order and decorum. It was proposed that the suspension for disorderly conduct should in future last twenty days for a first offence, forty for a second, and eighty for any subsequent offence—these to be days on which the House actually sat, and the penalty not to be affected by adjournment or even by prorogation. Moreover, the Member so suspended would not be allowed to resume his seat till he had apologised to the Speaker for his conduct. In case of a “scene,” the Speaker would have authority to suspend a sitting for such time as he deemed expedient.

Coming last to suggested alterations in the general arrangement of the time and business of the House, Mr. Balfour explained that Ministers had had two objects in view ; first, the convenience of Members, who might reasonably claim to know, like their fellow-citizens generally, when they could expect to dine and to sleep ; and secondly, the introduction of the element of certainty into public business. It was proposed, he said, that on every working day except Friday there should be two sittings. The first would begin at two o'clock and private business would be taken till twenty-five minutes past two ; if it was not concluded by that time it would stand over till the evening sitting. Five minutes would then be allowed for urgent questions about the business of the House, and public business would begin at half-past two, continuing till a quarter past seven. Questions would then be proceeded with, and might go on until eight o'clock ; such questions as were “starred” would be answered orally, the answers to the others being printed and circulated with the votes of the House. The sitting would be suspended at eight and resumed at nine, when carried-over private business would be continued ; and afterwards public business would be transacted until twelve, when “starred” questions not previously disposed of would be answered. In every week before Easter one whole day (Thursday) would be given up to Supply. The afternoon sittings on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays would be taken for Government business. Monday evenings would also be taken. After Easter the Government would ask for two evening sittings, and after Whitsuntide they would take the whole time of the House, except on two days to be set apart for the consideration of private Members' Bills. There would be no evening sittings on Fridays, which would take the place of Wednesdays under the existing arrangement. Members might ask for leave to move the adjournment of the House at half past two on any day ; but if they obtained leave they would have to bring the motion on at the beginning of public business

at the evening sitting. At evening sittings the House was not to be counted out before ten o'clock. The rule allocating a certain number of days to Supply was to be made a standing order.

Mr. Balfour then moved a resolution giving precedence to the consideration of the new rules on the days (excepting Wednesdays) when they should be set down for discussion, and the motion was carried by 289 to 98.

Thereupon Mr. Long (*Bristol, S.*), President of the Local Government Board, introduced the Bill for establishing a Water Board to manage the supply of water within London and certain adjoining districts and for transferring to the Board the undertakings of the metropolitan water companies. Calling attention to the fact that as the population of London grew the outer parts of the metropolis must become more and more thickly peopled, Mr. Long insisted that any body appointed to administer "Water London" must be representative of the whole area interested. The County Council—towards which he disclaimed any unfriendly feeling on the part of Ministers—represented inner, not outer London. The plan of the Government was to take the sanitary authorities for all the area of "Water London," and to impose on them the duty to select representatives who were to form the new Board. The authorities selected were the metropolitan boroughs, the City, the urban sanitary authorities for the outside areas, the London County Council, and the County Councils of the adjacent metropolitan counties. Of the twenty-eight metropolitan boroughs, six were to have two representatives on the Board, and the remainder one each; the City, two; the Essex County Council, one; West Ham, two; East Ham, Leyton and Walthamstow, one each; the County Councils of Kent, Middlesex, Surrey, Hertfordshire, and the Conservancies of the Thames and Lea, one each; the London County Council, ten. The urban districts in the outside areas would be grouped, and each group would be represented by a member. The total number of representatives would be sixty-seven, and there might be, in addition, a chairman and vice-chairman elected from outside their ranks. The metropolitan boroughs, the City, and the London County Council together would have a majority of two-thirds on the Board. A member of the Board must be a member of the Council that appointed him. The first Board would be elected for four years, but afterwards the Board would go out of office at the end of three years. The Local Government Board was to have power to vary the constitution of the Board by provisional order. It was made the duty of the Water Board to purchase the undertakings of the London water companies within an appointed time. The purchase was to be by agreement or, failing that, by arbitration. The arbitrators would be Sir E. Fry, Sir H. Owen and Sir J. Wolfe-Barry. The usual allowance of 10 per cent. for com-

pulsory purchase was not to be allowed, and the price to be paid for the undertakings was not enhanced or diminished because the Bill had been introduced. On questions of law an appeal was to be allowed to the Court of Appeal. The Board would act for the whole area which was now administered by eight different companies. It would issue stock bearing interest at 3 per cent., and was given a power of rating in the event of the income for the year being insufficient for the expenditure. The Board would be authorised to pay the companies in water stock. With regard to money borrowed for the purchase or for the redemption of stock, a period of eighty years was allowed for repayment. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman regarded the Bill as distinctly better in some respects than former schemes, and a like feeling marked several of the speeches from the Opposition side which followed, although exception was taken very particularly to the non-assignment of the duties of the new Board to the London County Council. The Bill was read a first time.

Mr. Ritchie (*Croydon*), Home Secretary, then brought in a Bill to amend the law relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors and to provide for the registration of clubs. The Government did not mean to embody all the recommendations of the Royal Commission in the present Bill, because the attempt to do so would prevent any measure at all being passed this session. They would not deal with the licensing authority, or the reduction of the number of public houses, or the compensation bogey, which had wrecked so many former projects of legislation. Under this Bill a person found drunk and incapable would be apprehended and, in any case, charged; and if he happened at the time to have the custody of a child under seven years of age he would be liable to a penalty of 40s. or a month's imprisonment. If he was an habitual drunkard he might be committed to an inebriate home. The wife of an habitual drunkard was to be entitled to a protection order, and the husband of a drunken wife was to have a right to similar relief. An habitual drunkard who committed a crime was, in certain circumstances, to be prohibited from purchasing liquor for three years, and any publican who served him, knowing who he was, would be punished. If a publican was charged with permitting drunkenness on his premises, and it was proved that anybody was drunk on his premises, it would lie with the publican to prove that he took all reasonable steps to prevent it. Off retail licences were to be put under the control of the justices. Application for occasional licences would have to be made before two justices in open court. All clubs were to be registered, and where a club offended its name would be taken off the register. Anyone would have the right to appear before a magistrate and swear that a club was not properly conducted, and the police could then enter and search the premises, if the magistrate sanctioned that course. In the

case of a club which had been convicted of offence against the law (by a court of summary jurisdiction), the sale of drink in the club building might be forbidden by the court for a term of five years, and provision would also be made against the re-opening of a public house, where a renewal of the licence had been refused, as a bogus club. The Bill was read a first time, after a brief and friendly discussion.

On the same day (Jan. 30) there was issued a document which caused much dissatisfaction among politicians of both parties and the public generally as bearing on the conduct of the war. This was the report of the committee appointed to examine into certain allegations which had been made by Sir J. Blundell Maple, M.P., in regard to the purchase of horses in Austria-Hungary. It was signed by Sir Charles Welby, M.P. (who had been a member of the committee which produced the important report on War Office organisation in 1901; see ANNUAL REGISTER for that year, p. 146), Colonel W. Kenyon-Slaney, M.P., Mr. C. E. Hobhouse, M.P., and the Hon. Evan Charteris. They declared their belief that there was no justification for any charge of bribery or corrupt dealing against any British officer employed in connection with the purchases in question, and expressed their regret that Sir J. B. Maple, while he repudiated all intention of conveying a charge of that description—a repudiation which they fully accepted—had committed himself to public statements which were universally understood as direct attacks on the honour and integrity of British officers. The only specific case which at first sight seemed to require explanation arose out of a misapprehension which existed in some quarters as to the position of a veterinary officer, Captain Hartigan. His position, however, it was pointed out, was explained to the satisfaction of the committee.

The committee's vindication, however, of the honour and integrity of British officers gave only the more point to their carefully weighed censures on the want of care or intelligence, or of both qualities, exhibited both in connection with the Hungarian purchases on behalf of the Imperial Yeomanry Committee and at the Remount Department over a long period.

As to the Imperial Yeomanry purchases, the report said:—"We are satisfied that Colonel St. Quintin (who had come forward reluctantly, and only at the urgent request of the Imperial Yeomanry Committee, to undertake this work) had as his only object the fulfilment of the duty assigned to him. We realise the difficulty of his position owing to the urgency of the demands which confronted him. At the same time we regret that before giving the first contract he did not take more steps to ascertain (a) what would be a reasonable price to pay, and (b) the position and capacity of the contractors to undertake a large contract of this kind without resort to middlemen; and we must point out that, had the first contract been made on the same terms as the second, a saving of nearly 12,000*l.* would have resulted."

Further on the committee said: "Ought the Imperial Yeomanry Committee, and, still more, ought the Government Remount Department to have been found so ill-informed as they were?"

As regarded the Imperial Yeomanry Committee, much could be said on their behalf, as they were brought together hastily to deal with a sudden emergency—*i.e.*, the demand for mounted troops which arose after the reverses of December, 1899.

"The case of the Government Remount Department," proceeded the committee, "is different. In that case the decision to resort to Hungary as a field for obtaining remounts was not apparently come to as the result of a sudden emergency. We feel bound to express the surprise with which we have learnt that before the decision to purchase for the Government in Hungary was actually come to in April, 1900, no steps had apparently been taken since 1884¹ to ascertain the best sources of supply in that country, the best methods of tapping those sources, or the most reliable people to employ. The war had by that time been in progress six months, and it must have been obvious that a heavy drain on our remounting resources was inevitable. It is certainly unfortunate that after the outbreak of war no such preliminary inquiries and arrangements were made as to avoid hurried and ill-considered measures at the last moment. . . .

"We consider that even in peace time it should obviously be the business of the Remount Department to study systematically the possibilities afforded by different countries as sources of horse supply in time of war, and the best means of making use of those possibilities in the event of emergency arising. There are clearly many channels through which such information could be obtained. It is most surprising that no attempt should have been made by the Remount Department to utilise the services of the military attaché at Vienna in the case under consideration. We consider that in future the Remount Department should be held responsible for obtaining such information, and for keeping it up to date by systematic reference to the military attachés and to such other sources as may be available."

Naturally the subject of the report just quoted received a good deal of attention in the debates connected with a Supplementary War Estimate of 5,000,000*l.* which Mr. Brodrick brought forward on January 31, making a total of 61,070,000*l.* for the current financial year, or about 2,000,000*l.* less than the sum voted in 1900-1. In order that the committee might form an idea of the work accomplished by the War Office the War Secretary stated that on May 1, 1901, we had in South Africa 138,000 Regulars, 58,000 Colonials, 23,000 Yeomanry, 20,000 Militia, 10,000 Volunteers—in all nearly 250,000 men. On January 1, 1902, there were 141,000 Regulars in Africa, 57,000 Colonials, 13,650 Yeomanry, 20,000 Militiamen, and 5,400 Volunteers—a total of more than 237,000 men. So the

¹ The date given in the evidence on which this statement was based was afterwards corrected by the witness to 1896.

force had been maintained throughout the year at practically the same figure. As to remounts, 129,000 horses were landed in Africa in 1901, and a very large number of horses were purchased out there. The supplies of horses and men had been kept up fully and regularly from the first. Including the men employed in the remount establishment as drivers and in other capacities 280,000 men had been fed daily last year, and 208,000 horses and mules and 30,000 oxen. In addition we had in our hands 27,000 Boer prisoners and 150,000 of the Boer population. During part of the year the expenditure was 5,500,000*l.* a month, but now it had been reduced by 1,000,000*l.*, and steps had been taken to secure a further reduction.

Mr. Brodrick declared that all the information in his possession showed that the blockhouse system had had excellent results. A large portion of the country had been freed from the ravages of war. In the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal the safety of the railways was now practically secured, and in Johannesburg there had been a large resumption of industry. There were in only three localities large bands of the enemy, probably of about 2,000 each, under Generals De Wet, Louis Botha and Delarey respectively, still to be dealt with. The policy of Lord Kitchener was to bring these forces into action, and the extension of the blockhouse system would make it difficult for them to avoid coming to close quarters indefinitely. He expressed great appreciation of the immense efforts made by our mounted troops, who had undertaken marches of prodigious length with unflinching spirit and perseverance. He assured the House and the country that the Government were not likely to slacken their efforts to provide Lord Kitchener with all that was necessary to finish the operations.

In the course of the subsequent debate, Sir C. Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire*) pointed out that in regard to remounts the charge against the Government was that numbers of horses sent out had died or had proved unserviceable. Our officers, he said, still complained of the quality and condition of the remounts—a statement subsequently corroborated by Mr. W. Churchill (*Oldham*).

Sir J. B. Maple (*Dulwich, Camberwell*) having denied that he had ever made allegations against the honour of British officers, Mr. C. Hobhouse (*Bristol, E.*), a member of the committee on horse purchase in Austria-Hungary, stated that while there was no evidence whatever that the officers concerned in the purchase of horses had accepted any bribes, the price paid for the horses was excessive, and the quality of the animals purchased was doubtful. The Remount Department, he held, was probably understaffed, and its business was managed unsatisfactorily. Later on Lord Stanley (*West Houghton, Lancs*) deprecated attacks which had been made on the Inspector-General of Remounts (Major-General Truman), as the transactions of which complaint was made had not been carried out

by him, but by the Yeomanry Committee. The proposals about to be made by the War Office would, he believed, prevent the recurrence of any similar breakdown in the future. The Government were now sending out horses in advance of the actual requirements, and the animals had a month's rest before they went into the field. Several Conservative Members, by no means satisfied, expressed strong opinions as to the incompetence of the Remount Department and its head; and Mr. Brodrick subsequently admitted that General Truman's connection with the matters in question would have to be carefully considered, though there was no suggestion that he had done anything unworthy. Mr. James Lowther (*Thanet, Kent*) severely blamed the committee for trying to palliate the conduct of Captain Hartigan in accepting a commission of 2½ per cent. on the horses which he passed, and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman regretted that he should have been reinstated in the public service. Mr. Brodrick thought it possible that Captain Hartigan had been re-employed because veterinary surgeons were very much wanted at the present moment. A reduction which Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) had moved was negatived by 106 to 75, and the vote ultimately carried by 159 to 56.

On the report of the vote (Feb. 3) Mr. Brodrick laid stress on the fact that at the time when the Hungarian horse purchases were made the pressure at the War Office was very great. The department, he said, was often urged to entrust work to the hands of business men, and this was what Lord Lansdowne did when he invited six or seven gentlemen of experience to undertake the equipment of the Yeomanry and provide the necessary horses. It was the Yeomanry Committee that entered into the contract which had been condemned, and which he was not going to defend. The Yeomanry Committee, Mr. Brodrick observed, gave the contract to a Mr. Lewison, who took out with him to Hungary a veterinary surgeon, Captain Hartigan, who was to receive a commission of 2½ per cent., not on each horse passed, but on the whole number. Subsequently Captain Hartigan arranged to receive a payment for his expedition to Hungary of 2½ guineas per day, thus becoming Mr. Lewison's paid agent. The Yeomanry Committee sent Colonel Maclean to inspect the horses, and he discharged his duty well. When the work appeared to be nearing its end the veterinary surgeon, Captain Webb, who had gone out with Colonel Maclean, had to sail for South Africa, and Colonel Maclean had to replace him. Captain Hartigan was on the spot, and Colonel Maclean suggested that he should be engaged. He did not think Colonel Maclean was well advised to employ the man who had been in the service of the contractor. Neither was the Yeomanry Committee well advised to allow Colonel Maclean to employ Captain Hartigan. Colonel Maclean and Colonel St. Quintin had retired from the service and could not be censured, if they deserved

censure, by the Commander-in-Chief. Captain Hartigan's position would have to be considered. For his appointment as veterinary surgeon at Aldershot the Inspector-General of Remounts was not responsible. He would make further inquiries into the case of Captain Hartigan, who affirmed that he explained fully what his position was to Colonel Maclean.

Turning to the attacks upon General Truman, Mr. Brodrick again pointed out that the Inspector-General of Remounts had nothing to do with the Hungarian contract, and that he was not consulted about it by the Yeomanry Committee; nor was he responsible in any way for the employment of Captain Hartigan in Hungary. While no imputations had been made upon the honour and honesty of General Truman, his capacity had been subjected to serious criticism. He announced that he had received from the general a letter in which he asked for a court of inquiry into the conduct of his department during the whole of the war. There would be a military court of inquiry, and its report would be presented to Parliament. An inquiry would also be held in South Africa into the quality of the horses recently shipped from Hungary.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) said that there was an uneasy feeling in the country with regard to the purchase of horses elsewhere than in Hungary, and urged the Government to appoint a strong and independent committee to inquire into the whole subject. Mr. Balfour allowed that the question could not be left where it was, but it would be insanity to have an inquiry at this particular moment, because many of the men who would have to give evidence were in South Africa. Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*), however, complained that the tax-payer had been mulcted unnecessarily to the extent of 10*l.* or 12*l.* a horse, and were then told that it was unfair and ungenerous to attempt to fix the responsibility. Several supporters of the Government also urged that there ought to be an interim inquiry into the remount question, and Mr. Lee (*Fareham, Hants*) mentioned facts which might well have seemed inconceivable. He said that he, being military attaché at Washington at the time, was not informed that there was any intention of buying horses in the United States for South Africa. He learned from American newspapers that British officers had been sent to buy horses, but he was not informed who they were nor asked to give them such assistance as his position implied he was competent to give. At the time he had the opportunity, through the good will of a high official, of getting the services of the chief horse expert of the United States Army as adviser, and he cabled the suggestion to the War Office, but received no reply. In the end the Supplementary War Vote was confirmed by 226 to 64.

On the same evening, as a means of giving Mr. Caine (*Camborne, Cornwall*) an opportunity of stating his views on the subject, Lord G. Hamilton (*Ealing, Middlesex*), Secretary for

India, formally moved a resolution approving the recommendations made in the report of the Famine Commission of 1901 for the benefit of the agricultural population of India. Mr. Caine dwelt on the poverty of the people and the indebtedness of the cultivators, contending that the poverty was increasing, and that the measures suggested by the Famine Commission would act as palliatives only. The questions of rack-renting and the power of the money-lender it left untouched. He advocated an efficient system of irrigation and a general readjustment of rents; also the reduction of the military establishment. Lord G. Hamilton denied that the people were becoming poorer. Every branch of revenue, except land revenue, was increasing. There was a surplus this year, and another was expected next year. The indebtedness of the cultivators was not due to rack-rents or over-assessment, but rather to the fact that under the present system of land tenure the cultivators possessed a valuable asset which they could alienate. It was also due to the legal facilities accorded to money-lenders for enforcing their claims; as to that, we had, perhaps, been in too great a hurry to introduce Western ideas into an Eastern country. It was only in favoured districts that irrigation would prevent drought. Sir E. Vincent (*Exeter*) expressed himself as satisfied by facts connected with the recent famine that the distress of the Indian people in times of famine was not due, as had been alleged, to a high assessment of land tax. He looked forward, he said, with great interest to the establishment of agricultural banks and to the restriction of the power of alienation among the ryots.

On the same evening, in the Lords, Lord Raglan (Under-Secretary for War), replying to Lord Carrington, said the arrangements for the supply of meat to the army in South Africa had hitherto been made by the military authorities on the spot. With regard to the new contract with Mr. Bergl (made here), Mr. Brodrick had received from the firm an undertaking that, as far as possible, the meat should be obtained from Australia and New Zealand in preference to Argentina. It would be seen, therefore, that there were no grounds for the protests from New South Wales and New Zealand. On the contrary, everything had been done that could reasonably be done to encourage the supply of meat from the British Colonies.

It may be added here that on February 6 Mr. Brodrick stated, in reply to a question, that the military court of inquiry, for which General Truman had applied, would be held as soon as possible, but that there could be no general inquiry into the question of remounts until the pressure on the Remount Department had abated. In answer to another question, the War Secretary stated the conclusion he had come to with regard to Mr. Hartigan, who examined horses for the Yeomanry Committee at the request of Colonel Maclean, and received a commission from the contractors. Mr. Hartigan re-affirmed that

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he had fully explained his position to Colonel Maclean. That officer's recollection did not altogether confirm this; but whatever the correct version, Mr. Brodrick held that Mr. Hartigan, in this and other matters, had acted very inadvisedly, to say the least; and he had decided that Mr. Hartigan's temporary employment as civil veterinary surgeon at Aldershot must terminate.

In the House of Lords (Feb. 13) Lord Tweedmouth, in calling attention to the Report of the Committee on Horse Purchase in Hungary, observed that, in his opinion, Mr. Hartigan's conduct was the "least open to reprobation of all." He maintained that what came out from the evidence was that in every case the Government, whether buying through the Yeomanry Committee or by the War Office, paid for the horses a great deal more than they were worth, and he held that wherever in the world—the United States, Argentina, Italy and at home—the Government had gone to buy horses, similar facts could be elicited if a proper inquiry were instituted. There ought, he urged, to be a full and unfettered inquiry. Lord Lonsdale, who had been commissioned for a short time in the winter of 1899-1900 to obtain horses for the War Office, and who complained that he had been cavalierly treated by them, said that the Remount Department had been for many years the laughing-stock of the world, and would remain so so long as the present system lasted. Lord Rosebery made a vigorous speech in support of the view that there ought to be an immediate and searching inquiry. Lord Lansdowne maintained that there was sufficient evidence of a responsible kind as to the generally satisfactory character of the Hungarian remounts to set against all the opinions of disappointed horse-dealers, hotel servants and other such-like people. With regard to the amount of general information possessed by the Remount Department, on which Sir Charles Welby's Committee had made some strong observations, Lord Lansdowne said that in July, 1899, officers were sent to Italy, Spain, the United States and Australia, to make inquiries as to the best sources of horse supply. He also strenuously denied the frequently repeated allegation that there had been a general statement on the part of the War Office early in the war that unmounted men were preferred from the Colonies. At the same time he fully admitted that one of the lessons of the war had been that the Remount Department "should be placed on a footing better adapted to cope with a great emergency." The public welcomed this and similar official acknowledgments, but not with entire confidence.

At this point in the year's history must be mentioned the singular episode of the attempt of the Dutch Government to bring about negotiations for peace between the British Government and the Boer delegates in Europe. It has been seen that when during the debate on the Address Ministers were asked if

they had received proposals in the direction of peace negotiations from the Dutch Prime Minister, Baron de Kuyper, who was then, or had just been, paying a visit to London, they replied in the negative. On January 25, however, as a Parliamentary paper issued on February 4 showed, the British Foreign Secretary received from the Dutch Minister at the Court of St. James's, Baron Gericke, an *aide-mémoire*, setting forth the difficulties by which the Boer authorities in Europe and South Africa were hampered and the stoppage of the war hindered. They could not deliberate together, they were mutually ignorant of each other's position, and in the case of the Boer delegates were bound by their letters of credence, dating from before the occupation of Bloemfontein. Accordingly Queen Wilhelmina's Ministers, offering their good offices with a view to facilitating the opening of negotiations, proposed that the British Government should grant safe-conducts to the Boer delegates, enabling them to proceed to South Africa for a definite period and then return to Europe with full powers for the conclusion of a treaty of peace. The Dutch Government would then place them in communication with British plenipotentiaries.

Lord Lansdowne's reply was dated January 29. It stated that while they entirely appreciated the motives of humanity which had led the Dutch Government to make their proposal, his Majesty's Government felt that they must adhere to their previously announced decision, that it was not their intention to accept the intervention of any foreign Power in the South African war. Should the Boer delegates themselves desire to lay a request for safe conduct before his Majesty's Government there was no reason why they should not do so. But it was not clear that the delegates retained any influence over the representatives of the Boers in South Africa, or had any voice in their councils. It was understood that all powers of government were now completely vested in Mr. Steyn for the Boers of the Orange River Colony and in Mr. Schalk Burger for those of the Transvaal. If this was so it was evident that the quickest and most satisfactory means of arranging a settlement would be by direct communication between the leaders of the Boer forces and his Majesty's Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, and the Government had decided that if the Boer leaders desired to negotiate for the purpose of bringing the war to an end the negotiations must take place, not in Europe, but in South Africa.

Lord Lansdowne's reply was received with very general approval among his countrymen, and its combined courtesy and reasonableness even secured a large amount of recognition on the Continent. On February 5, speaking at a dinner given in his honour by the Junior Constitutional Club, Lord Salisbury, while paying homage to the friendly feeling of the Dutch Government, said he could not imagine what was their precise object in the action they had taken. They had no authority

from the enemies of England residing on the Continent, who at once declared the suggestion perfectly absurd. The Premier supposed that more probably a small section of "pro-Boers" resident in England were responsible for this curious step. The present was a time when people should think more of the suggestions of their intellect than of the suggestions of their emotions. What was the aim of the sacrifices of blood and treasure that had persistently been made? He would say, as Pitt had answered a similar question: "What we have to seek is security."

"You must consider," proceeded Lord Salisbury, "the feelings and the interests of the loyal men in South Africa who have borne so much and risked so much for the sake of the Empire to which they belong; and when you have fully regarded their feelings you must bear in mind that all the constituent parts of the Empire are looking upon the work you are carrying through, and it depends whether the result is such as they can admire, or whether it gives them no opportunity for the existence of that emotion—it must depend on that whether the result of this very trying three or four years that we have passed through, whether that will tend to strengthen the great Empire to which we belong, and to extend and increase the devotion which has grown with every year among the various Colonies of the Crown."

Turning from the South African question, the Premier went on to say that when that obstacle had passed away the maintenance of the position in Ireland would still remain as a task for the Unionist party. The leaders of the Nationalist party had lately expressed themselves in language more bitter than had ever fallen from the lips of O'Connell or Parnell. Unionists, he strongly maintained, must not relax their efforts.

A resolution in favour of the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales moved (Feb. 4), in an earnest and impressive speech by Mr. W. Jones (*Arfon, Carnarvon*), and, of course, strongly opposed by the Government, for whom Mr. Ritchie (*Croydon*), Home Secretary, spoke, was defeated, but only by 218 to 177. The remarkable smallness of the majority appeared, however, to be due partly to the slackness of some Ministerialists in regard to a debate which they did not look upon as very serious, and partly to the division being taken unexpectedly early.

A disagreeable incident occurred (Feb. 8) in connection with the second reading of the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill. In the debate the views of the opponents of the Bill as to the dangers with which it threatened the sanctity of the marriage tie, and the purity of family life, had been expressed with much eloquence and even passion by Lord Hugh Cecil (*Greenwich*), while, as in the previous year, the case for the measure was gravely and impressively argued by Sir H. Fowler (*Wolverhampton, E.*). A hostile amendment having been defeated by the decisive majority of 246 to 125, a division was called on the

main question of the second reading, and would just have been got through in ordinary circumstances before half-past five—the hour after which on Wednesdays, under the old rules, opposed business could not be proceeded with—in time to allow of the putting of the question that the Bill be referred to the Standing Committee on Law. That question could only have been then determined if the Speaker had immediately allowed the closure upon it, and it was very doubtful whether he would have done so. But, in order to make sure against such a contingency, some of the opponents of the Bill deliberately loitered in the “No” lobby. This was reported to the Chair by Sir B. Gurdon (*Norfolk, N.*), one of the tellers for the Bill, and the Speaker expressed his regret at the occurrence. The second reading was carried by a majority of 125, the numbers being 249 to 124, but the hour of half-past five having passed, no further progress could be made that day. A good deal of indignation was felt and expressed among Members of Parliament and in the Press at the loitering manoeuvre, which, indeed, was generally recognised as being altogether at variance with the best Parliamentary traditions, and as opening up alarming new possibilities of obstruction. No time was found for the consideration of the Bill in Committee of the whole House during the remainder of the session.

A general debate on the new procedure rules proposed by the Government occupied the sittings of February 6 and 7. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*), First Lord of the Treasury, having formally moved that the new rules be considered by the whole House, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) submitted an amendment asking that they should be referred to a select committee. He urged that it ought not to be forgotten that the House was the Grand Inquest of the nation, and not a mere factory of statutes, and that efficiency in the latter capacity would be dearly bought if it entailed, as under the new rules he suggested might be the case, the sacrifice of the right of eliciting information from Ministers, and so of exercising control over the policy of the Executive. The mere social or personal requirements of Members, he argued, ought not to weigh much. Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*), Colonial Secretary, pointed out in reply that when in 1882 Mr. Gladstone brought in drastic proposals for the reform of procedure, they were considered in Committee of the whole House. The Government, he reminded the Leader of the Opposition, were the servants of the majority of the House for the time being, and could not, even if they desired it, disregard the wishes of that majority. It was essential, he further maintained, to take effective steps for the protection of order in the House. He defended on public grounds the wisdom of consulting the convenience of Members. Mr. Chamberlain also maintained that the time spent on questions to Ministers might be greatly reduced without any loss to the public interest. Mr. J. Red-

mond (*Waterford*) maintained that the Parliamentary machine was attempting to do a great deal too much. The proposed new rules therefore would not restore Parliamentary efficiency. To that end devolution was necessary. As to the punitive part of the proposed rules, Mr. Redmond said that no penalties would deter the Irish Nationalists from making in the House necessary and dignified protests against the oppression of their country. They would scorn to apologise for doing so, and therefore the new rules pointed to the disfranchisement of Ireland.

A good deal of unfavourable criticism of the new rules was offered by Independent Ministerialists like Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincs*), Mr. J. Lowther (*Isle of Thanet, Kent*), Mr. V. Gibbs (*St. Albans, Herts*), and Mr. Bowles (*King's Lynn*). The last-named speaker appealed to the Tory party not to sanction the new rules on the ground that they would put it in the power of the Radicals to effect violent constitutional changes whenever they obtained a majority. Mr. A. Elliot (*Durham*), on the other hand, gave a general support to the rules as necessary for a reasonable economy of Parliamentary time. Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*) feared that the Government scheme would unduly aggrandise the power of the Executive. Questions were now rightly given the foremost place in their proceedings, as the right of interrogating Ministers at the commencement of public business was a matter of vital importance. The authority of the House would be further impaired by the postponement of motions for adjournment till the evening sitting. Sir A. Rollit (*Islington, S.*) argued that the only effective way of overcoming obstruction was to remove the motive for obstruction by enabling measures which had reached a certain stage to be carried over to the next session of the same Parliament. Mr. Balfour did not believe that anything could be gained by sending the scheme to a select committee. The greatest change ever introduced into their procedure—namely, the closure—was made without any such preliminary. One object of the Government in framing these rules was to enable Members to fulfil their duties without sacrificing all their comfort; another was to enable great debates to be conducted in a regular manner. That the rules would allay obstruction or supply the Government with more opportunities for legislation he had never pretended. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's amendment was negatived by 250 to 160, and the original motion agreed to.

The consideration of the new procedure rules in detail began on February 10, when Mr. Balfour moved to embody the following words in the standing orders: "At the commencement of every Parliament, or from time to time, as necessity may arise, the House may appoint a deputy-chairman, who shall, whenever the House is informed of the unavoidable absence of the Chairman of Ways and Means, be entitled to exercise all the

powers vested in the Chairman of Ways and Means, including his power as Deputy-Speaker." Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*) moved that the deputy-chairman should not have the power of granting the closure or of naming a Member for disregarding the ruling of the chair. This amendment was rejected by 242 votes to 122, and on the following day Mr. Balfour's resolution as to the appointment of a deputy-chairman was carried by 275 votes to 91.

The new rules bearing on the prevention of Parliamentary disorder were then taken up. In this connection the leading proposal of the Government was an alteration in the standing orders which would have the effect that the several periods of suspension for disregarding the authority of the chair should be increased to twenty, forty, and eighty days during which the House sat, that the period of suspension should extend over a prorogation, and that it should continue, in addition to the appointed time, till the Member incurring such penalty had "written a letter to the Speaker expressing his sincere regret to the House for the offence for which he had been suspended." This proposition was discussed through almost all the sitting of February 11 and part of that of February 13. It very soon became evident that among the Ministerialists, as well as on the Liberal, and, of course, the Nationalist, benches, strong objection was entertained to some features of the proposed rule, partly on account of the severity of the suggested penalties, but still more because of the suggested exaction of an apology—which might be insincere—from offending Members. So strong and widespread were the feelings expressed on this head that on February 17 Mr. Balfour announced certain modifications. Offending Members, he now suggested, should not be asked to express "sincere regret," but only to make "adequate apology"—the Speaker to be the sole judge of the adequacy. Another important modification of a different character in the proposed rule was intended to guard against a Member's resignation of his seat, and, as might be likely enough to happen in some cases, his re-election without having purged his offence. These changes were so considerable that Mr. Balfour ultimately consented, on the suggestion of Mr. J. Redmond, that the discussion of the suspension rule should be adjourned, while the House should proceed with the consideration of the other proposed new rules. On the same evening, February 17, by 222 votes to 81, a new standing order was adopted to the effect that "in the case of grave disorder arising in the House," the Speaker might, if he thought it necessary to take that step, without question put "suspend any sitting for a time to be named by him." By 219 to 136 votes the House previously rejected an amendment withholding this new power from the chairman or deputy-chairman of Ways and Means when acting as Speaker. A new rule was then moved on behalf of Mr. Balfour, enabling a Member to present a Bill without an order

of the House for its introduction, and providing that a Bill so presented should be deemed to have been read a first time. A proviso excluding Bills presented by the Government from the operation of this rule was negatived by 221 to 151 votes, and the rule carried.

The consideration of the procedure rules was continued on February 18, when those relating to the sittings of the House were taken up. A good deal was said as to the probable effect of the new arrangements on the opportunities of private Members. Sir C. Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Glouc.*) held that these would be seriously curtailed. Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*), on the other hand, considered that private Members would rather gain by the change. Sir H. Fowler (*Wolverhampton, E.*) thought that they would at any rate suffer no loss, but he did not believe that the new scheme would conduce to the more efficient transaction of business, and he appealed to the Government—as, with much earnestness, did Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincs*)—not to make procedure a party question. Mr. Balfour declined to accede to the request that Ministers should forbear to influence their supporters. Eventually it was resolved, by 230 to 112, to strike out of the old order the direction that the House should meet on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays at three o'clock. On the motion to insert in lieu thereof the words, “The House shall meet every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday at two of the clock for an afternoon sitting, and at nine of the clock for an evening sitting,” Mr. L. Hardy (*Ashford, Kent*) moved as an amendment to leave out the words “Wednesday and”. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) supported the amendment. So also, when the debate was resumed on February 20, did Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*), Sir H. Fowler (*Wolverhampton, E.*) and several Conservatives, including Sir F. Dixon-Hartland (*Uxbridge, Middlesex*), Mr. G. Bowles (*King's Lynn*) and Mr. J. Lowther (*Isle of Thanet, Kent*). Mr. Balfour's proposal, however, was strongly supported on the Ministerial benches by Mr. Macartney (*Antrim, S.*), Sir F. Milner (*Bassetlaw, Notts*) and Mr. Randles (*Cockermouth, Cumberland*)—who pointed out that it would facilitate visits by Members to their constituents at a distance—and by Mr. Labouchere, from the other side.

In the course of a general reply, Mr. Balfour declined to consent to leave this an open question. The convenience of Members was, no doubt, one of the considerations that had led the Government to propose that the business now taken on Wednesdays should in future be taken on Fridays; but it was by no means the paramount motive for their action. The difficulty which they had foreseen was that of obtaining a representative attendance in Committee of Supply on Friday evenings at nine o'clock. It would not be creditable to conduct the business of Supply in very thin Houses, and, therefore, the Government did not think it right to allocate Friday evenings for the dis-

cussion of the Estimates. The fears of Members who thought it would be difficult to keep a House on Friday afternoons if private Members' Bills were taken at those sittings, were, he believed, greatly exaggerated. Touching upon the question of the convenience of the new arrangement, he reminded the House that in recent years the custom of taking a holiday at the end of the week had largely extended among all classes of the community, and he held that it would be folly for the House to ignore this change in our social habits. He admitted that there was some weight in the argument that long sittings for four consecutive days might put a certain strain upon Ministers, the officials of the House, and Members who were constant in their attendance; but he pointed out that they must set against this the advantage of a fixed interval of an hour for dinner. He mentioned that on fuller consideration the Government did not mean to press their new rule with regard to the immediate reference to Grand Committees of Bills of certain classes after being read a second time.

The amendment was negatived, on a division in which there was a good deal of cross-voting, by 263 to 166. Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*) then moved that the House should continue to meet at three, instead of two, o'clock. Two King's Counsel, Mr. Duke (*Plymouth*) and Mr. Lawson Walton (*Leeds, S.*), pleaded for the retention of the old hour of meeting in the interest of lawyers whose work necessitated their presence in court till four o'clock, but the amendment was negatived by 256 to 109. Another amendment, moved by Mr. Broadhurst (*Leicester*), for a continuous sitting from two to eleven, and no later, was supported by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, but negatived (after the application of the closure) by 212 to 105. The further consideration of the new rules was deferred, partly in consequence of the indisposition of Mr. Balfour, till after Easter.

In the meantime the attention of the country had been much less occupied by the reform of Parliamentary procedure than by questions relating to the position of Great Britain in the Far East. In this connection the public mind was subjected to somewhat sharp oscillations of emotion within a very few days. On February 10, in both Houses, the sufficiently startling admission was made that the position of Wei-hai-wei—secured ostensibly as a counter-weight to the acquisition of Port Arthur by Russia—was from a military and naval point of view worthless. A question having been asked on the subject by Lord Spencer in the House of Lords, Lord Onslow, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, said that the idea of fortifying the place—which could only be done at enormous cost and with doubtful advantage—had been abandoned. The Chinese regiment maintained there would be gradually disbanded or withdrawn, and the administration would be in civilian hands. Since January 1 Wei-hai-wei had been under the control of

the Colonial Office. There was no idea of returning it to China or of making it over to any other Power. The place was a useful one for small arms practice and experiments in naval gunnery; it would also serve as a sanatorium for our forces in the Far East.

In the House of Commons, where a similar Ministerial statement was made, no discussion took place. In the Lords, however, Lord Rosebery could not be expected to refrain from twitting Ministers with the change in their tone respecting this possession. He remembered the flourish of trumpets with which its acquisition was announced, and now it turned out that we had only obtained a second-class watering-place. Viscount Goschen had listened with some surprise to the statement of the Under-Secretary for the Colonies. There could be no doubt that Wei-hai-wei occupied a most important position in the Gulf of Pe-chi-li, and exhaustive inquiries were made as to its capacities at the time that the lease was taken. He wished to know whether the decision not to fortify it was based on financial or strategical considerations. The Earl of Selborne (First Lord of the Admiralty) said that the decision had been arrived at on purely strategical considerations. There was an extraordinary concurrence of naval opinion in favour of the course which his Majesty's Government had adopted.

Without doubt, if the announcement with regard to Wei-hai-wei had stood alone, the country would have been in the presence of a Ministerial acknowledgment that Great Britain now occupied a position of distinct disadvantage as compared with Russia in the Far East. Within two days, however, another announcement followed which put an entirely different complexion on the whole situation. On February 12 England and the world knew that there was an Anglo-Japanese alliance. The convention embodying it had been signed on January 30 by Lord Lansdowne and Baron Hayashi, the Japanese Minister in London. It set forth that the two Governments, actuated solely by a desire to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the extreme East, and being specially interested in maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of the Empires of China and Corea, and in securing equal opportunities in those countries for the commerce and industry of all nations, agreed as follows:—

“The High Contracting Parties having mutually recognised the independence of China and of Corea declare themselves to be entirely uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies in either country. Having in view, however, their special interests, of which those of Great Britain relate principally to China, while Japan, in addition to the interests which she possesses in China, is interested in a peculiar degree politically, as well as commercially and industrially, in Corea, the High Contracting Parties recognise that it will be admissible for either of them to take such measures as may be indispensable in order to

safeguard those interests if threatened either by the aggressive action of any other Power, or by disturbances arising in China or Corea, and necessitating the intervention of either of the High Contracting Parties for the protection of the lives and property of its subjects.

"II. If either Great Britain or Japan, in the defence of their respective interests as above described, should become involved in war with another Power, the other High Contracting Party will maintain a strict neutrality, and use its efforts to prevent other Powers from joining in hostilities against its ally.

"III. If in the above event any other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against that ally, the other High Contracting Party will come to its assistance and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

"IV. The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the interests above described.

"V. Whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, the above-mentioned interests are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly."

Article VI. provides that the agreement shall come into effect at once and remain in force five years, and, if not denounced at the end of the fourth year, till a year after being denounced by either party. "But if, when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either ally is actually engaged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded."

The general attitude of public opinion towards the Japanese alliance was, without doubt, cordially favourable. For several years the Japanese nation had enjoyed an exceptionally large measure of British sympathy, and while it was recognised that such engagements as those into which we had entered with them were at variance with the recent traditions of our foreign policy, the prevailing feeling was that there was an effective community of interests between the two countries. That being so, while there were competent students of public affairs whose view, earnestly expressed in the *Spectator*, was that the risks involved were too serious, and that British policy had been placed too much at the mercy of Japan, the greatly preponderating opinion was that by a bold and original piece of diplomacy the position and prestige of this country had been materially benefited in a region where we could not afford to allow them to decline. Striking evidence of the prevalence of this feeling among the upper classes—to whom, however, there was no reason for supposing that it was at all peculiar—appeared in the loud cheers with which, contrary to the usually undemonstrative habits of the Peers, the Foreign Secretary was greeted on entering the House of Lords on February 13. At that sitting Lord Spencer asked if further papers were to be laid before

Parliament respecting the Anglo-Japanese agreement. He said that he felt strongly that we ought not to enter into offensive and defensive alliances, which were contrary to the settled policy of this country, without urgent reasons for doing so; and he was not aware that any such reasons had been shown. Lord Lansdowne replied that no more papers would be produced. The agreement spoke for itself, and it would not be advisable to publish documents referring to the negotiations. He could not allow that the Government were necessarily to blame if they abandoned a traditional policy of isolation. A country must have an extraordinary amount of self-sufficiency which could take upon itself to say without reservation that all foreign alliances were to be avoided. The question in any given case should be whether the alliance was desirable and the price paid for it reasonable. The present treaty had been concluded in the interests of peace. Japan could well hold her own in combat with a single Power, but if she were attacked by more than one she would be in imminent peril; and against a coalition of Powers we meant to protect her. That being so, we could not avow our policy too frankly or too distinctly. The agreement would not only make for peace, but should peace unfortunately be broken, it would tend to restrict the area within which hostilities were likely to take place.

Lord Rosebery said that his first impression was favourable to the treaty, and he could only express his surprise that the Government had not come to some such understanding long ago. He wished to know whether the phrase "territorial integrity of the Empire of China" comprehended Manchuria, and whether the change of policy in regard to Wei-hai-wei was in any way connected with the signature of the treaty. Lord Lansdowne answered that his Majesty's Government had never doubted that Manchuria formed part of the Chinese Empire, and the phrase must be held to include Manchuria. He would not undertake to say that some of his colleagues might not have been consciously or unconsciously influenced in respect to the modification of former intentions regarding Wei-hai-wei by the knowledge that the treaty was impending.

In the Commons, on the same day, Lord Cranborne (*Rochester*), Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said, in reply to questions, that the substance of the Anglo-Japanese agreement had been communicated before publication to the United States Government, which had as yet expressed no opinion upon it, and also to the German Government. The Anglo-German agreement was still in force. Mr. Norman (*Wolverhampton, S.*) having obtained leave to move the adjournment of the House to call attention to the subject, expressed the fear that the agreement might, under certain circumstances, involve us in a war with France and Russia, and that it would tie British policy hard and fast to the wheels of Japanese policy. It was believed that Japan and Russia had been preparing for war for

some time, and it could not be denied that the treaty was aimed at Russia. That he regarded as unfortunate at a time when many influential politicians were hoping to bring about a better understanding with Russia, whose friendly attitude towards us throughout the South African war deserved recognition. In reply, Lord Cranborne said that the agreement had not been conceived in an aggressive spirit. The principles of the "open door" and of the territorial integrity of China had been laid down in several previous public documents, and accepted by almost all the Powers. Those two principles and the recognition of Japan's special interests in Corea, which were admitted by Russia in 1898, were the three main foundations of the agreement. Some foreign countries were disposed to resort to a policy of spheres of influence in China, and that we regarded as objectionable. Lord Cranborne pointed out that it was only when either party to the alliance was the subject of aggression from two Powers in combination that the obligation on the other to fight would come into effect, and that whether or not such aggression had been suffered would be a question for the ally so called upon. He added that all through the difficulties in China we had acted in cordial agreement with the United States, and expressed his conviction that the agreement would be fully approved by the American Government.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman took the same line as Lord Spencer in regard to the treaty, holding that no sufficient cause had been shown for an engagement which would expose us to far more serious risks than Japan would be likely to incur. This country desired to associate itself with Japan while maintaining friendly relations with Russia; and it seemed to him that, as the present position of affairs in China was admitted to be satisfactory, an interchange of diplomatic notes would have been enough for all our purposes. Mr. Balfour did not think that an interchange of notes would have had the effect desired. Like Lord Lansdowne, he insisted that the alliance made for peace. Sir W. Harcourt said that by agreeing to this treaty the Government were staking upon the throw of a die the peace and future of our Indian Empire. Speeches were made in cordial approval of the agreement by Sir. H. Vincent (*Sheffield, Central*), Mr. J. Walton (*Barnsley, W. R. Yorks*), Lord Percy (*Kensington, S.*) and Mr. Macdonald (*Rotherhithe*), and the motion for adjournment was withdrawn.

On the same day, February 13, Mr. Chamberlain was presented at the Guildhall with the address (already referred to) from the City Corporation, eulogising his Imperial statesmanship. He met with a remarkable welcome, the gathering including nearly all the members of the Cabinet and leading representatives of every phase of City life. He acknowledged the honour done him in an impressive speech, in which he laid stress on the fact that the war had been supported by the

conscience of the nation as a whole, and by the unmistakably demonstrated approbation of our sister nations across the sea. The issue in it, lying behind all others, had been "the maintenance of our position in South Africa, and our Imperial existence." For those objects, for which already so great a price had been paid, we were pledged to continue to the end, to be steadfast till our position had been finally established. A step towards Imperial consolidation had been taken, and it was essential that we should not "ignore the opinion of these allies of our blood, or compromise the issue for which they and we have fought." At a Mansion House luncheon which followed, Mr. Balfour observed that while it was quite true that, as Mr. Chamberlain had said, they were that day paying homage to a principle, that principle was embodied for them, and he thought rightly embodied, in the personality of the Secretary for the Colonies.

In the latter half of February there was a considerable evolution of activity on the part of private Members of both Houses, in the sphere of social and economic reform; but the results, for the most part, were not, at least immediately, of a substantial character. The doctrine of the liability of the "unearned increment" in the value of landed property to special taxation was exhibited on the Urban Site Value Rating Bill, the second reading of which was moved (Feb. 19) by Mr. Trevelyan (*Sowerby Bridge, W. R. Yorks*), who described the measure as embodying the recommendations of a memorandum signed by five members of the Local Taxation Commission, including Lord Balfour of Burleigh, its chairman. The Bill proposed to establish a special site value rate in urban districts, to be assessed on the annual value of all land, whether occupied or not, as distinct from the value of buildings. It was to be limited to 2s. in the pound and chargeable in the first instance on the persons at present liable to pay rates. Future tenants would be entitled to deduct from their rents one-half of the rate. No interference with existing contracts was contemplated.

This project was supported by the full weight of the front Opposition bench of both sections, Mr. Trevelyan being backed by Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*), who said that the Bill would remedy a great injustice; by Sir E. Grey (*Berwick, Northumberland*), who maintained that it would do something to diminish overcrowding by promoting the erection of buildings on the outskirts of towns; and by Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*), who predicted the ultimate triumph of the principle involved. Among those who opposed the Bill were Mr. Boscawen (*Tonbridge, Kent*), who said that such legislation would tempt property owners on the outskirts of towns to erect jerry-built structures, in order to avoid special rates. On behalf of the Government, Mr. Grant Lawson (*Thirsk, N. R. Yorks*) asked the House to reject the Bill as a first step in the direction of the repudiation of contracts and the spoliation of minorities. So

far from representing the views of the Secretary for Scotland (Lord Balfour), it contained provisions which he would certainly oppose. The Bill was thrown out, but only by 229 to 158, twelve Unionists voting in the minority.

On the previous afternoon (Feb. 18), in the Lords, Lord Avebury moved the second reading of the Shops (Early Closing) Bill, explaining that it proposed that two-thirds of the shopkeepers in any locality could, by memorialising the local authority, get them to issue a regulation for the time of closing of all shops, with the exception of one or two classes. Lord Avebury pointed out that the Bill had a very large amount of support from the classes of shop assistants and of tradesmen, that the House of Commons had unanimously voted its principle, and that it was urgently needed to put a stop to the very excessive hours which a select committee of the Lords had in 1901 found to prevail, and declared to be "grievously injurious to health." Lord Wemyss having moved the rejection of the Bill, Lord Belper, for the Government, opposed it point-blank. Lord Salisbury (who was unable to be present) had secured the inclusion in the report of the select committee of a recommendation that Town Councils should be authorised to "pass provisional orders making such regulations in respect of the closing of shops as may seem to them to be necessary," and Lord Belper laid great stress on the difference between this recommendation and the provisions of the Bill before the House. The difference, however, certainly seemed, as Lord Spencer said, to be merely a matter of detail, and Lord Avebury intimated his readiness to accept the safeguard desired by Lord Salisbury, in the retention of Parliamentary control, through the local regulations being passed in the form of provisional orders. The Bishop of Winchester earnestly supported the Bill. Its rejection by 57 to 26 votes, with no alternative offered, reflected very little credit on either the Government or the majority of the Peers.

Much more favourable was the reception at first met with by a measure called the Factory and Workshop Act (1901) Amendment Bill, of which Lord Lytton moved the second reading in the House of Lords on February 27. Its object was to repair the mischief caused by the withdrawal of the laundry provisions from the Act in question during its passage through Parliament (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1901, pp. 178-80), a proceeding which had left the persons engaged in a large and growing industry with the confessedly inadequate protection afforded by the Act of 1895, and in the case of "institution laundries" with no protection at all. This state of things, induced by the weak surrender of the Government in presence of the opposition offered, mainly by Irish Roman Catholic Members, on behalf of the institutions in question, had caused widespread dissatisfaction among persons of all parties interested in the welfare of the working classes. Lord Lytton's Bill

proposed to secure the protection of the Factory Acts to the workers in all laundries carried on for profit (as he showed that many of the institution laundries were), except domestic ones in which only members of the resident family were employed. The Government (through Lord Belper) assented to the second reading of the Bill, which was strongly supported by the Bishops of Winchester and Rochester on behalf of those connected with great Church of England reformatory institutions, and by Lord Windsor and Lord Spencer, and the second reading was obtained without a division. Not only so, but the Bill passed through Committee without amendment (March 13), the only opposition coming from Lord Llandaff; was further considered and returned without amendment by the Standing Committee; and was read a third time on March 20. Yet, though Parliament sat for most of the rest of the year, time was never found for the consideration by the House of Commons of a reform of which the necessity was indisputably established, but only experienced by persons possessing no votes.

The subject of the excessive hours often worked on railways was raised in the House of Commons on February 25, when Captain Norton (*Newington, W.*) moved a resolution declaring that the Government should exercise their power to call for returns of the hours exceeding twelve per day worked by railway servants, and of cases where work was resumed with intervals of less than nine hours. Mr. Bell (*Derby*), secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, who seconded the motion, gave a long array of figures to show that excessive—sometimes extremely excessive—terms of continuous work were required by various companies from their men, and maintained that an increase in the number of accidents to railway workers since 1896 had been due to the increase in the number of hours worked. Mr. Jackson (*Leeds, N.*), chairman of the Great Northern Railway, pointed out that in the case of railway servants there was an important distinction between being on duty and being at work in the ordinary sense of the words, and that men were often kept on duty for a long time from causes beyond the control of railway managers. He maintained that there was no evidence of connection between accidents and long hours. Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) feared that the Act of 1893 had not been a success; for it was intended to reduce the hours of labour, and these evidently remained far too long. Mr. G. Balfour (*Leeds, Central*), President of the Board of Trade, believed that the Act had been a success. But, as ten years had elapsed since it came into operation, it might be well to obtain returns from the companies in order to compare them with those published a decade or so ago under the provisions of the Act of 1889. He would, therefore, be prepared to accept the motion if its supporters would be content with such returns as were then furnished, which had only to do with hours worked by railway

servants whose duty involved safety to trains and passengers and with cases in which work was resumed with intervals of less than eight hours. Mr. Balfour put this limitation into the form of an amendment to the resolution ; but it being then midnight the Speaker ruled that no amendment could be moved, and the original motion was carried by 151 to 144. A few Unionists voted in the majority. The Opposition, of course, cheered loudly, but the position of the Government did not appear to be impaired.

On the following day (Feb. 26) Lord C. Manners (*Melton, Leicestershire*), in a maiden speech, moved the second reading of a measure of considerable importance to the working classes, which was destined to find its way to the Statute-book, having behind it throughout its course a large measure of zealous support from persons on both sides in politics. This was the Midwives Bill, proposing to establish a central Board, consisting of four registered medical practitioners, two persons to be appointed by the President of the Council, and one person nominated by the Association of County Councils, which was to frame rules with regard to the issue of certificates to midwives and the course of training which they should undergo. It was also to provide for the restriction of the practice of midwives within due limits. Sir J. Tuke (*Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities*) moved the rejection of the Bill, mainly because it did not contain the clause of the Bill of 1900, which prevented uncertified midwives from practising—an omission which, in his opinion, rendered the present measure futile and even mischievous. Sir B. Simeon (*Southampton*) and Dr. Ambrose (*Mayo, W.*) opposed the Bill. Dr. Farquharson (*Aberdeenshire, W.*) and Sir M. Foster (*London University*) supported it. Mr. Ritchie (*Croydon*), Home Secretary, cordially approved the Bill as a modest measure attempting nothing more than to place at the service of women who required assistance at a time of peril the knowledge which would enable them to judge whether or not the person called in was trustworthy. The Bill was read a second time without a division, and referred to the Standing Committee on Law.

The interests of another section of the working classes—those employed in the pottery industry—were briefly under the view of the House of Commons on March 1. In Committee of Supply on the vote on account of 19,095,000*l.* for the Civil Service and Revenue Departments, Sir C. Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Glouc.*) called attention to the question of lead poisoning in the Potteries. He made reference particularly to the arbitration in which Lord James of Hereford acted as umpire in October, 1901, between the Home Office and the employers, with regard to certain new special rules proposed by the Home Office, restricting to a very small percentage the amount of soluble lead to be used in glazes. On this point Lord James had adjourned the arbitration for eighteen months. At the same time he gave his

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seal to an agreement between the Home Office and the employers as to certain detailed sanitary improvements where lead was used without restriction, and also suggested that in the case of manufacturers who used a particularly small amount of soluble lead in their glazes there might be exemption from rules bearing hardly upon them. Sir C. Dilke inquired if this recommendation would be acted on. Mr. Ritchie (*Croydon*), Home Secretary, denied that the case of the Department had broken down, as had been alleged by Mr. Coghill (*Stoke-upon-Trent*), on the part of the manufacturers. A certain number of special rules, he pointed out, were agreed to. The Home Office had simply failed to make out that part of their case which was concerned with the question of solubility, and the decision upon that question was deferred for eighteen months. Certain rules would now be circulated among the employers, and he trusted that many manufacturers would apply to be placed on the "golden list" of those who observed the rules.

At the instance of the Government, acting herein in pursuance of an assurance given during the debate on the Address, it was agreed without a division, in the Commons (Feb. 24), and the Lords (March 3), that a joint committee of both Houses should be appointed "to consider the standing orders relating to houses occupied by persons of the labouring class and the clauses usually inserted in private and local Bills, and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills, in pursuance thereof; and to report whether any amendments should be made in such standing orders and clauses, and especially whether any and what provision should be made for better securing the rehousing of all persons of the labouring class who may be displaced in connection with the undertakings to which the Bills relate, whether displaced under the powers given by the Bills or otherwise."

Reverting to public business on the grand scale, we may now present the annexed abstract of the Navy Estimates for 1902-3, and comparison, showing increases and decreases, with the corresponding votes for the preceding year.

At the outset of his explanatory statement accompanying the Navy Estimates, the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord Selborne) observed: "The Admiralty has been expanding concurrently with the general expansion of the Navy, and it is one of the most important duties of the Board to supervise this expansion and to see that it takes place on sound lines. The dangers to be guarded against are excessive centralisation, imperfect devolution of responsibility for details on subordinate officers, and the consequent overburdening of the higher officials who ought to reserve their strength for the main direction of administration, the consideration of principles, and improvements in the service. Most important of all, the development of the peace administration must be on such lines as make for efficient war administration." Considerable changes which had

Votes.		Net Estimate.		Difference on Net Estimates.	
		1902-3.	1901-2.	Increase.	Decrease.
		Total Numbers.	Total Numbers.	Numbers.	
A	I.—Numbers. Total Number of Officers, Seamen, Boys, Coast Guard and Royal Marines - - -	122,500	118,625	3,875	—
	II.—Effective Services.	£	£	£	£
1	Wages, etc., of Officers, Seamen and Boys, Coast Guard and Royal Marines - - -	5,962,000	5,760,000	202,000	—
2	Victualling and Clothing for the Navy - - - - -	2,023,500	1,892,300	131,200	—
3	Medical Establishments and Services - - - - -	246,500	219,000	27,500	—
4	Martial Law - - - - -	17,700	16,200	1,500	—
5	Educational Services - - -	101,700	100,600	1,100	—
6	Scientific Services - - -	65,600	65,800	—	200
7	Royal Naval Reserves - - -	286,900	292,100	—	5,200
8	Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc. :—				
	Section I.— <i>Personnel</i> - - -	2,661,500	2,684,000	—	22,500
	Section II.— <i>Matériel</i> - - -	4,812,700	5,306,500	—	493,800
	Section III.—Contract Work - - - - -	7,665,800	6,685,500	980,300	—
9	Naval Armaments - - - - -	3,356,400	3,919,700	—	563,300
10	Works, Buildings and Repairs at Home and Abroad - - -	1,100,000	1,023,100	76,900	—
11	Miscellaneous Effective Services - - -	368,000	359,500	8,500	—
12	Admiralty Office - - - - -	294,300	279,600	14,700	—
	Total Effective Services - - -	28,962,600	28,603,900	1,443,700	1,085,000
	III.—Non-effective Services.				
13	Half-pay, Reserved and Retired Pay - - - - -	782,100	790,900	—	8,800
14	Naval and Marine Pensions, Gratuities and Compassionate Allowances - - -	1,160,700	1,140,100	20,600	—
15	Civil Pensions and Gratuities - - -	350,100	340,600	9,500	—
	Total Non-effective Services - - - - -	2,292,900	2,271,600	30,100	8,800
	Grand Total - - - - -	31,255,500	30,875,500	1,473,800	1,093,800
	Net increase - - - - -			£380,000.	

NOTE.—Under an Act of the Cape of Good Hope Legislature, entitled, “The Navy Contribution Act, 1898,” a sum of £30,000 is paid annually out of the public revenue of the Colony as a contribution towards the annual expenditure by the Imperial Government in connection with his Majesty’s Naval Service.

A gift of 12,000 tons of coal for the use of his Majesty’s ships, etc., is made annually by the Natal Government. As a temporary arrangement, £1,000 a month is paid in lieu of a supply of coal.

taken place, or were in contemplation, in connection with the Controller’s Department had been designed to relieve the Controller and the Director of Naval Construction of all work extraneous to their respective spheres. The authority of admirals superintendent of dockyards had been increased and their power enlarged, with the object of diminishing the number of references to the Admiralty. “To the great regret of the Board,” said Lord



that of the active service ratings, it had been decided to appoint a committee, over which Sir E. Grey would preside, to consider how far the manning of the Navy might be supplied, and the active service ratings supplemented, by Naval Reserves. The terms of reference included among other things the proposal for the establishment of a Naval Volunteer Reserve.

Lord Selborne then proceeded to confirm his announcement in a speech in 1901 of the decision against building a new training squadron of sailing ships. Desiring "that there should be no ambiguity on this subject," said Lord Selborne, "I state plainly that the Board do not consider exercise with masts and yards to be essential for the proper training of the officers or seamen of the fleet, and that henceforth it is abandoned as a necessary part of their education after they have left the training ships. The brigs are retained for the boys in connection with the training ships, and the *Cruiser* is used in the Mediterranean as an adjunct to the training of the seamen, because practice in masts and yards is excellent both for mind and body. . . . If I am asked what is essential" (that is, as a factor in the sea-training of the modern naval officer or seaman), "I would reply all sea knowledge which is necessary for the management of modern vessels of war and their boats under all conditions, and gunnery and torpedo work in all its branches. Further, . . . the training of the seaman should be directed towards a knowledge of the structure and machinery of a modern man-of-war, and capacity and handiness to deal with and repair it. Gunnery, however, is the most important of all, and in gunnery the emulation between his Majesty's ships is becoming very keen. But our seamen and marine gunners must be able to shoot straight at long as well as at medium ranges; they must be able to hit their target with the guns trained in any direction in which they will bear; and, above all, they must never become fair-weather gunners. Emulation, therefore, must not be allowed to lead to a restricted selection of conditions and weather for target practice."

The Board had great pleasure in announcing that her Majesty Queen Alexandra had identified herself with the Navy by consenting to become president of the Naval Nursing Service, and to give it her name. The recent changes in the conditions of service and pay of the medical officers of the Army necessitated an immediate revision of the position of the medical officers of the Navy, and fresh regulations would shortly be issued giving details of a substantial improvement of pay.

In regard to construction, the First Lord stated that all the money voted for new construction for the year 1901-2 would have been earned and spent by March 31. The amount proposed in the Estimates for 1902-3 for new construction was 9,058,000*l.*, of which 700,000*l.* would be devoted to the commencement of new vessels. The corresponding amounts for the current year were 9,003,000*l.* and 537,000*l.* respectively.

The report of the committee on past arrears in shipbuilding had only just been received and would be laid before Parliament. Lord Selborne then continued: "Between April 1, 1901, and March 31, 1902, inclusive, the following ships will have been completed and passed into the Fleet Reserve: Battleships,—*Formidable*, *Implacable*, *Irresistible*, *Bulwark*, *Vengeance*; Armoured cruisers,—*Aboukir*, *Cressy*, *Hogue*, *Sutlej*; First-class cruiser (protected),—*Spartiate*; Third-class cruiser (protected),—*Pandora*; Royal yacht,—*Victoria and Albert*; Sloops,—*Mutine*, *Rinaldo*, *Espiègle*, *Fantome*; River steamers,—*Teal* and *Moorhen*; twenty-two destroyers, four torpedo boats, five submarines.

"On April 1, 1902, there will be under construction thirteen battleships, twenty-two armoured cruisers, two second-class cruisers, two third-class cruisers, four sloops, two auxiliary vessels, ten destroyers and five torpedo boats; and it is expected that between April 1, 1902, and March 31, 1903, inclusive, the following ships will have been completed and passed into the Fleet Reserve: five battleships, seven armoured cruisers, two sloops, two auxiliary vessels and two destroyers. It is proposed to commence during the financial year 1902-3, two battleships, two armoured cruisers, two third-class cruisers, four scouts, nine destroyers, four torpedo boats, and four submarines.

"The following plan of reconstruction," Lord Selborne proceeded, "has been decided upon, and great progress will be made with it during the ensuing year. Battleships,—*Royal Sovereign* class, the 6-inch guns on the upper deck will all be put into casemates; *Barfleur* and *Centurion*, all the 4·7 guns will be taken out and replaced by 6-inch guns in casemates; Cruisers,—*Powerful* and *Terrible*, four 6-inch guns in casemates will be added to the armament of each of these cruisers; *Arrogant* and *Talbot* classes, comprising thirteen ships,—all the 4·7 guns will be taken out and replaced with 6-inch guns."

There having lately been some congestion of repair work in the dockyards, it had been decided, when convenient, to utilise also the private yards where ships were built for their repair. With regard to destroyers, Lord Selborne observed that when they were first designed it was not contemplated that they would be frequently used otherwise than as working from a fixed base. Experience, however, had shown that vessels with greater sea-keeping power were required for service with fleets, and accordingly the Board had decided both materially to strengthen the type of future destroyers and also to create a new class altogether, to which the name "scout" had been given. It was proposed not to initiate a design for this new class at the Admiralty, but to invite the private shipbuilders of the country to give the Navy the benefit of their creative ingenuity by submitting designs to fulfil certain stated conditions. Moreover, a committee consisting of Vice-Admiral Sir H. Rawson,

K.C.B. (president), Mr. John Inglis, LL.D., Professor J. H. Biles, Mr. A. Denny and Mr. H. E. Deadman had been appointed to advise the Admiralty in respect of the strengthening of some of the existing vessels. The Board had often been urged to build large numbers of destroyers at the same time; but, for reasons which he gave, Lord Selborne did not believe this advice to be sound. "The true policy," he said, "seems to me to be steady as opposed to spasmodic construction. Henceforward Sheerness will be gradually more and more used as the special dockyard at which destroyers will be repaired." In regard to auxiliary vessels Lord Selborne pointed out that those of certain types could, if every preparation had been made beforehand, be taken up from the mercantile marine immediately on the outbreak of war. Others must be created in time of peace. Although hospital ships belonged to the former class they might be very useful also in time of peace with large fleets, as had been exemplified in the case of the *Maine* (the generous gift of Mr. Baker, a citizen of the United States) which was now serving in the Mediterranean. As regarded the latter class we and all other nations were still in the experimental stage. As an example, depôt ships for destroyers were mentioned, a different class of ship being required according as the destroyers were or were not acting from a fixed base—opinions differing also in the latter case as to the exact use to which these vessels could be put. "One class of depôt ship," said Lord Selborne, "is being prepared for the flotillas at the home ports, and the *Leander* is being prepared as a depôt ship for the destroyers in the Mediterranean. From this experience we shall learn more clearly what is exactly required; but if the new "Scout" class is a success, these depôt ships should not be wanted for them to the same extent. Again, in the case of distilling ships, one has been bought and fitted which should be on service within the year, and experiments have been made with others; but obviously it will be far better if by improvements in the boilers ships are able to distil their own water and can be made independent of auxiliary distilling vessels." This raised the question of the type of boiler to be adopted in future in the fleet, but the final report of the Boiler Committee had not yet been presented, their experiments not being yet concluded. The question of oil fuel was also being made the subject of very careful study and thorough experimentation.

The concluding paragraphs of the First Lord's memorandum related to the subject of the distribution of the fleet. He spoke of the growingly exacting character of the requirements, even in a condition of naval peace, upon the Navy, and said that "it was only with difficulty that during the past year the North American, Cape, China, and East India Squadrons were able to carry out their arduous duties with the strength allotted to them." The Pacific and South American Squadrons, Lord Selborne said,

were being reduced to three cruisers and one sloop and one cruiser and sloop respectively. At home the Cruiser Squadron was now at its complete strength in numbers, but during the year its strength in quality would be augmented by the substitution of armoured for two of the present protected cruisers. "To this and the experience which will be gained from its work, both by the officers and men, the Board," said the First Lord, "attach great importance; it is fully recognised that the work which our cruisers will have to perform in war requires constant practice and study. The manœuvres in the Channel last year significantly marked this fact, and the idea of the subsequent exercises in the Mediterranean lends itself to a continuance of the lessons then taught. In respect of the battleships, the policy of the Board is gradually to change the composition of the Home, Channel, and Mediterranean Squadrons, so that, like the China Squadron, they shall be composed of homogeneous classes of battleships. While the recurrent cruises of the Home, Channel, and Cruiser Squadrons will take place as usual, the manœuvres of this year will not take place in home waters, but will be carried out by a combination for the occasion of the Mediterranean Fleet with the Channel and Cruiser Squadrons."

The First Lord's explanatory memorandum, condensed above, and the Navy Estimates themselves had been for some days in the hands of Members when, on February 21, Mr. Arnold-Forster (*Belfast, W.*), Secretary to the Admiralty, made his official statement in the House of Commons, on the motion for going into Committee of Supply. In its course he pointed out that while the apparent increase in the amount of the Estimates was 380,000*l.*, the effective increase in the amount available for expenditure on the Navy would really be 1,134,000*l.* There was to be an increase in the *personnel* of 3,875 men, so that by the end of the year there would be on the active service ratings a total of 122,500 men. Turning to the question of the Reserve, he said that in late years there had been a falling off in the number of entries for the Royal Naval Reserve, but that changes had been made recently with the object of making the service more popular, and that there were signs already that these changes were being appreciated by the men. The decline in the entries had been arrested. A very considerable number of seamen pensioners had passed into the Fleet Reserve, into which there had also been a *bond fide* entry of men from the fleet. Up to the present, service in this Reserve was voluntary, but it was to be made compulsory. There were now in it 7,100 men. But there was another source of supply from which to fill up the complement of our ships in time of war. It was hoped that the great Colonies would in future co-operate with us at sea as well as on land. In Newfoundland the experiment had already been tried of engaging men to serve in the Royal Naval Reserve. The development of the movement had, how-

ever, been arrested, because there was no legal sanction for it. The Government intended to introduce a Bill to make it legal to engage Reservists, not in Newfoundland alone, but also in every other Colony and Dependency of the Empire. There was yet another source from which men could be obtained. The Admiralty believed that they could secure the voluntary services of a large number of civilians and sailors, who, with proper training, would become competent to serve in the Navy in time of war. A committee was now inquiring into the subject, and when it reported he believed some definite steps would be taken in the direction of reviving the Volunteer branch of the Navy under improved conditions. Having explained the changes which it had been resolved to make in order to accelerate promotion in the engineering branch of the service, he stated that action would be taken on the report of the Victualling Committee, and that the sailor's food would in future be more varied and supplied under more attractive conditions.

Turning to the subject of *matériel*, Mr. Arnold-Forster drew attention to the shipbuilding vote and the ordnance vote, which amounted together to 18,500,000*l.* The second of these votes had been reduced, because nearly all the armour-piercing projectiles which were required had been provided, as well as the necessary reserve of ammunition. Almost unparalleled rapid progress had been made with the ships now under construction. The period of arrears had come to an end, and in consequence of the progress made with the existing programme of construction we should have at an early date a large addition to our fleet. The difficulty of procuring armour had now been surmounted, owing to the patriotic exertions of the great armour manufacturers. With regard to contract work, he stated that the relations between the Admiralty and the great contractors were perfectly harmonious. There had been a steady improvement in the efficiency of the machinery in our dockyards, and it was being modernised as rapidly as possible. In the current year the Admiralty would have launched forty-nine ships; in the next financial year they would have under construction eighty-seven ships, in which were included the twenty-seven vessels which they proposed to lay down under their new programme. They hoped in the current year to add eighteen new ships to the number of those that were commissioned. This programme, Mr. Arnold-Forster claimed, was worthy even of a country that depended so greatly upon its naval power. Giving further details with respect to the building programme, he stated that steps had been taken to provide a hospital ship in the Mediterranean and that three other hospital ships would be commissioned in the event of war. Within three or four months the repairing vessel which was to accompany the fleet would be completed. An additional depot ship for the training of stokers would be provided, and three vessels were being fitted out to serve as depôts for destroyers in our home waters. With

the submarine boats the progress made had been more rapid than the Admiralty had anticipated. The destroyers that required structural alteration were being strengthened, and a new type had been designed which would be better able to withstand the buffets of the sea. Although there had been a considerable number of mishaps with our destroyers, these accidents ought not to be viewed too seriously. The Mediterranean Squadron had been greatly increased, and the Home Fleet had also been strengthened. That the strength of the country in cruisers was not what it should be was recognised at the Admiralty, and steps were being taken to remedy the deficiency. The Admiralty, its Secretary ended by saying, welcomed criticism.

It was promptly forthcoming on the Opposition benches, from the most diverse points of view. On the one hand, Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) moved an amendment—which was rejected by 129 to 54 votes—declaring that the growing expenditure on the naval defences of the Empire imposed an undue burden on the taxpayers of the United Kingdom. Sir C. Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Glouc.*), on the other hand, regarded the shipbuilding programme of the Admiralty as grotesquely insufficient, and as not conforming even to the two-Power standard. Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*) dissociated himself completely from economists who wanted to reduce the expenditure on the Navy. In his opinion the two-Power standard must be our minimum. Mr. Haldane agreed with Mr. Asquith that the Estimates were not too large, although they exceeded those for last year by about 1,000,000*l.* An expenditure of 30,000,000*l.* on the Navy represented only 2 per cent. on the national income, and it was not too much to pay for the security of the Empire. Sir J. Colomb (*Great Yarmouth*), while recognising that the First Lord's memorandum seemed to indicate the presence of a broader spirit in naval administration, was not satisfied that the Admiralty were providing adequately by their shipbuilding programme for the wants of the country four or five years hence.

In his reply Mr. Arnold-Forster contended that the building programme for next year was adequate, and argued that nothing would be gained by laying down too many ships in one year. If it should be found that an enlargement of the programme was desirable, having regard to what other Powers were doing, a supplementary estimate could be presented.

The debate was resumed (Feb. 24) by Mr. Kearley (*Devonport*), who called attention to the loss of the *Cobra*, which he described as a jerry-built coffin-ship; affirming, moreover, that the Admiralty knew when they bought her that she was deficient in essential structural strength, yet did not take steps to have the deficiency remedied before completing the purchase. Mr. E. Robertson (*Dundee*) observed that in 1893 the naval expenditure of this country was 14,000,000*l.*, while that of France and Russia combined was 16,000,000*l.* Last year our

expenditure (including 2,000,000*l.* under the Naval Works Act) was 33,000,000*l.*, and the combined expenditure of France, Russia, Germany and Italy was only 4,000,000*l.* more. We, therefore, reached almost a four-Power standard in expenditure. He trusted that the new scale was not to be accepted as normal, and argued that the Colonies ought to bear a fair proportion of the expenditure on the Navy, which existed for their protection as well as for that of the United Kingdom. Mr. Yerburch (*Chester*) expressed the opinion that the two-Power standard for our Navy, even with a margin, was too low, having regard to the extraordinary advance made in shipbuilding by Germany; while Mr. Caine (*Camborne, Cornwall*) quoted statistics with the object of showing that in battleships and cruisers our strength equalled that of three other Powers. Sir J. Joicey (*Chester-le-Street, Durham*) was satisfied that no amount of money would be refused by the country in order to maintain the Navy at its necessary strength. The House having gone into Committee, on the vote for officers and men, Mr. Dillon moved a reduction, which was negatived by 188 to 41.

In the course of the discussion Mr. Arnold-Forster assured the Committee that the naval progress made by foreign countries was very closely watched by the Admiralty; and, with reference to proposed extensions of foreign naval programmes, he reminded those who had drawn attention to the subject that things promised were not always things performed. With regard to the loss of the *Cobra*, he said that it was not yet known how that ship went to the bottom. She was an experimental vessel built by a very eminent firm, and it was thought highly important that she should not pass into the hands of another Power. Though not conforming to Admiralty standards, she had made many runs in unfavourable weather, and it was thought that when structural changes had been made in her she could be brought safely round to a Royal dockyard. For the fear entertained by some speakers that the ships which were to be rearmed were unstable or unseaworthy, there was, he declared, no justification whatever.

Ultimately, after the application of the closure, the vote sanctioning the employment of 122,500 naval officers, seamen and marines was carried by 183 to 40 votes.

On the same day (Feb. 24) in the House of Lords, for the second time in the week, the question was raised of the contracts and purchases made by the War Office for the supply and outfit of the troops in South Africa, Lord Tweedmouth moving that a joint committee of both Houses should be appointed to inquire into them all. He thought that a *prima facie* case had clearly been made out for an investigation, especially into the questions of remounts, meat contracts, transport contracts, and freights for transport from this country and other countries to South Africa. In regard to all these matters he adduced figures pointing to altogether abnormal profits as having been secured

by contractors and others at the expense of the Government. As to the plea of the Government that there could be no effective inquiry until the war was ended, it was equally true that it would be more and more difficult, as time went on, to procure the necessary evidence. The motion, supported by Lord Rosebery, was resisted by the Government, whose position was compactly summed up by Lord Salisbury in the assertion of his belief that such an inquiry as was contemplated would paralyse the administrative machinery for carrying on the war. The motion was negatived by 88 to 25.

The debate on the second reading of the London Water Bill occupied two sittings of the House of Commons. On February 27 an amendment was moved by Mr. Buxton (*Poplar*), declaring that the House, while welcoming the adoption of the principle of purchase and the creation of a special court of arbitration, was of opinion that the authority proposed to be created for the purchase and control of the water supply of London was unsatisfactory and unworkable, and repugnant to the general principles of municipal government. He maintained that it ought to be left to the new Board to decide whether the shareholders should be paid in cash or in stock, and what form the stock should take. To give for a fluctuating stock a secured 3 per cent. was an outrageous proposal. As to the composition of the Board, he thought it a great mistake that London should be represented chiefly through the Borough Councils instead of the County Council. He also thought that a Board of sixty-nine members would prove unwieldy, and tend to fall under the domination of the paid officials. There was a good deal of qualification about the reception which the Bill at this stage met with on the Ministerial side. Mr. Whitmore (*Chelsea*) approved the representation of the Borough Councils on the Board, but argued that the number of members ought to be smaller. He suggested, too, that the Local Government Board should appoint the chairman and vice-chairman of the new body. Dr. Macnamara (*Camberwell, N.*) laid it down that population ought to be the sole basis of representation, and that ratable value ought not to be taken into consideration. The Conservative representative of East Marylebone, Mr. Boulnois, opposed the Bill, contending that purchase was inadvisable and unfair to the companies, who deserved well of the public. Sir R. Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*) was of opinion that complications and difficulties would be caused by the plan of paying the shareholders in water stock bearing 3 per cent. The proper course would be to adopt the suggestion of the Royal Commissioners and to give the shareholders such a sum of money as would produce the same income as they now received. He also thought the authority too large, and if there was not going to be direct election, he thought that the members should be nominated by the County Councils of neighbouring counties—for example, Essex, Kent and Surrey—as well as the London County Council

and the City Corporation, but not by the Borough Councils. Sir J. Dorington (*Tewkesbury, Glouc.*), who served on the Commission, expressed the opinion that a direction to the arbitrators to act under the Lands Clauses Act should be inserted in the Bill. He questioned whether the Commissioners would have approved of the creation of so large a Board as that which the Government wished to bring into existence, and he recommended that the Board should be empowered to take possession of the water companies' property gradually. Mr. Grant Lawson (*Thirsk, N. R., Yorks*), Secretary to the Local Government Board, for the Government, argued that the Bill contained the elements of a fair compromise. The transfer of the companies' property need not necessarily be effected, as some Members seemed to suppose, by January 1, 1903, but could be put off for another year if it was thought desirable. The London County Council was naturally dissatisfied, as having wished to get the whole water supply of the metropolis under its control; but it had actually been allotted a representation of ten members on the new Board, which was five times more than any other body received. He did not consider that the companies' shareholders would derive any additional security from the incorporation of the Lands Clauses Act with the Bill.

On March 3, Mr. Asquith (*Fife E.*) contended that there was no necessity for creating the new Board, and that it was viciously constituted because based on the principle of indirect representation, which negatived electoral responsibility and popular control. In any case, a Bill of this kind ought not to be forced through by appeals to party discipline, and he hoped that the Government would allow the joint committee to reconsider the question of the size and constitution of the Board. As to the bargain to be struck with the companies, he insisted that, in accordance with the recommendation of Lord Llandaff's Commission, the valuation of the undertakings ought to be a cash valuation. It was ridiculous to contend that the existing shareholders should have guaranteed to them for all time an income equivalent to that which they now received. According to all precedent the London County Council should have been the purchasing authority, and if the Government had really wished to obtain a fair representation of the opinion of London on the new Board, there was no reason for their seeking it in the Borough Councils rather than the County Council. This contention was warmly supported by Mr. Burns (*Battersea*), while Mr. H. S. Samuel (*Limehouse*) approved of the constitution of the proposed Water Authority. Mr. Long (*Bristol, S.*), President of the Local Government Board, did not understand why a Londoner who was a member of a Borough Council ought not to be entrusted with a share in the management of the water supply when no disqualification would be thought to attach to him if he were a member of the County Council. The Government were justified in proposing that the Water Board

should be indirectly elected by the success which had attended the creation of the Metropolitan Asylums Board on similar lines. He could not agree that the Board would be too large for its work, the less so that it would transact much of its business through committees. Regarding the financial aspect of the question, he claimed that the Ministerial proposals were essentially fair as between the companies and the public, the object kept in view being that nobody should be better or worse off through the operation of the measure. Reasonable amendments would not be resisted in committee. The closure having been applied, Mr. Buxton's amendment was negatived by 226 to 140, one Liberal, Mr. S. M. Samuel (*Whitechapel*), voting with the Government, and the Bill read a second time. Mr. Long then moved its reference to a joint committee of Lords and Commons. This was opposed, from the Unionist benches, by Mr. Boulnois, who complained that it practically took away the right of appeal to the Upper House. Mr. Burns (*Battersea*) was induced to look with more favour on the proposal, since he understood that the companies viewed it with suspicion. An amendment, moved by Mr. Dillon, that the Bill should be referred to a select committee (of the House of Commons) was rejected by 193 to 120, and Mr. Long's motion then carried.

It is now necessary to record some interesting further developments occurring outside Parliament in the relations between the different groups of Liberal leaders. On February 14 and 15 Lord Rosebery paid a visit to Liverpool, and made an astonishing exhibition of oratorical fertility and physical endurance by the delivery of as many as nine different speeches. The chief of these utterances was delivered to a crowded meeting of enthusiastic Liberals in the Philharmonic Hall. With regard to Lord Lansdowne's reply to the Dutch Note, Lord Rosebery expressed the opinion that it was fitting and dignified, but at the same time he expressed doubt whether three or four of the Boer delegates to Europe, "in spite of the limited nature of their commission . . . might not have been allowed to proceed to South Africa under guarantees that they were going in the interests of peace and not in those of the prolongation of the war." In general criticism of the work of the Government, Lord Rosebery cited, as evidence of the lack of efficiency that he laid to their charge, their complete reversal of policy in regard to the language question in Malta, Wei-hai-wei and the Japanese alliance—this last following on much Ministerial talk about splendid isolation. He also urged the necessity of immediate and searching inquiry into the remount scandal.

But what attracted much the most attention was Lord Rosebery's treatment in the same speech of the Irish question. He said that during the five years which he had spent in retirement that had undergone a transformation. For one thing, Mr. Gladstone's Bills, the Bills of 1886 and 1893, were both, by

universal acknowledgment dead and buried. In the second place the alliance between the Nationalists and the Liberal party was dissolved. In the third place the present Government had settled the question, so far as they were concerned, on a basis of county local government. This was how some Liberals, himself one of them, wished to see it settled in 1885, but that was not then possible, partly owing to the opposition of the Irish Loyalists, who were believed to prefer even a Parliament in Dublin to any extension of popular county government; and Lord Salisbury himself declared that such extension would be more dangerous than the establishment of a central legislature. The Unionists had changed their minds on this point, and Ireland was now placed, so far as local government was concerned, in the same position as England, Scotland and Wales, but with an adventitious superiority in Parliament due to excessive representation. Again, Lord Rosebery continued, the situation had been profoundly modified by the change in the attitude of the Nationalist leaders, who now demanded, not what Mr. Gladstone was willing to give them, but an independent Parliament. When they reached that point he said "Halt." He was not prepared at any time or under any circumstances to grant an independent Parliament. But they had gone further and declared that separation was their aim. There was also the very serious fact of their avowed sympathy with the enemies of this country. The working of dualism on the Continent, as illustrated by the examples of Russia and Finland, of Austria and Hungary, of Sweden and Norway, was not encouraging, and we dared not allow a hostile Parliament at the very heart of the Empire. Such a Parliament, had it been in existence during the present war, might have turned the balance between success and defeat.

"My view," Lord Rosebery continued, "is not entirely negative; I trust that, as county government develops in Ireland, as it shows the administrative qualities of the people, it may be possible to enlarge that sphere, to work upwards to some superstructure on that sphere, and in that way to begin from the base towards the summit. I hope and believe that much devolution must take place, in a national direction, in the work of our over-burdened and over-labouring Parliament. I believe that much reform must take place in what is known as Castle government in Ireland. I hope most sincerely I may live to see my dream realised of some scheme of Imperial federation which should allow of local subordinate legislatures as part of that scheme; but when I am asked for an independent Parliament, or for anything that is to work up to an independent Parliament, I tell you plainly that it is not upon my slate." The Irish question, Lord Rosebery added, was really too large to be dealt with by any one party. It must be settled by the concurrence and patriotism of both.

For the advanced Radicals, and especially their Welsh wing,

a strong protest was immediately entered by Mr. Lloyd-George, who, speaking at the Eleusis Club, Chelsea (Feb. 15), said that Lord Rosebery's policy seemed to consist of a clean slate with "Vote for Rosebery, remounts and recantation" written on it. That however was obviously only a sectional, or even individual, utterance. What men waited for was to see what would happen at the annual meeting of the General Committee of the National Liberal Federation which was announced to be held at Leicester on February 19, with Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman as the principal speaker. At the morning business meeting the proceedings were decidedly stormy, but the differences manifested among the delegates present appeared to relate more to matters of personal allegiance and to the proper method of ending the war than to any general subjects of domestic policy. In the end a resolution proposed on behalf of the Executive was unanimously carried, which, while condemning the policy of unconditional surrender, welcomed the powerful impetus given by Lord Rosebery to the alternative policy of settlement on terms, rejoiced in the practical unanimity of opinion in its favour in the Liberal party, and called upon all Liberal Members of Parliament loyally to support Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in advocating it, and pressing it forward in the House of Commons.

The great body of the delegates, it hence appeared, were by no means in a mood to treat Lord Rosebery's declarations on the Irish question as a ground for losing his participation in—if not his occupation of—the Leadership of the Liberal party. But a completely different colour was put upon the situation by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's speech at the evening meeting. With regard to the war, he thought that Lord Lansdowne's answer to the Dutch Note was far from being satisfactory, and adhered to his opinion that there were no two greater impediments to the conclusion of peace than the denial of amnesty and the maintenance of the proclamation of August 6. In that view he was fortified by the independent judgment of the late Prime Minister. As to matters nearer home, he did not know whether Lord Rosebery had lately spoken from the interior of their political tabernacle or from some vantage-ground outside. "I practically put that question to him a month ago," Sir Henry added, "but he does not answer it, and I frankly say that I do not think it is quite fair to me not to do so." For his part, he was wholly opposed to the doctrine of the clean slate and its inevitable accompaniment, the practice and penance of the white sheet. He was not prepared to erase from the tablets of his creed any principle or measure or proposal or ideal or aspiration of Liberalism.

Coming to Ireland Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman said that Home Rule was often spoken of as if it were "a strange, fantastic, almost whimsical and madcap policy, rashly adopted in a random way to secure the Irish vote. It is to be easily and

lightly dropped at any moment when an equal amount of support can be obtained from any other quarter! Not a very noble view of the case! Not, in truth, a very creditable or even a decent view of the case, but intelligible enough if there were in the way no principles and no facts.” One of those facts was the “fixed constitutional demand of the Irish people” through the overwhelming majority of their representatives at Westminster, “and I ask you, What possible Liberal principle can we invoke which will allow us to state our views against it by refusing them control of their own affairs in a separate and subordinated Parliament? An independent Parliament goes wholly beyond the case and has never been demanded by any man qualified to speak for the Irish people, and has never been expected or contemplated by us.” Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman asked by what means “a sort of a Liberal party” which had abjured Home Rule would govern Ireland; and went on to denounce coercion. As to the Irish hostility shown during the war, he condemned and deplored it, but the temper of the Irish people in his opinion could only be fundamentally ameliorated by Home Rule. The “old policy” in a word “remains,” proceeded Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, “as I said on the first night of the session, the sole remedy for the condition of Ireland, which is the most serious weakness in the whole British Empire and the most grave blot upon its fame.”

The challenge conveyed in the utterance above summarised to the form of Liberalism expounded by Lord Rosebery at Liverpool was sufficiently unmistakable, and Lord Rosebery responded to it with the utmost promptitude. On February 21 the *Times* published a letter from the ex-Premier. He acknowledged that he had not previously understood Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman to have asked him from what position his recent political speeches had been made. “But,” Lord Rosebery continued, “he has a perfect right to ask it; he shall receive a reply without a moment’s delay, and has, indeed, answered it himself. Speaking pontifically within his ‘tabernacle’ last night, he anathematised my declarations on the ‘clean slate’ and Home Rule. It is obvious that our views on the war and its methods are not less discordant. I remain, therefore, outside his tabernacle, but not, I think, in solitude. Let me add one word more at this moment of definite separation. No one appreciates more heartily than I do the honest and well-intentioned devotion of Sir Henry to the Liberal party, and what he conceives to be its interest. I only wish that I could have shared his labours and supported his policy.” “Definite separation” is a decidedly serious phrase, and it was natural to suppose, and was generally supposed, that its use by Lord Rosebery implied that something serious had happened. Yet as days, weeks and even months passed by the precise import of the definite separation somehow failed to establish itself before the public mind, the different sections of

the Liberal party continuing to maintain the same kind of uneasy co-operation which had been long observed with no greater indications of permanent estrangement than before. On February 24, Lord Tweedmouth, speaking at a Liberal meeting at Camberwell, said that some of the Liberal leaders were suffering from a too profuse use of metaphors, but that he did not think that the differences of which they heard so much were going to last very long. On February 27 there was published, through a news-agency, an announcement that those who adhered to the Chesterfield policy had no intention of severing themselves from the Liberal party, but, on the contrary, intended to act with the rest of the Liberal Opposition on the lines of that policy. For the purposes of organisation and development on those lines an association, it was stated, had been formed under the name of "The Liberal League," with Lord Rosebery as its president, and as vice-presidents, Mr. Asquith, Sir Henry Fowler, and Sir Edward Grey.

The Liberal Imperialist League, an organisation which had existed for some seven or eight months as a means of focussing within the Liberal party that section of opinion which gave a general support to the South African War, was dissolved in pursuance of a resolution taken by its executive committee held (Sir E. Grey in the chair) on March 3, with the express object of enabling its members to transfer their membership to the new Liberal League above mentioned. These steps, plainly, and indeed avowedly, were taken with the purpose of permeating the Liberal party as a whole from within with the views held by Lord Rosebery and his principal associates on Imperial and Irish subjects. On the former class of questions there was no room for uncertainty. As to Ireland the case did not seem so clear. Among Unionists much diversity of opinion was expressed as to the effect of Lord Rosebery's recent utterances with regard to Home Rule. On the whole, however, the preponderant opinion appeared to be that the difference between him and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman was serious and substantial on Irish as well as on Imperial affairs. Among Lord Rosebery's adherents there was a hope that his following would be augmented from the ranks of the Liberal Unionists. A certain unexpressed apprehension that this hope might in some measure be realised suggested itself as the possible inspiration of a degree of sharpness observable in public references to Lord Rosebery made about this period by the Duke of Devonshire and Lord James of Hereford. Thus in an address delivered at the annual meeting of the Liberal Unionist Council (Feb. 27), while acknowledging the public services rendered by the ex-Premier's speeches during the past eight months, the duke went on to observe that the man who refused to play the game and impartially disparaged all those who did, whether he were Mr. Rudyard Kipling or Lord Rosebery, would receive scant encouragement from his countrymen.

In practical effect there was little difference, though there appeared to some a more opportunist tone in Mr. Asquith's references to the Irish question at this period than in Lord Rosebery's. In a letter to the chairman of the East Fife Liberal Association, published March 3, Mr. Asquith asked why the great attempt of Mr. Gladstone to bring loyalty and contentment to Ireland had failed, and answered the question thus: "It failed because of the rooted repugnance of a large majority of the electorate of Great Britain to the creation of a legislative body in Dublin—a repugnance which not even Mr. Gladstone's magnificent courage, unrivalled authority and unquenchable enthusiasm were able to overcome. The eight years which have since elapsed have done nothing to conciliate, and not a little to harden and stiffen, the adverse judgment of the British electorate. If we are honest we must ask ourselves this practical question: Is it to be part of the policy and programme of our party that, if returned to power, it will introduce into the House of Commons a Bill for Irish Home Rule? The answer, in my judgment, is 'No.' And why? Not because we are satisfied—who is?—with the results of six years of Unionist administration. Not because we think that the Irish problem has been either settled or shelved. But because the history of these years, and not least that part of it which is most recent, has made it plain that the ends which we have always had and still have in view—the reconciliation of Ireland to the Empire and the relief of the Imperial Parliament (not as regards Ireland alone) from a load of unnecessary burdens—can only be attained by methods which will carry with them, step by step, the sanction and sympathy of British opinion. To recognise facts like these, and to act accordingly, is not apostasy; it is common sense."

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's attitude towards the new Liberal League, as set forth in a speech at a National Liberal Club dinner (March 5), was one of somewhat contemptuous tolerance. The league, he said, reminded him of Mr. Brodrick's Army Corps, which had officers but no men under them. He had consistently deprecated any sectional organisation within the party, and he held that, under certain circumstances, their duty would be to fight such an organisation with all their power. He confessed his own inability to understand what were the differences which called for the new departure. Personal differences there were none. All the talk about overloaded programmes was sheer nonsense. The war was but a transient interlude, and the only final solution of either the South African or the Irish question lay in the Liberal principle of government by assent. There was a note of deep and even pathetic earnestness in the speech in which, on the same day at Eastbourne, Lord Spencer expressed his confidence in Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and his total disagreement with the action of the Liberal League. If the Liberal party gave up

Home Rule he must take a back seat and look on ; he might support them on certain things, but he should certainly not belong to the party. He admitted that it might not be practical to propose a Home Rule measure at the present time, but he could not admit that Home Rule meant separation. He was in favour of a reasonable and safe measure of Home Rule.

Parallel with these discussions between the Liberal leaders outside Parliament, as to the proper attitude to be observed in future towards the Irish question, incidents were occurring in the House of Commons illustrative of the persistent conflict between the prevalent English ideas of government and those of the Nationalist leaders, and the bitterly anti-British temper, of some at any rate, of the Nationalist Members. On February 28 Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*), in Committee of Supply on the Civil Service Estimates, led an attack on the Irish Executive for reviving portions of the Crimes Act of 1887 and generally for having recourse to a policy of violence and provocation. Lawful meetings, he said, had been brutally dispersed, and it would be due to this kind of policy if there should follow any recrudescence of crime which, he alleged, the influence of the United Irish League had diminished and kept down. He averred that recent convictions of Members of Parliament and others in Ireland were generally recognised as illegal. Mr. Dillon was supported by several Nationalist Members, while Mr. W. Johnston (*Belfast, S.*) urged the Government to deal firmly with the United Irish League. Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) dwelt on the present crimelessness of Ireland, and while acknowledging that the law must be maintained, pressed for the adoption of a generous policy, specially with regard to the poverty-stricken western districts. The Attorney-General for Ireland, Mr. Atkinson (*Derry, N.*), could not regard the country as crimeless when boycotting and intimidation were rife in various parts of it. The policy of the Government was to maintain the Union, to uphold the law, and to promote the prosperity of Ireland by just and rational methods. Mr. Morley (*Montrose Burghs*), in supporting the amendment, laid stress on the opinion of Chief Baron Palles that the proceedings under which several Nationalist Members had lately been convicted of unlawful assembly were illegal and void *ab initio*. The reduction moved by Mr. Dillon was negatived by 184 to 96, and the vote challenged was carried by 194 to 51.

A few days later an incident occurred in the House of Commons which profoundly affected public feeling in a sense unfavourable to the Irish Nationalists. The war, of which the concluding phases will be found described in our South African chapter, was drawing to its inevitable end, and week by week Lord Kitchener's reports told of more or less substantial reductions in the number of Boers in the field and in their resources for continuing the hopeless struggle. The story, however, was not unqualified by incidents "regrettable" from

Votes.		Net Estimates.		Difference on Net Estimates.	
		1902-3.	1901-2.	Increase.	Decrease.
A	I.—Numbers.	Total Numbers.	Total Numbers.		Numbers.
	Number of men on the Home and Colonial Establishments of the Army, exclusive of those serving in India - -	420,000	450,000	—	30,000
	II.—Effective Services.	£	£	£	£
1	Pay, etc., of Army (General Staff, Regiments, Reserve, and Departments) - -	18,940,400	23,063,500	—	4,123,100
2	Medical Establishment: Pay, etc. - - - - -	1,025,000	1,088,600	—	63,600
3	Militia: Pay, Bounty, etc. - -	1,381,000	2,772,000	—	1,391,000
4	Imperial Yeomanry in Great Britain: Pay and Allowances	585,000	375,000	210,000	—
5	Volunteer Corps: Pay and Allowances - - - - -	1,287,000	1,230,000	57,000	—
6	Transport and Remounts - -	11,242,000	17,977,000	—	6,735,000
7	Provisions, Forage and other Supplies - - - - -	16,066,000	20,266,000	—	4,200,000
8	Clothing Establishments and Services - - - - -	3,970,000	4,825,000	—	855,000
9	Warlike and other Stores: Supply and Repair - -	8,332,000	13,450,000	—	5,118,000
10	Works, Buildings, and Repairs: Cost, including Staff for Engineer Services - -	2,190,000	3,281,000	—	1,091,000
11	Establishments for Military Education - - - - -	120,800	119,200	1,600	—
12	Miscellaneous Effective Services	110,800	218,200	—	107,400
13	War Office: Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges - -	332,000	305,000	27,000	—
	Total Effective Services	65,582,000	88,970,500	—	23,388,500
	III.—Non-Effective Services.				
14	Non-Effective Charges for Officers, etc. - - - - -	1,786,000	2,271,000	—	485,000
15	Non-Effective Charges for Men, etc. - - - - -	1,747,000	1,485,000	262,000	—
16	Superannuation, Compensation, and Compassionate Allowances - - - - -	195,000	188,500	6,500	—
	Total Non-Effective Services	3,728,000	3,944,500	—	216,500
	Total Effective and Non-Effective Services - -	69,310,000	92,915,000	—	23,605,000
NOTE.—The provision for Ordinary and War Services is as follows:—					
		1902-3.	1901-2.		
For War Services:—		£	£		
South Africa - - - - -		39,650,000	61,070,000		
China - - - - -		350,000	2,160,000		
For Ordinary Services - - - - -		40,000,000	63,230,000		
		29,310,000	29,685,000		
Total - - - - -		69,310,000	92,915,000		

the British point of view, and certainly one of the most painful of these was the rout near Tweebosch of a force of 1,200 men under Lord Methuen by a not very much larger number of Boers under Delarey, who appear to have been clothed almost entirely in khaki. Five British guns were lost, while Lord Methuen was severely wounded in the thigh before being taken prisoner. The news of this event deeply disturbed the British public, in whose regard Lord Methuen stood very high. When the intelligence was announced in the House of Lords (March 10) Lord Roberts took occasion to say that while all criticism of the operations which had had so lamentable a result should be deferred until the receipt of full information, he desired to exonerate Lord Methuen from all blame for his failure to reach and relieve Kimberley two years before, and also spoke with warmth of the "zeal, intelligence and great perseverance" with which Lord Methuen had carried on his work during the interval, without a check till this Tweebosch disaster.

In the House of Commons the reading of the telegrams on the painful subject just mentioned, by Mr. Brodrick, was received with cheers and laughter by some of the Nationalist Members. It is right to say that their official leader, Mr. J. Redmond, was not in the House at the time, and that Mr. Dillon was said to have endeavoured to bring those near him to a better sense of propriety. Very deep, however, was the indignation in the House and among the British public at what was regarded as an outbreak of insufferable brutality.

In the meantime there had been some interesting discussions in the Commons on general military and South African questions. Before receiving an account of the former, the reader must be presented with the foregoing abstract of the Army Estimates for the year 1902-3, and means of comparison with the previous year (p. 85).

In his explanatory memorandum the War Secretary (Mr. Brodrick) gave the following table, showing, in summary form, the comparison with the figures for the year 1901-2 (including the Supplementary Estimate) and the Estimates now offered :—

	1901-2.		1902-3.	
	Ordinary Services.	War.	Ordinary Services.	War.
Vote A - - - (Personnel)	219,800	230,200	219,700	200,300
	450,000		420,000	
Votes 1-16 - -	£29,685,000	£63,230,000	£29,310,000	£40,000,000
	£92,915,000		£69,310,000	
	Decrease { Ordinary Services		- - -	£375,000
	War Services -		- - -	23,230,000

The net decrease of 375,000*l.* on ordinary services was mainly accounted for as follows :—

INCREASES.

1. Increases due to policy already sanctioned by Parliament :—

(a) Volunteers—Capitation grants for additional number of efficient	£50,000
(b) Additional annuities payable on Works Loan	75,000
(c) Net increase on non-effective votes for pensions, etc., caused by the war, after deducting a saving on normal charges	350,000
(d) Imperial Yeomanry—The total increase to be voted was £600,000. For the current financial year only £300,000 was required	300,000
	<hr/> £775,000

2. Increases due to changes now first proposed. The principal measures are :—

The provision for Additional Mounted Troops on Mobilisation; increase to the Army Ordnance Department; the seconding of officers while at the Staff College, and other miscellaneous increases	150,000
	<hr/> £925,000

DECREASES.

(a) Reduced strength of Army Reserve	£90,000
(b) New Militia Reserve to be only partially raised	100,000
(c) Garrison battalions. Only six will probably be raised during 1902-3	145,000
(d) Full number of Militia battalions will not train	150,000
(e) Reduced provision for re-armament of fortresses at home and abroad	500,000
(f) Reduction on Works Vote	190,000
(g) Miscellaneous decreases	125,000
	<hr/> £1,300,000
Net decrease	<hr/> £375,000

WAR SERVICES.

The decrease under war services was made up as follows :—

South Africa	£21,420,000
China	1,810,000
	<hr/> £23,230,000

As regards South Africa, the provision made was sufficient to maintain the field force at its existing strength for between eight and nine months of the new financial year. In the case of China provision had been made for the retention of a reduced force for about half the financial year, and also for the cost of the transport back to India.

The War Secretary's memorandum then went briefly through the votes, indicating, in outline, how the various decreases and increases were caused. It was on March 4 that Mr. Brodrick followed up this memorandum by his usual statement in the House of Commons on the motion to go into Committee of Supply on the Army Estimates. It contained some points of very special interest. Mr. Brodrick expressed his dissent from Lord Rosebery and other critics who had founded on the difficulties that had occurred in connection with the remounts question a general charge that our military

organisation had failed. Lord Rosebery's allegations he regarded as neither statesmanlike nor politic. Having given the numbers of the troops maintained in South Africa at different periods in order to show what an enormous task had devolved upon the War Office, he referred to the reorganisation scheme which he unfolded last year, saying that it still held the field. The recommendations of the committee on War Office reorganisation, known as the Clinton Dawkins Committee, he had been able to accept almost *en bloc*. The proposals made last year respecting the Yeomanry were being carried out; fourteen regiments had been formed under the conditions then laid down, and proposals had come for the formation of five more. The numbers of this branch of the service had gone up from 10,000 to 17,500. Five of the garrison regiments had been brought into existence, and the sixth would be formed shortly.

Turning to the question of recruiting, he pointed out that the problem before the country was how we could maintain in future an establishment of 250,000 men when our effective strength was with difficulty maintained at 210,000. He would be oversanguine who imagined that recruiting would not fall off when the war was over if no fresh inducement were held out to young men to enlist. In view of the difficulties of the subject, he wished the House to take a "plunge" with regard both to the terms of service and the pay of the soldier. He proposed that every man should be allowed to enlist, except in the Household Cavalry, for three years, to be followed by nine years in the Reserve. From 1st April next every recruit, as soon as he had passed his recruit drill, was to receive the whole of his shilling pay. After two years' service every man was to choose whether he would go to the Reserve after three years or whether he would complete eight years with the Colours. Those who elected to remain in the service for this time before going to the Reserve would be given an additional 6*d.* a day, making 1*s.* 6*d.* in all after two years' service. Inefficient soldiers would be got rid of at the end of three years and would not be allowed to re-enlist. The men who elected to serve for eight additional years would be divided into two classes, and those who were not efficient shots would get 4*d.* extra instead of 6*d.* a day. The number of lance-sergeants and corporals would also be considerably increased. The cost of these changes would be 1,048,000*l.* a year in this country and in India 786,000*l.* They would, of course, result in the formation of a large Reserve. It was further proposed to establish a Volunteer Reserve. Any man with not less than four years' training would be allowed to join this Reserve for six years, provided that he observed certain conditions as to shooting. The Yeomanry would be treated in the same way. Five pounds a year would be offered to any man in this force who would place himself on the list of the Army Reserve for the

purpose of serving abroad in case of mobilisation. A smaller Volunteer Yeomanry Reserve would be formed to fill the places of those who served abroad. After indicating other reforms, and paying an eloquent tribute to the services of the Colonial troops in South Africa, Mr. Brodrick expressed a hope that some arrangement might be come to which would render the whole forces of the Empire available for wars affecting the Empire's interests. An opportunity for discussing that question would present itself when the representatives of the Colonies came to London for the Coronation.

The War Secretary's proposals were not immediately discussed, the rest of the evening being taken up by an amendment to the motion for going into Committee of Supply, moved by Mr. Humphreys-Owen (*Montgomery*), on the subject of the concentration camps. It deplored the great mortality which had occurred in them, and while recognising improvements in the administration of the camps, condemned the delays which had occurred in effecting them, and called on the Government to state what further steps they intended to take in the interests of the inmates. Some ten days previously a Blue-book had been issued containing the report of the Ladies' Committee presided over by Mrs. Fawcett, which had been appointed by the War Secretary, in the summer of 1901, to investigate the subject. Generally speaking the Committee found that active efforts had been and were being made to keep the camps in a healthy condition, that the temper of the administration was humane, and that in regard to the necessities of life—the provision of food, fuel, shelter and clothing—the Governments of the several Colonies were alive to their responsibilities. Great difficulties had been caused by the reduced condition of health in which very many of the inmates had entered the camps, and their insanitary habits, and to both these causes the excessive mortality which had unhappily prevailed was in large measure due. At the same time, the Committee laid their fingers on a number of serious defects which had existed in the management of some of the camps, and which also had certainly conduced to the excessive death rate. They were able to report a list of material improvements introduced as the result of their recommendations.

Mr. T. Shaw (*Hawick Burghs*), who supported the motion mentioned above as having been moved by Mr. Humphreys-Owen, credited Mr. Chamberlain's vigorous administration with the improvement which had taken place since the camps were handed over (November, 1901) from the War Office to the Colonial Office. Mr. Channing (*Northampton, E.*) pointed out that while the death rate of young children in October, 1901, was 601 per thousand per annum it had only fallen in January to 262. In his reply Mr. Chamberlain declared, with reference to the establishment of the camps, that never before in the history of the world had so gigantic an effort been made by any

nation to minimise the horrors of war. He denied that the camps were formed in pursuance of the policy of clearing the country and farm burning. When the guerilla warfare began 130,000 women and children might have been subjected to outrage and abuse if they had been left unprotected on the veldt. Care had to be taken of them, and the only thing to do was to bring them into camps, for the Boer generals had more than once refused to take charge of them. Many of these people when they came into the camps were emaciated, half-starved, ignorant, bigoted, and incapable of recognising the necessity of sanitary arrangements. The result was that the camps, though situated in healthy localities, became infected. Mrs. Fawcett's testimony conclusively disproved the charges of cruelty, indifference and neglect brought against the British officials and the Government. There had been grave and wicked exaggerations on this subject both in this country and abroad. Any defects which were found to exist in the camps were remedied as fast as the transport arrangements permitted. After eulogising the ceaseless labour, the sacrifices, and devotion of every one concerned in the administration of the camps, he dealt with the question of the infant mortality, and gave his reasons for believing that the normal mortality of children in South Africa was very much in excess of the death rate among children in this country. The excessive mortality was mainly due to the epidemic of measles, which had now, he was happy to say, worn itself out. The recommendations of the Ladies' Committee had all been adopted except one. Since December ninety additional nurses and four doctors had been sent out to the camps. Lord Kitchener had been directed to spare no expense, and the cost of the camps to the British taxpayer was 180,000*l.* per month. For the education of the children 150 teachers had been sent out since December 14, and 150 more were going. He reminded the House that many of the refugees had come in voluntarily, and explained the reasons why they could not be allowed to go in and out of the camps without restriction. Giving the latest returns respecting the mortality of children under twelve, he stated that it had now fallen to 70 or 80 per 1,000. The amendment was rejected by 232 votes to 111.

The debate on Mr. Brodrick's statement occupied part of the sittings of March 6 and 7. Some time was taken up with remonstrances from several Members connected with the Volunteers with regard to what was understood to be the somewhat disparaging effect of certain observations made by the War Secretary on March 4 in regard to that service. Mr. Brodrick, however, strongly repudiated any wish to depreciate the efforts or the intelligence of the Volunteers; only pointing out that as they were in future to take their place in the first line of defence it was essential that they should attain a comparatively high level of efficiency. The general reception

accorded to his proposals in regard to enlistment in the House, as in the country, was markedly favourable, though Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman would have liked to try the effect of increasing the soldier's comfort in other ways before offering a rise in pay. Several speakers, including Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. W. Churchill, regarded the War Secretary's proposals as inflicting a crushing blow on the idea of conscription—an inference which was not absolutely obvious. A reduction moved by Mr. Dillon on the vote for 420,000 men was negatived by 182 votes to 54, and that and the vote of 18,940,400*l.* for the pay of the Army were subsequently agreed to. In the course of a further discussion on the Army Estimates (March 10), Mr. Brodrick held out a hope that the War Office might be able to do more than in the past to encourage rifle clubs. He hoped, too, that the Volunteers would have thirty batteries of 4·7-inch guns in their hands by the end of the year.

On the same day Lord Rosebery addressed a public meeting in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, some 5,000 persons being present out of 32,000 who had applied for admission. He disclaimed any personal difference with Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and any personal ambition. The points of difference between those who thought with him and the official Opposition, points which had led to the formation of the Liberal League (an organisation designed to be within the Liberal party and not outside of it), were these. The Liberal League believed in the vigorous prosecution of the war; they were not in favour of the recall of Lord Milner or of further offers of terms to the enemy in the field. Lastly, and most emphatically, they desired to disassociate themselves from the aspersions cast on the methods of British warfare, whether on the part of the troops or of the Government. Such aspersions were, in their judgment, in either case equally mischievous and unfounded. At the same time he cherished a hope that the war would be ended by a legal and acknowledged settlement. He held that no settlement would promise well for the future of South Africa and the pacification of the Boers that was not contained in some instrument subscribed by the Boer leaders, which would carry conviction not merely to their followers in the field, but to the numerous prisoners in St. Helena and elsewhere. As to domestic affairs, Lord Rosebery repeated that he would support nothing in the shape of an independent Parliament in Dublin, or of anything that would lead up to it. The questions which he conceived to be the most urgent for solution at the present time were, first and foremost, as including all others, the question of national efficiency; then came education, housing, and temperance, and Lord Rosebery was careful to add that he did not mean to put temperance last. He did not believe that with any of these questions the present Government would, or even could, deal satisfactorily. Neither could the Opposition till it

was placed in power. Referring to the allegation that he was hostile to the principle of taxing land values in cities, he denied that he had ever said a word in public hostile to the justice of the principle of the taxing of those values which in cities were caused by the cities themselves, and not by the landowners. But his difficulty had been to find a workable scheme ; and he regarded it as a great mistake for any one who had been charged with the duty of legislation, and might conceivably be charged with it again, to push forward schemes when he did not see a practicable way of working them.

At Manchester (March 12) Mr. Morley accentuated his divergence from the Imperialist Liberals by renewing the demand which they had united in condemning for the recall or supersession of Lord Milner.

In the same speech Mr. Morley had the courage, while deploring the bad feeling and want of decency shown by the Irish Members who had laughed and cheered at the news of Lord Methuen's reverse and capture, to say that the sentiment thus exhibited was no new thing, and he still believed that it would be most wisely encountered by the concession of Home Rule. Such certainly was not the inference drawn by the vast majority of Englishmen from the scandalous exhibition in question. At the same time there was by no means universal satisfaction among Unionists when it was officially announced (March 13) that the King, acting on the advice of his Ministers, had "expressed his regret to the Lord Lieutenant that the visit of their Majesties to Ireland cannot take place this year." On the one hand it was felt that the abandonment of the visit might be claimed as a triumph for the forces of disaffection ; on the other hand it was felt that to inflict a kind of social punishment on the whole of Ireland for an ill-mannered outburst on the part of a few Members of Parliament seemed equally doubtful from the points of view of justice and of policy. Ireland was largely the theme of a speech by Mr. Asquith at St. Leonards (March 14). Having said that he would have nothing to do with any organisation requiring the abandonment of a single Liberal principle, he was interrupted by a cry of "Home Rule." Thereupon Mr. Asquith observed in effect that the principles always upheld by the Liberal party must still be applied to Ireland, but the question was as to the manner of their application. The Home Rule Bill of 1886 gave Ireland a Colonial self-government without representation at Westminster. The Bill was thrown out by Parliament, and a general election confirmed that decision. The Bill of 1893 gave Ireland a delegated Legislature with representation at Westminster. That Bill Parliament also rejected, and the rejection was again confirmed on appeal to the constituencies. What did that bring them to? He was a practical man. If he found that he could not attain his end by a particular road, he tried to obtain it by some other ; and he was not going to acknowledge

that he had abandoned the object of his journey because experience taught him that what he once thought to have accomplished in a day would have to be effected by steps and stages, slowly and gradually. Mr. Asquith's Irish settlement by stages, it was observed by some students of the evolution of the programme of the Liberal League, might yet be Home Rule, and in political circumstances that were not inconceivable a temptation to diminish the number of stages and so accelerate progress might operate with powerful effect. Mr. Asquith went on to express his satisfaction that Mr. Wyndham had declined to yield to the Tory Press and to introduce more stringent coercion. While he condemned boycotting, he held that there was a great deal in the present system of administration in Ireland which might be altered. The police system and the judicial system administered by the resident magistrates were things that called for immediate redress.

There were Irish debates in the House of Commons on consecutive nights (March 13 and 14). On the earlier evening Mr. J. Redmond (*Waterford*) moved to reduce the salary of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who he said had been bullied by the landlords into the fatal path of coercion. There was, he said, practically no ordinary crime in Ireland, and less agrarian crime than ever before, but there was intense political and agrarian discontent accompanied, no doubt, by cases of boycotting. Remedial measures were wanted, but instead of introducing them, the Government dispersed lawful meetings, suppressed the rights of free speech, and imprisoned the natural leaders of the people in the West. Mr. Redmond feared that in their absence the assassin and the moonlighter would again come to the front, but he hoped the people would continue on the crimeless lines advocated by the United Irish League. In his reply Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*), Irish Secretary, pointed out that the tactics of the Nationalists in Ireland and in the House constituted the notes of an old mechanical tune. He assured the House that the Executive made the most careful inquiry into any case in which the police were accused of brutality, and pointed out that the number of acquittals of defendants by resident magistrates proved that those officials were not puppets of the Government. The Government, he contended, were bound, under the ordinary law if possible, under the Crimes Act if necessary, to protect individual liberty and prevent illegal combinations. The Government, however, did not merely enforce the criminal law, but had passed a series of remedial measures, including two in the session of 1901 designed to enable the Congested Districts Board to extend its operations. Sir R. Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*) counselled the Government to lay coercion aside. Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) agreed that illegalities must be punished, but maintained that in the interests of peace the benefits which had been conferred by the Congested Districts Board on the tenants of the

Dillon estate which marched with that of Lord de Freyne, should be extended. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the subsequent speeches was that a Liberal Imperialist King's Counsel, Mr. Lawson Walton, held that the charge against the Government of straining the legal machinery "to cure a political mischief" had been established. The motion for the reduction of the Chief Secretary's salary was defeated by 215 votes to 125.

On the following evening a Nationalist amendment was moved (on the motion for going into Committee of Supply on the Civil Service Estimates) lamenting the slow and partial character of the operations of the Congested Districts Board and criticising recent appointments to it. Several of the Irish Members who spoke in support of this motion made no complaint of the action of the Board so far as it went, but only regretted that it did not do more. In his reply Mr. Wyndham justified the cautious procedure of the Board in the experimental stages of its work. That work had been not inconsiderable. Last year a sum of 31,242*l.* was spent on the purchase of estates, while in the preceding year, when the Dillon estate was bought, the sum spent was 304,532*l.* Up to March, 1901, twenty-nine estates had been purchased, and several had been bought since. He had been much moved by the poverty of many of the people in the west; he recognised fully that their condition ought to be ameliorated, and he would never rest until an improvement had been effected. Explaining the circumstances of Lord Shaftesbury's appointment to the vacancy due to Lord de Vesci's grave illness, he said Lord Shaftesbury was not disposed to enter the arena of partisan politics; he wished to follow the example of his grandfather, and he would devote all his energies to the Board's work. There was, he reminded Members, no salary attaching to the post. The resolution was rejected by 148 votes against 94.

Earlier in the same evening not a little exultation was caused on the Opposition benches by a majority of 30—173 votes to 143—being obtained for the second reading of the London County Council (Electric Supply Bill), notwithstanding that it was opposed by Mr. G. Balfour (*Leeds, Central*), President of the Board of Trade. The general object of the Bill was to confer upon the County Council and other local authorities in London in combination the same powers of purchase as were already possessed by local authorities outside London. The Bill, as was explained by Mr. Lough (*Islington, N.*), was the result of a conference between the London County Council, the Corporation and the local authorities. The County Council itself, he said, did not desire to take any independent action, and would accept a clause naming any other public authority than itself as the purchaser. None of the provisions of the Bill would come into operation for thirty-one years, but in view of rapid new electric supply developments a clear law in respect of

purchase was very desirable. Mr. G. Balfour left the question of voting on this Bill open to the supporters of the Government, but, on his own account, urged that the large and complicated question of the ultimate destiny of the electric lighting undertakings in London could only be adequately dealt with by a public Bill introduced by the Government. Left to itself, however, the House clearly thought that in this matter the initiative of the London County Council was a sound one.

It may be noted here that the annual Eight Hours Bill for Miners, which in 1901 was carried by 13 votes, was lost on March 5, 1902, by one vote—208 to 207—while on the following Wednesday (March 12) a much more decisive defeat was suffered by a more subtle measure introduced by Mr. Pickard (*Normanton, W. R. Yorks*). It proposed to prohibit the employment in coal mines of youths under the age of twenty-one for more than eight hours in the twenty-four. It would further have prohibited the employment below ground of any person over eighteen years of age who had not been employed in a mine before that age. Mr. Pickard intimated that it was not meant to press this provision, but Mr. Ritchie (*Croydon*), Home Secretary, fastened upon it as disclosing the monopolistic aims of the promoters of the measure, and the Bill was thrown out by 224 to 158.

On March 17 and 18 there was a full-dress debate in the Commons on the War Contracts question on the following motion brought forward by the Leader of the Opposition: "That a select committee be appointed to inquire into all contracts and purchases made by or on behalf of the Government for his Majesty's forces in South Africa in respect of remounts, meat, forage, freights and transports." Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman said that to be of any use an inquiry must be made while the facts were fresh. The country would not grudge the payment of high prices if good value had been obtained for them; but high prices, paid merely to line the pockets of middlemen and syndicate promoters, were evidence of inefficiency and demoralisation. Inquiry ought in the first place to be made into the question of remounts, upon which 11,000,000*l.* or 12,000,000*l.* had been expended, and as to which various official documents, including those from Lord Kitchener and Colonel Birkbeck, were very discouraging. Then there were the transactions of the Government with the Cold Storage Meat Company, which had been paid 4,773,000*l.* Dividends and bonuses had been paid by this company equal to a return of 30*s.* on every 1*l.* share, and 1,000,000*l.* sterling had been placed to the reserve. With regard to the new meat contract, the House should be told what was the nature of the competition that was said to have taken place.

In reply, Mr. Brodrick (*Guildford, Surrey*), War Secretary, said the only question between them and the Opposition was

one of time. He warned the House not to believe everything that was said against the War Office by disappointed contractors who published "cock-and-bull" stories in the Press. The demands made by the War Office on the horse markets of the world had been unprecedented, and it had been difficult to obtain perfectly suitable horses. He admitted that too large a profit had been allowed to the Cold Storage Company on its contract, but that contract was entered into at a time when it was necessary to make arrangements for feeding the troops without counting the cost. Mr. Brodrick went on to remark that the pressure upon the contract department of the War Office was exceedingly severe, and mentioned that the average number of hours during which members of the Department were in attendance in 1900 was between eleven and twelve a day. Now they were at work for nine hours and a half. How could it be thought that these officials, working under such pressure, could appear before a committee of inquiry to give evidence on multitudinous details?

In the course of the subsequent debate the motion was supported by Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*), Mr. Yoxall (*Nottingham, W.*) and Sir R. Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*), and opposed by Mr. Lee (*Fareham, Hants*), Captain Seely (*Isle of Wight*) and Lord Alwyne Compton (*Biggleswade, Bedfordshire*), who (March 18) declared that the supporters of the Government were as anxious that an inquiry should be held as any members of the Opposition could be; but they considered it practically impossible to hold the inquiry now. Speaking from personal experience, he could assure the House that in this war our troops had been better supplied than in either the last Afghan or the Soudan campaign. Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*), while supporting the motion, said that he firmly believed that, though inquiry might bring to light errors of judgment, want of foresight, waste of money, possibly malpractices on the part of subordinate agents of the Government, the honour of every British officer concerned would be left untarnished. As to the argument that attendance on a Committee of Inquiry would overtask the officials of the War Department in the present pressure of business, it would surely be possible to reinforce the staff temporarily. Practically the choice lay between holding an inquiry now and not holding it at all. Mr. Balfour said that an immediate inquiry would not only clog the wheels of the administrative machinery, it would prejudice the conduct of future wars, for officials would be afraid to incur the responsibility of anything like extraordinary expenditure, even in times of crisis. The motion was negatived by 346 votes to 191—majority 155. This considerable increase upon the normal Ministerial majority was almost entirely due to Nationalist abstentions, but the case against an immediate inquiry was felt, in the light of Mr. Brodrick's and Mr. Balfour's speeches, to be much stronger than many people had been inclined to allow.

A very unconventional speech from Lord Charles Beresford (March 14) to the London Chamber of Commerce, illustrated the need for some of the changes in naval administration to which Lord Selborne had referred in his memorandum prefixed to the Navy Estimates. Lord Charles, who had lately returned from holding the second command in the Mediterranean, said that there was nothing to justify panic about the fleet, which was strong enough for the money they had paid for it. They were outside the margin of extreme danger, though they were not yet within the margin of that security which they ought to have. He complained that under the present system the Lords of the Admiralty were all overworked and largely about relatively insignificant details. So more important work came to be neglected. As an instance of the unbusinesslike proceedings of the Admiralty, he mentioned that when on the Mediterranean Station, five years after the Government had been in office, he had had reason to complain of the inadequate supplies of coal at Malta and Gibraltar, and had threatened that if the necessary coal was not sent he should haul down his flag and publish a letter in every paper in England. More serious training was required for officers, who must be prepared to act on very short notice in time of war. As matters now stood, officers would only be learning their work when they went into action. During the two years he was in the Mediterranean the commander-in-chief had only had sixty-seven hours of manœuvres and the second in command forty-nine. Among the administrative reforms which he recommended was the creation of a "War" Lord of the Admiralty, who should have nothing to do but to organise for war. They must also have more experts at the Admiralty; and experts' advice should be put into a memorandum which the War Lord should sign and submit to the House of Commons.

The remaining Wednesdays before Easter were occupied in the Commons with the consideration of interesting social problems. On March 19 Mr. W. R. Greene (*Chesterton, Cambs*) moved the second reading of the Aged Pensioners Bill, which would empower committees appointed by Boards of Guardians to grant pensions to the aged deserving poor, such pensions not to involve any electoral disability. It was not intended that they should be granted universally, but every man or woman in England or Ireland—Scotland would require a separate measure—was to be entitled, on attaining the age of sixty-five, to apply to be placed on the list of pensioners, the committee thereupon examining and determining the claim; the allowance awarded to be not less than 5s. nor more than 7s. a week. No one could prefer a claim whose weekly income exceeded 10s. The cost of the scheme was to be defrayed to the extent of 6l. a year in the case of each pensioner from the Exchequer, the remainder being a charge on the rates. The principle of the measure received general support from both sides of the House,

though Mr. Cripps (*Stretford, Lancs.*) and Mr. Bond (*Nottingham, E.*) regarded it as demoralising. Mr. Long, who commented on the fact that the front Opposition bench was almost deserted, considered that the question was really one of cost. The scheme before the House, if adopted, would necessitate an immediate expenditure of 10,000,000*l.* a year, rising to 15,000,000*l.* in future years; and the lesser of these two figures would mean, say 2*d.* more on the income tax, and 7*d.* or 8*d.* more on the rates. Certainly during the present period of heavy national expenditure caused by the war the Government could not lightly think of proposing additional taxation. The Bill was nevertheless read a second time without a division, but it made no further progress, and it was not altogether easy to look upon the sentiment which had been expressed so generally in its favour as absolutely genuine.

On March 26, when the House rose for the Easter recess, Major Evans-Gordon (*Stepney*) moved the second reading of a Bill to prohibit compulsory membership of unregistered shop clubs or thrift funds, and to regulate such as are duly registered. The Bill forbade an employer to make it a condition of employment that a workman should discontinue his membership of a friendly society, or that he should not become a member of any friendly society other than the shop club or thrift fund, or join a shop club if he was already a member of a registered friendly society. The Bill also provided that a workman who was not already a member of a registered friendly society should not be forced to join a shop club, except in cases where certain specified conditions were complied with. The measure obtained a fair amount of support and no direct opposition though some criticism. Mr. Jesse Collings (Under Home Secretary) assented to the second reading, while intimating that it would require amendment in the interests of workmen and societies. The Bill was then read a second time, and referred to the Standing Committee on Trade.

Two events of first-class national importance in their potentiality occurred before the Easter recess—the introduction of the Education Bill and the beginning of the peace negotiations. Yet another of the long series of war debates took place on the third reading of the Appropriation Bill on March 20, when, as against Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Chamberlain vindicated the acceptance in certain cases of native evidence before courts-martial—refusal to do which, he warmly maintained, would put our civilisation back to the times of slavery. He thought there were probably no more than some 9,000 Boers still in the field against us, and he incidentally referred to the opinion expressed by General Vilonel that the real enemies of the country were those who were carrying on a hopeless struggle. Thereon Mr. Dillon interjected “He is a traitor.” Mr. Chamberlain remarked that the hon. member was a good judge of traitors, at which Mr. Dillon

rose to order, but the Speaker told him, in effect, that he had brought the retort (which he did not justify) on himself. Mr. Dillon—"Then I desire to say that the right hon. gentleman is a damned liar." Having refused to withdraw this expression, Mr. Dillon was suspended from the service of the House by 248 to 48, several Radicals voting in the minority. Four days later, on March 24, the British public learned, with profound interest, that Mr. Schalk Burger, Mr. Reitz, and the other members of the "Acting Government" of the Transvaal had arrived in Pretoria from Middelburg, under a flag of truce, and, after an interview with Lord Kitchener, had left for the Orange River Colony, where they were to meet Steyn and De Wet. In answer to a question from the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Brodrick stated that the Government had assented to the grant of a safe-conduct for the purpose of bringing about this interview, with a view to the discussion of peace proposals between the representatives of the Transvaal and the Free State. There was no slackening in the conduct of the war on the British side in South Africa, or in preparation throughout the Empire for its vigorous prosecution for a much longer period if that should unhappily prove necessary. In view of fresh French and German manifestations of ill-feeling, the Premier of New Zealand had telegraphed on March 14 to Mr. Chamberlain proposing to send a further contingent of 1,000 men from that Colony, and suggesting that the occasion was favourable for obtaining additional troops from Canada and Australia. The Colonial Secretary gratefully accepted the offer and acted on the suggestion, with the result that during the last ten days of the month a body of 2,000 men was promised from Australia and as many from our North American Dominion.

There was a universal feeling of tragedy in regard to the death on March 26 at Capetown of Mr. Cecil Rhodes. Different estimates were held of his work as an Imperialist, and of the extent to which the good he had achieved had been neutralised by his connection with the Jameson Raid. But there was a very wide-spread admiration of his powers and his general aims, and deep regret was felt at his being denied the opportunity of exercising his influence to aid in the re-establishment of peace on lines of justice and of reconciliation between the English and Dutch races.

It was on Monday, March 24, that Mr. Balfour moved for leave to bring in a Bill to make further provision with respect to education in England and Wales. After a brief historical retrospect, he observed that we had, dealing with education, secondary and primary, two elected authorities, the County and Borough Councils on the one side, and in certain cases the School Boards on the other. Between these authorities there was necessarily rivalry; and beside them were the independent endowed schools and the voluntary schools, which were not organised or brought into connection with primary or secondary

educational authorities. It was absurd to suppose that these schools could be swept away. The cost of replacing them would be enormous, and their continued existence was also necessary in order that the wishes of parents in regard to denominational teaching might be met. What seemed necessary in view of the general situation was that there should in future be a single authority for education—primary, secondary, and technical; that this authority, being responsible for a heavy cost to the ratepayers, should be the rating authority for the district; that the voluntary schools ought to be placed in a position in which they could bear their part in the scheme of national education; that, as far as possible, our system should be such as to discourage in future denominational squabbles; and that the education authority, which was also to be the rating authority, should have at its disposal all the educational skill which its district could supply. The authority under the Bill would be the County Council in counties, and the Borough Council in county boroughs. They would work through committees appointed under schemes which would have to be approved by the Education Department. A majority of a committee at least was to be selected by the Council, the remainder would be nominated by other bodies, and would be persons experienced in education. Wales, which had a secondary education authority already, was to be permitted either to retain that authority or to substitute for it the authority proposed in the Bill. With regard to secondary education the provisions of the measures were practically identical with those embodied in the Bill of last year. County Councils and Borough Councils would have a 2*d.* rate to work upon, and, as in many places that would be insufficient, power would be given to have that limit raised by provisional order. Boroughs already possessed a certain jurisdiction over technical education, and had a rate of 1*d.* to work upon. It was not proposed to deprive any borough with a population over 10,000, or any urban district with a population over 20,000, of that jurisdiction. The Councils of these boroughs and urban districts might, if they chose, become the local authority over primary education. They retained their existing powers over technical education; and they would become the authority for secondary education concurrently with the County Council.

Whether the schools in a district were voluntary or rate-erected, Mr. Balfour went on to point out, the local educational authorities created by the Bill would in future have absolute control over all secular education. In the case of rate-erected schools they would acquire control as heirs of the School Boards. As regarded voluntary schools they obtained it by the direction in the Bill that they were to have the control, also by a right to appoint one-third of the managers, by the right of inspection, and by the power of the purse which belonged to them. They also obtained it by the right of refusing on educational grounds

the appointment of any teachers whom they thought unfitted to carry on the work of secular education. On the county authority would be thrown the whole cost of maintenance of every elementary school in its area. The managers of the voluntary schools would remain responsible for keeping their buildings in good repair, and for making all reasonable alterations and improvements. Where the real needs of a district required a kind of education not supplied by the voluntary, or again by the Board, schools in that district, it was provided that new schools could be erected under reasonable limitations. Where there was a difference of opinion as to the need for a new school, the Education Department was to be the arbiter, and would take into consideration the interests of the education of the district, the burden that would be imposed on the rates, and the wishes of the parents of the children. The scheme which he had sketched out was to apply to the whole country with two important and, he hoped, transitory limitations. In the first place, London, which required separate treatment, was excluded from the operation of the Bill. Secondly, the Government recognised that their scheme might cause disquiet and even alarm in some parts of the country; and, as they could not hope to work it successfully without the co-operation of the local authorities, they proposed that the adoption of the elementary education portion of the measure should be optional.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) realised that there was abundant room for improvement in elementary school teaching, that the organisation of secondary education ought to be taken in hand, and that other reforms ought to be effected; but in effecting them the paramount importance of securing really popular control and management ought always to be kept in view. He trusted that the financial aid which was to be given to Church schools would be accompanied by real popular control. If the Bill were found to be open to the suspicion that it was, after all, only an effort to secure specially favourable terms for the Church schools, its chances of passing would not be very great. However, until the Bill was printed, he should reserve his opinion upon its merits. Sir R. Jebb (*Cambridge University*) welcomed the Bill because he believed it contained the makings of a really satisfactory and comprehensive measure. But he strongly urged the Government to give it a mandatory character. Dr. Macnamara (*Camberwell, N.*) said that if the Government really meant that the anachronism of education depending on charitable contributions should cease, the permissive clause should come out of the Bill. He feared that there would be a long and acrimonious controversy over the proposition to aid denominational schools out of the rates. Earl Percy (*Kensington, S.*) believed that, on the whole, the Bill would lead to increased efficiency. Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*) found enough in the Bill to make him well disposed to it, and Sir W. Anson (*Oxford University*), while objecting to the

optional features of the measure, described it as a sincere attempt to co-ordinate elementary and higher education. Mr. Rickett (*Scarborough*) said that the Bill was practically an invitation to the Nonconformists to establish new schools, and the accentuation rather than the diminution of religious differences would be the result. Until a better system could have been devised, Free Churchmen would have been prepared to allow a certain amount of rate-aid to be given to voluntary schools, provided that some popular representation went with it; but the proportion proposed in the Bill was insufficient. Sir A. Rollit (*Islington, S.*) was glad to notice a more general recognition that the municipal authority was on the whole the best. It would be a great improvement that the responsibility for both levying and spending should be vested in the same authority. Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) regretted that the Government had not been content to make the measure merely a Secondary Education Bill. The provisions in regard to secondary education might do good, those affecting elementary education disclosed serious prospects of friction. He disapproved of the contemplated supersession of School Boards, and of the perpetuation of the denominational system. The Attorney-General, Sir R. Finlay (*Inverness Burghs*), who replied on behalf of the Government, in the absence of Sir J. Gorst, maintained that the chief merit of the measure was that it dealt with primary and secondary education as an organic whole. Leave to bring in the Bill was granted by 176 to 23 votes, and the Bill was read a first time.

A Government measure hardly less complicated, but, as it never reached the Statute-book, not calling for such full treatment in this volume, was introduced on March 27. This was the Irish Land Purchase Bill, in explaining which Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*), Irish Secretary, pointed out that one of the chief reasons which made fresh legislation necessary was the contentious result of the provisions in the former Acts for the judicial fixing of rents. There had been an enormous number of appeals under the Acts, and the arrears of the courts were accumulating to an extent which threatened serious inconvenience. On the other hand, State-aided purchase, so far as it had been carried out, had proved a distinct success. They had now 30,000 purchasers paying instalments which amounted to 171,000*l.* a year. There were no bad debts, and even tardiness in payment was extremely rare. There had, however, been a great shrinkage of late years in the volume of purchases, the number of landlords who were willing to sell under the existing conditions being, as it would seem, nearly exhausted. That was partly due to the excessive cost of transactions under the present system, but it was also lacking in adaptability to various needs. Under the new Bill, Mr. Wyndham explained, it was proposed, in the first place, that within certain limits and after the fulfilment of certain conditions, the Government should

take over the whole of an estate, in any part of Ireland, or as much of it as an owner wished to sell, with a view to resale to the tenants. Any owner was to be empowered to apply to the Land Commission for a preliminary estimate of the price at which they would be prepared to sanction a sale—being thus saved the cost of preliminary negotiations which might prove abortive. If he was satisfied with the Commissioners' estimate, the assent of three-fourths of the tenants, in number and ratable value, to purchase their holdings would have to be obtained. The Commission would then acquire the property for itself. It was to have the power, subject to Treasury conditions, to buy untenanted land outside the purchased estate, where that was necessary to a proper resale; also to have the right to effect any necessary improvement, amalgamation, or enlargement of holdings. As it was desirable that landlords who sold their property should continue to reside on their demesnes, the Act would afford them facilities for the repurchase of a portion of their estates. Then it was proposed to create a new category of estates. The present scheduling of congested districts was quite arbitrary and irrational in as far as the purchase and resale of land were concerned. The definition of congested districts was, therefore, enlarged for the purposes of the Bill, and the existing provision of the law requiring that there must be no loss on purchase and sale was relaxed. The administrative work to be done under the Bill would be entrusted to two Commissioners, who would be called the Estates Commissioners. From the date of an agreement between the Land Commission and a landlord the latter would be paid 4 per cent. on the agreed price. The advances made would be in cash instead of in land stock, which would be to the advantage of the landlords. The purchase instalments paid by the tenants were to be continuous until the whole amount of the purchase money was repaid, but the instalment would be lowered from 4*l.* to 3*l.* 15*s.*; on the other hand there would be no automatic reduction after ten years, as at present. As to judicial rents, it was proposed that when either party applied for a fair rent the other party might apply to the Land Commission to state the terms on which an agreement for sale could be properly made. If the applicant for sale declined to receive or to pay the price named by the Commission, the new rent would be fixed against him. If the applicant for the fair rent refused the price, the old rent would continue for a further period of fifteen years. In conclusion, Mr. Wyndham expressed a hope that the Bill, if it found acceptance, would help to bring landlords and tenants together. While Mr. J. Redmond (*Waterford*) took objection to the provisions in regard to judicial rents, the Bill had on the whole a distinctly friendly reception from representatives both of landlords and tenants.

CHAPTER III.

Mr. Rhodes's Will; his Oxford Bequests—Diversity of Opinion about the Education Bill—Letters from Mr. Acland and Mr. Chamberlain—Second Reading of Licensing Bill—Protracted Debates on New Procedure Rules—Estimates for Civil Services and Revenue Departments—Budget introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer: Income-Tax Increased, Cheque-Stamp Duty Doubled, and Corn-Import Duty Imposed—Debate on Irish Crimes Act Proclamations—Spion Kop Papers—The Peace Negotiations; Mr. Asquith thereon—Debates and Divisions on Welsh Local Government Bill and Postal Employés' Grievances—Facilities for Mr. Marconi's Experiments—Reception of Budget in the Country; Debates and Divisions thereon in the Commons—Martial Law Discussions in Both Houses—Atlantic Shipping Combination; Public Uneasiness; Discussion in House of Commons; Terms of Combination Published; Renewal of Arrangement between Admiralty and White Star Company—Debate on Second Reading of Education Bill; Large Majority in Its Favour—Lord Salisbury's Speech to the Primrose League—Manifesto of the Liberal League—The Bury Election—Debates and Divisions on Second Reading of Finance Bill—Industrial Law Debate and Division—Relief to West Indian Sufferers—Whitsuntide Adjournment.

A DEEPLY and universally favourable impression was produced by the publication (April 5) of the will of Mr. Cecil Rhodes. Even those who had looked with the most severely critical eyes on the career of that remarkable man—whether holding that his want of scruple with regard to means more than neutralised any grandeur and nobility in his aims, or that the aims themselves were of doubtful quality—were constrained to join with the great majority of their fellow-countrymen in applauding testamentary dispositions which were original alike in their substance and in the scale of the provision made for carrying them out. In regard to South Africa, the clauses of the will were of sufficiently striking conception. They made provision, first, for the creation, maintenance and adornment in the Matoppo Hills, in Rhodesia—where Mr. Rhodes desired that his own remains should be laid—of a burial-ground to be set apart for the bodies of men and women who should have rendered eminent services to South Africa; secondly, for the scientific cultivation of estates in Rhodesia, in the manner most calculated to afford instruction to the inhabitants of that region, in regard to such matters as irrigation, experimental farming, forestry, market and other gardening, and fruit farming, the establishment and maintenance of an agricultural college being also specified; and thirdly, for the dedication of the testator's residence, De Groote Schuur (with money for keeping it up), and neighbouring property under Table Mountain, to the use of the Prime Minister for the time being of a federated South Africa. Pending the realisation of federation, the grounds might be used as a public park.

But the most impressive parts of the will were its imperial, and even international, provisions in regard to University education. After expressing his sense of the value of the residential system in the English Universities, the absence of

which prevented him from establishing scholarships at Edinburgh, in spite of the number of South Africans studying medicine there, and expressing the hope that the Oxford School of Medicine might become "at least as good," Mr. Rhodes directed his trustees to establish, as soon as possible, scholarships of 300*l.* a year for three years, to be held at any college in the University of Oxford. Sixty colonial scholarships were to be assigned—nine to Rhodesia; twelve to Cape Colony (three to the South African College School, three to the Stellenbosch College School, three to the Diocesan College School of Rondebosch, three to St. Andrew's College School, Grahamstown); three to Natal; and three each to New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, the Province of Ontario in the Dominion of Canada, the Province of Quebec in the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland and its Dependencies, Bermudas, Jamaica; not more than one-third in each case to be filled up every year.

Mr. Rhodes also directed the establishment of American scholarships in such number that two might be appropriated to each State or Territory of the United States, not more than one for each State or Territory being filled up in any year. This magnificent bequest was expressly inspired by the testator's desire to encourage and foster an appreciation of the advantages which he "implicitly believed would result from the union of the English-speaking peoples throughout the world." But further, having regard to his conviction that "a good understanding between England, the United States of America, and Germany would secure the peace of the world and that educational relations formed the strongest tie," Mr. Rhodes, in a codicil, established fifteen scholarships, of 250*l.* a year each, for three years (five to be given in each of the three years after his death) for students of German birth to be nominated by the German Emperor.

In order to secure that the Rhodes scholars should not be merely bookworms, the founder, in the body of his will, directed that "in the election of a student to a scholarship regard should be had to (i.) his literary and scholastic attainments; (ii.) his fondness of, and success in, manly outdoor sports, such as cricket, football and the like; (iii.) his qualities of manhood, truth, courage, devotion to duty, sympathy for and protection of the weak, kindness, unselfishness and fellowship; and (iv.) his exhibition during schooldays of moral force of character and of instincts to lead and to take an interest in his schoolmates, for those latter attributes will be likely in after-life to guide him to esteem the performance of public duties as his highest aim." No student was to be qualified or disqualified for election to a scholarship on account of his race or religious opinions. Except in the cases of the four Cape Colony schools, the election to scholarships was to be by the trustees after consultation

with the local Education Minister. A desire was expressed that the scholars holding the scholarships should be distributed among the Oxford colleges, and not resort in undue numbers to one or more colleges only.

To his own old college, Oriel, Mr. Rhodes bequeathed 100,000*l.* free of duty, of which 40,000*l.* was to be spent on new buildings (partly in the actual erection and partly to make up the loss of rent involved in clearing the site), 40,000*l.* was to be invested for the increase of the income of the resident working Fellows, 10,000*l.*, the income of which was to go to the high table, and 10,000*l.* as a college repair fund. The college authorities being "like children as to commercial matters" were advised to consult the trustees as to the investment of the money.

Even in the private provisions of the will, the independent thought of the testator was illustrated. His recently purchased estate of Dalham Hall, near Newmarket, was entailed on his brother, Colonel Francis Rhodes, and his heirs male, with remainder to another brother, Captain E. F. Rhodes, and his heirs male, in strict settlement, but subject to the condition that the heir shall not assign, charge, or encumber his interest or (except in the case of the two brothers) omit to spend ten consecutive years in the practice of some business or profession, and (if his profession were not the Army) to join the Militia or Volunteers, failing which his interest should determine.

In conclusion, after various private dispositions, Mr. Rhodes left the residue of his real and personal estate to the Earl of Rosebery, Earl Grey, Lord Milner, Mr. A. Beit, Dr. L. S. Jameson, Mr. L. L. Michell, and Mr. B. F. Hawkesley (who had previously been appointed executors and trustees) absolutely as joint tenants.

If, as was certainly the fact, Mr. Rhodes's princely testamentary scheme in connection with higher education awakened sympathetic applause in all directions, the Easter recess did not pass without affording only too abundant evidence that in the political and ecclesiastical spheres educational legislation was to be a profoundly dividing issue. In later chapters it will be necessary to follow the fortunes of the Government Education Bill with considerable closeness. At this point it will be enough to indicate a few features of its early reception. Almost from the outset two things became clear. In the first place, though at the committee stage in the autumn session a change was introduced which excited considerable discontent among the clergy, for many months there was an entirely overwhelming preponderance of feeling in favour of the Bill among the friends of Church of England and Roman Catholic elementary schools. It was regarded by them as promising the removal of a financial pressure which had long crippled the secular efficiency and even threatened the existence of many of those schools, and as giving this relief on terms which were compatible with the continued efficiency of the schools as agencies of definite religious in-

struction. The one serious flaw which they saw in the Bill was the option proposed to be given to local authorities as to whether or not they would administer that part of it which related to elementary education; but it was pretty soon understood that this provision would be dropped if there were a sufficiently strong demonstration of feeling against it on the Ministerial side. Among the earliest evidences of denominational feeling on the subject may be mentioned a commendatory resolution (but deprecating the "local option" clause) passed by the Standing Committee of the National Society (March 26), and approval expressed, but in most cases with the same reservation, by the York House of Laymen (April 3), the Bishop of Manchester (April 3), the Bishops of Worcester and Coventry (April 4), the Bishop of Chester in the *Times* (April 7), the Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford, and the Archbishop and Bishops of the Roman Catholic province of Westminster, in a resolution published on April 11.

On the other hand, and in the second place, it speedily became clear that the Bill was regarded with very strong aversion in Nonconformist quarters. The main ground of objection taken was that, while throwing the whole charge of the maintenance of denominational schools (apart from that of the fabrics) on public funds, it failed to secure to the local public any real control over the management of the schools so maintained, and amounted in effect to a new endowment of the Church of England; also that it perpetuated and enhanced the injustice of the pressure of the system of religious tests in the profession of elementary teaching, which would now, it was said, if the Bill should pass, be the permanent monopoly of Anglicans in the schools educating more than half of the children of the working classes. Denunciatory resolutions, based generally on grounds of this character, were passed by the National Free Church Council, the London Congregational Union (April 8), the General Committee of the Protestant Dissenting Deputies, and other bodies; and at an early date a disposition, to which both encouragement and expression were vigorously administered by the *British Weekly*, was somewhat extensively shown to urge that it would be the duty of Nonconformists to refuse to pay the education rate if the Bill should become law. Dr. Parker, of the City Temple, in a letter to the *Times* (April 5), avowed himself earnestly in favour of this policy, which was also defended by the Rev. H. Price Hughes. It was opposed by the Rev. Dr. John Watson, of Liverpool (known in the literary world as "Ian Maclaren"), but the voices of restraint among the Nonconformist opposition were less audible than those of indignant reproach and menace. These manifestations of feeling in the period before the debate on the second reading of the Education Bill culminated in a crowded conference of Free Church Councils, held at St. James's Hall, London (April 15). On that occasion, Dr.

Clifford, the minister of Westbourne Park Baptist Chapel, who during the remainder of the year was the most conspicuous and influential leader of the Nonconformist movement against the measure, moved the first of a series of resolutions (all carried with practical unanimity and much enthusiasm) denouncing it—for the reasons already mentioned, and others, such as the absence of a “mandate from the people” to Parliament for the “revolutionary” changes proposed—and vehemently appealed to his hearers to agitate for the destruction of “this accursed Bill.” Other speakers at the same meeting were Mr. R. Perks, M.P., who referred to the Government as “priest-ridden,” Dr. Guinness Rogers and Mr. Alfred Illingworth, veterans of former education battles, the Rev. H. Price Hughes, Mr. A. Spicer, and the Rev. J. Hirst Hollowell, a protagonist of militant Lancashire Nonconformity, who declared that Free Churchmen would never submit to the conditions laid down in the Bill. Two days later Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman received very sympathetically a deputation from the Free Church Councils, and mentioned that he thought he could say pretty confidently that the Liberal party would be “united in a strong, fervent, and strenuous opposition” to the Bill. Among Wesleyans—who were the only non-episcopal body possessing any substantial number of Voluntary Schools—there was a considerable section of opinion favourable to the Bill as securing much-needed improvement in the efficiency of those schools, and as providing the desirable unity of local educational authority. Expression was given to this view (*Times*, April 18) by Dr. Waller, of the Wesleyan Training College at Westminster; but apparently it was only held by a minority of the important denomination concerned. At any rate when (April 22), at a meeting of a special Education Committee appointed in 1901 by the Wesleyan Conference, Dr. Waller moved an amendment generally approving of the Bill in place of a denunciatory resolution moved by Mr. H. Price Hughes, he was beaten by 44 votes to 22, and the resolution carried by 49 to 23.

Among educationists with no very decidedly marked denominational or political associations there appeared to be from the outset a very distinct preponderance of opinion in favour of the general policy of the Bill. The National Union of (Elementary) Teachers discussed it at length (April 1 and 2) and ultimately passed, *nem. con.*, a resolution expressing “approval of the main principles” of the Bill, as providing for the creation of “local authorities controlling and maintaining all forms of education within wide areas.” The Union also recorded its “satisfaction with the Government’s desire to place our educational system on a sound basis,” while deprecating the option clause, and making various suggestions in subsequent resolutions for modifications in detail. In *Nature* of April 10 Dr. Oliver Lodge, Principal of the Birmingham University, criticised the

Bill on the whole favourably, but Sir Joshua Fitch thought that it would repress rather than encourage educational enterprise.

Mr. Arthur Acland, the Education Minister of the previous Liberal Government, examined the Bill in a long letter to the *Times* (April 15), and arrived at decidedly unfavourable conclusions. Among other things, he did not think the arrangements with regard to Voluntary Schools fair to the public or likely to tend to efficiency, and feared that many local authorities having to levy an increased education rate to meet the elementary charges would put the question of a really effective organisation and supply of secondary education into the background for many years. His views were strongly combated (*Times*, April 21) by Sir William Anson, Warden of All Souls and Member for Oxford University, a Liberal Unionist of wide educational knowledge, who was shortly destined for important educational office. There were, however, an appreciable number of Liberal Unionists in the country, and notably at Birmingham, who looked upon the Education Bill with great dissatisfaction, as threatening to involve them in a policy inconsistent with "the essential principles of Liberalism—representation with taxation, the soundest education of the people without waste of public money, and the liberation of teachers from ecclesiastical tests." In this sense Dr. J. G. Glover, a well-known London Liberal Unionist and Nonconformist, wrote to Mr. Chamberlain and received a reply of some length and of very decided tone (published April 24), which was of special interest in view of rumours which had prevailed in preceding months of Cabinet differences on the education question. The Colonial Secretary pointed out that, for the first time, the Bill provided "a single local authority to superintend and provide both elementary and secondary education," and he laid stress on the absolute and complete control which this authority would wield over secular education. In this connection, and in preferring, for educational purposes, the municipal authorities to authorities elected *ad hoc* with the cumulative vote, Mr. Chamberlain maintained that the Bill was "a great advance on previous legislation." In regard to the treatment of denominational schools, he acknowledged to a continued preference, in theory, for the plan of an entire separation between secular and religious education. But he pointed out that this plan, which had been tried in Birmingham under the second School Board of which he was chairman, had been abandoned "owing to the overwhelming pressure of the Nonconformists themselves, who refused to accept an entirely secular system." He did not believe that this plan had any better chance of success at the present day, and therefore the practical question was what substitute could be provided for it. So far back as 1891 he had told his constituents that he "no longer thought that the extinction of the Voluntary Schools, painless or otherwise, was possible." He now maintained that the conditions attached in the Bill to

the provision of the assistance from the rates necessary to make them efficient on the secular side would have "far-reaching effects in popularising the schools," and removing grievances in the exceptional cases where they existed. As to theological tests for teachers, "the evil, so far as it was an evil, would be lessened and not increased."

Among the rank and file of Conservative politicians, in the first few weeks and even months after its introduction, there was not much evidence of warmth of feeling in favour of the Education Bill. They generally approved it, but the subject was a difficult one which had not deeply engaged their interest, and it was not until the opposition to it became both more passionate and more extensive that anything like enthusiasm was shown in its behalf by the mass of the larger section of the Unionist party.

The first business of importance when the House of Commons reassembled after the Easter recess (April 7) was the second reading of the Licensing Bill, the scope and purport of which were sketched in the Home Secretary's speech introducing it (see pp. 43-4). The measure was treated in a friendly manner both by the moderate and the advanced temperance reformers though the latter—for example Mr. Caine (*Camborne, Cornwall*)—regretted that the Home Secretary had not had the courage to include in it an attempt to reduce the number of liquor shops in the country. In his reply at the close of the debate Mr. Ritchie dealt with criticisms passed upon the Bill from various points of view. He denied that there was any injustice in clause 4 (throwing on the publican the burden of proving that he had not permitted drinking to excess in certain cases), for there was nothing unfair in requiring a licence-holder to exercise the utmost care to prevent drunkenness on his premises. The difficulty in dealing with the ante-1869 beerhouses was the question of compensation. If temperance reformers would only be reasonable, and sanction the principle of compensation, the liquor question, Mr. Ritchie observed, could be settled on a satisfactory basis. But, having regard to their present uncompromising opposition to that principle, it would have been folly to introduce into the Bill any proposals involving it. His intention with reference to clubs was that there should be no unnecessary interference with properly conducted clubs, and when proceedings were taken against bogus clubs the provisions of the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879 would be observed; so arbitrary action need not be feared. He was ready to listen in committee to the arguments of those who thought that the club clauses ought to be strengthened, but he was not in favour of making the law too drastic, as obstacles ought not to be put in the way of the development of *bonâ fide* workmen's clubs. He agreed that the sale of liquor for consumption off club premises was undesirable, and he was prepared to consider amendments bearing on the point. With regard to clause 8, dealing with

retail off-licences, their number had doubled since 1879; they had, in fact, increased out of all proportion to the increase of the population. The effect of the clause, however, would not be so much to diminish the number of existing off-licences as to prevent their unnecessary extension. The Bill was read a second time without a division and referred to the Standing Committee on Trade.

On the following day (April 8) the consideration of the new Rules of Procedure was resumed, and evoked a good deal of independent speaking and voting on the part of Ministerialists. After Mr. Balfour had explained and agreed to defer discussion on a much modified set of proposals with regard to questions to Ministers, he moved that the sitting on Fridays should in future begin at twelve o'clock and end at six, and this was carried, after a protest by Mr. Gibson Bowles (*King's Lynn*), by 192 votes against 112.

Mr. Balfour then moved a new Standing Order giving Government business precedence before Easter at every sitting except the evening sitting on Tuesday and Wednesday, and the sitting on Friday, and providing that after Easter such business should also have precedence at evening sittings on Tuesdays, and after Whitsuntide at all evening sittings, and all Friday sittings, except the third and fourth Fridays after Whitsunday. Mr. Galloway (*Manchester, S.W.*) moved an amendment to enable private Members' Bills to be taken on Thursday afternoons, instead of at the Friday sittings. This was supported among Unionists by Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincs.*), Mr. Stuart-Wortley (*Hallam, Sheffield*) and Mr. Hardy (*Ashford, Kent*), as well as by Sir C. Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Glouc.*), Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*), and other Liberal Members, and only defeated by 194 votes to 145. On the motion of Mr. Caldwell (*Lanark, Mid*) it was agreed that private Members' Bills should have precedence of Government business at those evening sittings when such precedence was enjoyed by notices of motion. Majorities showing often considerably less than the normal Ministerial preponderance, but ranging from 52 up to even 80, sustained Mr. Balfour on April 8, 10 and 11 in resisting amendments curtailing in various ways the advantages secured to Government business under the proposed Standing Order. He assented, however, to an amendment providing that the complete supersession of the private Member (with the exception of two specified Fridays), from Whitsuntide forward, should not continue after Michaelmas—that is to say in an autumn session—unless the House should specially so determine. In the course of the discussion (April 11) Mr. Balfour pointed out that under the Government scheme private Members would have seventeen morning sittings for their measures in the present session, a larger number by three than they had had in any previous year since 1887. A normal session consisted of 120 working days, or 960 hours, of which he calculated that not more than 276

were available for the business of legislation initiated by the Government; and it was impossible to admit of any further inroads upon so small a space of time. Whether the rules affecting the conduct of private Members' business could be altered with advantage was another matter, and one of the utmost importance; but in any case changes could only be made after careful inquiry. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) agreed that the Government had not enough time at its disposal, but held that the true remedy lay in a large devolution of business.

In the end the new Standing Order as to Government and private Members' business was carried by 160 votes to 101. Mr. Balfour then moved a new Standing Order as to Supply—essentially the same as that which had obtained for the last six years—providing that twenty, or at the most twenty-three, days should be devoted to the Estimates, but substituting Thursday for Friday as the ordinary day on which they should be taken. On an amendment, moved by Major Rasch (*Chelmsford, Essex*), to the effect that no Member should speak more than once, or longer than twenty minutes, on any one question in Committee of Supply, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman said that he was in favour of a time-limit for speeches, but did not think that it would be wise to try the experiment in the first instance with discussions in Supply. Mr. Balfour pointed out, as to the length of speeches, that Ministers often had to make statements which nobody would wish to be shortened in Committee of Supply. None the less did he recognise that, in all probability, the House would be eventually forced into the adoption of some kind of time-limit. The amendment was negatived by 268 to 24.

An amendment was then moved by Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) directed against the system perpetuated by the proposed Standing Order of automatically closing Supply at the end of the allotted days, under which, he pointed out, some 88,000,000*l.* had in 1901 been voted without discussion. He suggested that committees should be appointed to deal with the Naval, Military and Civil Service Estimates, and that there should then be a report stage of not more than twenty days. Mr. Balfour defended the present Supply arrangements as a great improvement on the old unmethodical practice, and maintained that too much rather than too little time had been given to the Estimates of late years. Including the days on which Supplementary Estimates were discussed, thirty-five sittings were devoted to Supply in 1901. To obtain more time they would be driven either to reduce still further the time available for legislation, or to extend the session beyond its normal length of six months. This year it was inevitable that they should sit for a longer period, but he considered it unwise, as a rule, to ask the House to exceed that term, and he believed that Mr. Gladstone had been of the same opinion.

Further discussed on April 24, when the proposed Standing Order was resisted by Mr. J. Redmond (*Waterford*) as preventing the effective discussion of the Irish Estimates, and also by Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*), Sir C. Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Glouc.*), and Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*), Mr. Lough's amendment was defeated by 237 votes to 140. In a much smaller House, however, at the dinner hour on the following evening, an amendment moved by the same Member, removing the restriction to twenty-three of the number of days to be allotted to Supply, was only lost by 43 votes, the numbers being 138 to 95. Earlier, on April 25, an amendment moved by Mr. T. W. Russell, providing that not less than five of the allotted days should be devoted to Irish Supply, was supported by Sir W. Harcourt, as well as by Mr. Dillon and several Nationalist Members, but opposed by Mr. Balfour and defeated by 218 votes to 138. Mr. Balfour agreed, with regard to an amendment moved by Mr. G. Bowles, not to count as allotted days sittings devoted to the consideration of any Supplementary Estimates introduced for exceptional purposes, and several amendments having been defeated, the new Supply Standing Order was ultimately carried (April 28) by 222 to 138.

Then began, on the same evening, the consideration of Mr. Balfour's revised proposals with regard to questions to Ministers. These were embodied in a new rule under which questions would be taken from a quarter past two until five minutes to three. At that hour only urgent questions which might properly be asked without notice, and questions relating to the business of the House, could be put, and public business would begin at three o'clock. Mr. Gibson Bowles having submitted an amendment providing that private business should be disposed of before any questions were answered, Mr. Balfour declined to entertain the proposal, as being really subversive of his whole scheme. The House, he thought, recognised with the Government that public business ought always to begin at a fixed hour. The effect of passing the amendment would be to sanction the displacement of that business whenever opposed private business was set down. In response to this appeal the amendment was rejected by 229 to 134.

The expediency of limiting to three-quarters of an hour the time that could be occupied in catechising Ministers was challenged by an amendment moved by Mr. Fuller (*Westbury, Wilts*) and supported by Mr. T. P. O'Connor (*Scotland, Liverpool*), who spoke of the proposed rule as amounting to "a new Coercion Act for Ireland." Other Liberal and Nationalist Members supported the amendment, and Mr. Buxton (*Poplar, Tower Hamlets*) urged that for a gain in time of, apparently, only ten to fifteen minutes, it was unwise to interfere with the constitutional right of Members to put questions and so create a sense of grievance. Independent Conservatives, however, like Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincs.*) and Sir A. Rollit (*Islington, S.*)

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cordially approved of the proposed rule, and Mr. Fuller's amendment was rejected by 258 to 164.

This was on April 29, and the usual midnight limit for contested business having been suspended, the new Questions Rule was further discussed for many hours. Some of the amendments moved related to the provision, in the latter part of the new rule, as to the "starring" by Members of questions to which they desired oral answers, subject to the condition that "notice of any such question must appear at latest on the notice paper circulated on the day before that on which an answer is desired," failing which the answer would be printed and circulated with the votes. Mr. Balfour declined to forego this extension of the previous requirements as to notice, and was sustained in so doing by majorities of 85 and 101. Under the last clause of the new Questions Rule as now proposed, the "starred" questions were to be "so arranged on the paper that those which seemed of the greatest general interest should be reached before five minutes before three of the clock." There appearing to be a widespread feeling that the selection among questions, hereby involved, would throw an invidious responsibility on the officials of the House, Mr. Balfour withdrew the final clause, and the new Questions Rule thus reduced was carried at 2 A.M., April 30, by 166 votes to 97.

Thereupon, in a somewhat heated atmosphere, the House proceeded to the consideration of proposed changes in the regulations with regard to motions for the adjournment of the House arising out of answers to questions. The main effect of Mr. Balfour's proposals on this subject was that when, but not until, all questions asked at the commencement of an afternoon sitting had been answered, a dissatisfied Member might ask leave to move the adjournment, but that if leave were obtained (through forty Members rising in their places) the debate should not take place until the evening sitting of the same day. Mr. Chaplin contended that this arrangement would take away from the effectiveness of such motions, and therefore moved an amendment to provide that a motion for the adjournment should be taken at the morning sitting unless a similar motion had been previously made three times during the session. Mr. Balfour, however, said it would be impossible for the Government to accept the amendment. If Mr. Chaplin's proposal was worth anything it should not be limited as was proposed. The brief notice given under this rule would be of advantage to the House. If a Minister had an opportunity of getting up his facts it would conduce to soundness of debate.

Mr. Chaplin's amendment was defeated by 148 to 85 and Mr. Balfour's motion deferring the discussion of motions of adjournment from the afternoon sitting at which they should be made to the evening of the same day was carried by 148 to 86, the House rising at 5.40 A.M., April 30.

In a much more tranquil temper, the House, on May 1,

passed a Private Business Rule modified in a few respects, by Mr. Balfour's assent, from the draft which he had moved. As finally adopted without a division it ran as follows: "That no opposed private business shall be set down for the sittings on Friday or for the evening sittings on Wednesday between Easter and Whitsuntide. All private business which is set down for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday, and is not disposed of by fifteen minutes after two of the clock shall, without question put, be postponed until such time as the Chairman of Ways and Means may determine. Provided that such private business shall always be taken at the beginning of an evening sitting after any motion for the adjournment of the House standing over from an afternoon sitting has been disposed of, and that such postponed business shall be distributed as near as may be proportionately between the sittings on which Government business has precedence and the other sittings. At an evening sitting at which Government business has not precedence, no opposed private business other than that then under consideration shall be taken after a quarter past ten of the clock. Unopposed private business shall have precedence of opposed private business."

It was interesting to notice that during the discussion on the above rule, Mr. Balfour observed that he looked forward to a time when the kind of work to which the new Standing Order related would be dealt with out of the House, and added that the possibility of delegation would be considered by a committee which he hoped to appoint.

A rule was adopted the same evening, preventing the House from being counted out at an evening sitting before 10 o'clock, and on the following day (May 2) the long-drawn-out Procedure debates came for a time to an end. The proposal that there should be afternoon and evening sittings on Wednesdays and Thursdays, as well as on Mondays and Tuesdays, which had been held over for consideration, was carried by 206 to 131. A few minor amendments to the Standing Orders were agreed to on Mr. Balfour's motion. He intimated that he should not at present move to make the resolutions as to the time of the House Standing Orders. They would meanwhile be Sessional Orders. The Government, he stated, intended to proceed later in the session with the new rules relating to penalties for disorder in debate, but no time could be mentioned for doing so.

The chronological order of our general narrative has been departed from in order to give a consecutive view of the treatment of the Procedure question by the House of Commons in the second section of the session. It is now necessary to go back in order to deal with the introduction of what was, in some respects, a Budget of exceptional interest. Before doing so, however, the view already given of the Navy and Army Estimates must be supplemented by some reference to those dealing with the Civil Services and Revenue Departments, so that

the nature of the calls upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer may be more fully understood. The Estimates for the Civil Services exhibited the following comparison with the previous year, the difference between the gross and net figures being due to the sums appropriated in aid of the different votes from various sources—fees, stamps, sales of stores, etc.

Class.		1902-3.		1901-2. Grants in Session of 1901.	
		Gross.	Net.	Gross.	Net.
		£	£	£	£
I.	Public Works and Buildings	2,341,875	2,254,602	2,254,615	2,170,215
II.	Salaries, etc., of Public Departments	3,188,036	2,607,994	3,160,338	2,587,352
III.	Law and Justice	4,597,137	3,862,773	4,546,533	3,832,779
IV.	Education, Science and Art	13,095,669	13,034,451	12,860,598	12,799,005
V.	Foreign and Colonial Services	3,966,134	3,855,939	8,660,677	8,557,957
VI.	Non-Effective and Charitable	630,885	630,740	609,113	608,968
VII.	Miscellaneous	209,846	201,646	67,554	60,254
	Total	28,029,582	26,448,145	32,159,428	30,616,530*

The total of the net sums which Parliament would be asked to vote	
amounted as above to	£26,448,145
<i>Deduct</i> —Estimated Receipts (Cash and Stamps) not appropriated	
in aid of separate votes	1,661,283
Estimated Net Expenditure for the Seven Classes, 1902-3	<u>£24,786,862</u>

* The Amount of the Net Estimates for Civil Services, 1901-2, was	£23,630,120
<i>Add</i> —Supplementary Estimates for Civil Services for 1901-2, in-	
cluded in the Appropriation Act, 1901	6,978,910
„ Transfer from Revenue Departments	7,500
Total	<u>£30,616,530</u>

These Estimates were accompanied by an explanatory memorandum by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Austen Chamberlain). At its outset he pointed out that in accordance with the usual practice the figures of the grants for 1901-2, shown in the above abstract and throughout the detailed Estimates, were those of the total grants made for the service of that year in the session of 1901. They included, therefore, besides the original Estimates of the year, Supplementary Estimates amounting to 6,978,910*l.*, which were voted in the session of 1901. With this addition the total of the grants for 1901-2 was raised to 30,616,530*l.*, and the Estimates for the next year showed, by comparison, a decrease of 4,168,385*l.* In this case proper comparison was disturbed by the difference in the sums required for the new South African Colonies. The Grant in Aid voted on a Supplementary Estimate in 1901-2 was 6,500,000*l.*, while that required in 1902-3 was 1,800,000*l.* Ex-

cluding the service of those Colonies from the figures for both years, the comparison was between a total of 24,116,530*l.* voted for all other Civil Services in 1901-2, and a total of 24,648,145*l.* required for such services in 1902-3, an increase of 531,615*l.* This might be compared with an increase in 1901 of 447,157*l.*, and in 1900 of 410,467*l.*, in the amount of the original Estimates then presented over the total grants of the preceding sessions. Of the substantial increase just indicated 115,300*l.* was accounted for by terminable annuities payable in gradual liquidation of fresh loans obtained from the National Debt Commissioners in 1901 for capital expenditure under various heads.

In Class I. (Public Works and Buildings) there was a net increase of 84,387*l.* Among the items contributing to this result were 10,000*l.* for the completion of the alterations at Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle; 41,000*l.* in connection with the purchase of property adjoining the National Gallery; 13,000*l.* for additional accommodation required by the Ordnance Survey at Southampton; and all but 20,000*l.*, mainly accounted for, in pretty equal proportion, under new works and maintenance, in connection with Public Works and Buildings in Ireland. In Class II. (Salaries and Expenses of Public Departments) there was a modest apparent increase of only 20,642*l.*; but allowing for a reduction of 146,852*l.* in connection with the census expenses of 1901, there was a real increase of 167,494*l.* The great bulk of this large rise occurred under the vote for stationery and printing, which had grown by 122,108*l.*, mainly due to the enhanced requirements of the War Office. There was also an increase of 17,439*l.* in the provision for the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in Ireland. In Class III. (Law and Justice) there were savings under some heads, but they were much more than counterbalanced by an increase of 34,216*l.* under the head of English Prisons, owing to a rise in the number of persons under detention in local prisons, the average number of these prisoners being estimated for 1902-3 at 17,000 as against the original estimate of 15,500 for 1901-2. The total increase of charge in this class was 20,994*l.*

Under Class IV. (Education, Science and Art) the Board of Education required for England and Wales an increase, mainly from normal growth of school population in attendance, of 170,884*l.*; Scottish Public Education claimed 43,831*l.* more; the Estimate for Scientific Investigation included the final instalment of the grant of 45,000*l.* in aid of the National Antarctic Expedition, and the first instalment of a proposed contribution of 42,000*l.*, to be spread over three years, towards the expenses of the International Scheme of Investigations in connection with the fisheries of the North Sea and adjacent waters.

In Class V. (Foreign and Colonial Services) the Estimate for African Protectorates under the Foreign Office showed an increase of 185,044*l.* That of British East Africa would take



The Postal Service was made up as follows :—

	1902-3.	1901-2.
	£	£
Post-Office - - - -	9,761,815	9,822,960
Packet Service - - -	778,915	781,085
Telegraphs - - - -	4,211,250	4,034,930

It was not unnatural that, having regard to the communications which were known to be passing between the Boer leaders in South Africa and his Majesty's Government, with a view to a possible peace, there should be a feeling in some quarters that the exposition of the financial and fiscal arrangements of the year might be deferred, pending the definite issue of negotiations by which, as it appeared, they might, and almost must, be essentially affected. On April 14, the day announced for the Budget statement, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman put a question in this sense in the Commons, but Sir M. Hicks-Beach answered that he could not accede to the suggestion of the Opposition leader for reasons which he would explain.

The House having resolved itself into Committee of Ways and Means, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was loudly cheered on rising, after describing the general financial situation as one that justified fair hopes in regard to the revenue for the current year, gave the House the details of the revenue and expenditure for the year that had just ended. There had, he said, been a considerable falling off in the receipts from tobacco, spirits and beer, but as regarded tobacco and spirits the decrease was largely due to the forestalments of duty in 1900-1; and though, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was bound to regret the decrease on beer, there was a countervailing advantage in the increased consumption of tea and cocoa. In the last two years the receipts of the revenue had exceeded his anticipations, and in this he was more fortunate than some of his predecessors. Last year his estimate of revenue was 142,455,000*l.*, and the Exchequer receipts exceeded this amount by 543,000*l.* The expenditure provided for in the Budget was 184,212,000*l.* There were Supplementary Estimates amounting to 12,631,000*l.*, and an unexpected increase in the Consolidated Fund charges of 73,000*l.* On the other hand, there were savings on various heads amounting to 1,394,000*l.* Therefore the total issues from the Exchequer were 195,522,000*l.* The Exchequer receipts were 142,998,000*l.*, which left a deficit of 52,524,000*l.* This had been provided for out of the Consols Loan, which produced 56,553,000*l.*, so that there remained a balance of over 4,000,000*l.*—a much better result, Sir M. Hicks-Beach observed, than was anticipated by high authorities on the Opposition side of the House. Out of the total expenditure of the year, he

went on to say, 73,197,000*l.* was for war charges in South Africa and China. Deducting, as a continuing charge, 3,367,000*l.* interest on the war debt, the special war charges of the year were—military, 63,230,000*l.*, and civil, 6,600,000*l.*, or a total of 69,830,000*l.*—towards which there had been provided out of revenue 17,306,000*l.*, including the revenue which, but for the suspension of the Sinking Fund, would have gone to repay old debt. Including the amounts paid into the Local Taxation Account and expenditure on military and naval works, the Uganda Railway, the Pacific cable, and for other purposes, the total expenditure provided by the State in the year 1901-2 was 212,783,000*l.*

Coming to the revenue side of the account, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the receipts under the head of Customs were 30,993,000*l.*, or 993,000*l.* more than his estimate. Sugar produced 6,390,000*l.*, instead of only 5,100,000*l.* as anticipated. The duty had been most successful, and the doleful prophecies indulged in last year as to its effect had been falsified. The export coal duty had yielded 1,314,000*l.*, a little more than his estimate, and the exports for the year were higher than those for any previous year with the exception of the “record” year, 1900-1. Nothing had occurred to justify the prophecies of ruin to the trade which were indulged in last year. Turning to the item of wine, he said that the duty last year produced less than in the year before, and that it would be quite impossible to obtain an increase of revenue by raising the duty. The receipts from tea had exceeded his estimate by 490,000*l.* The Excise duty on beer produced 200,000*l.* less than in 1900-1, and the revenue from home spirits had also largely decreased. The death duties brought 18,398,000*l.* to the revenue, but 4,198,000*l.* of this went to the Local Taxation Account. The yield to the Exchequer was 200,000*l.* more than the estimate. The income tax produced 34,800,000*l.*, or 1,000,000*l.* more than the estimate, and Sir M. Hicks-Beach expressed his gratitude to the payers of the tax for their prompt response to the demands which he had made upon them. The Exchequer balance on March 31 stood at 8,567,000*l.* His account of the National Debt was not very satisfactory. At the end of the financial year it stood at 768,408,000*l.* He then stated that the total cost of the wars in Africa and China during the last three years had been 165,034,000*l.* This expenditure had been met by loans amounting to 119,614,000*l.* and by payments out of revenue amounting to 45,420,000*l.* He hoped that some of this expenditure would be recouped when the war was over. Our share of the Chinese indemnity was 6,000,000*l.*, and this, when realised, ought, he held, to be devoted to the reduction of the Debt.

Passing to the finances of the current year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated the expenditure and revenue as follows:—

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE, 1902-3.

Compared with the Issues of 1901-2.

	Estimate 1902-3.	Amount issued to meet Total Expenditure.
	£	£
National Debt Services - - - - -	23,000,000	18,319,000
Other Consolidated Fund Services - - - - -	1,645,000	1,644,000
Payments to Local Taxation Accounts - - - - -	1,155,000	1,153,000
Army (including Ordnance Factories) - - - - -	29,665,000	29,312,000
Navy - - - - -	31,255,000	31,030,000
Civil Services - - - - -	24,648,000	23,900,000
Customs and Inland Revenue - - - - -	3,039,000	2,955,000
Post Office - - - - -	9,762,000	9,240,000
Telegraph Service - - - - -	4,211,000	4,010,000
Packet Service - - - - -	779,000	762,000
War Charges—		
Interest on War Debt - - - - -	3,650,000	3,367,000
Army - - - - -	40,000,000	63,230,000
Civil Services - - - - -	1,800,000	6,600,000
Total - - - - -	174,609,000	195,522,000

In order to show the entire expenditure for which the State was responsible in 1901-2, there have to be added (1) the expenditure to which the public revenue paid into the local taxation accounts is applied, and (2) the expenditure chargeable to capital account. These additions are made in the following statement :—

I. Expenditure chargeable against Exchequer Revenue, as in above table - - - - -	£195,522,000
II. Expenditure chargeable against Local Taxation Revenue - - - - -	9,803,000*
	£205,125,000
III. Expenditure chargeable against Capital - - - - -	7,548,000
Total - - - - -	£212,673,000*

* Exclusive of £110,000 paid under the Tithe Rent-charge (Rates) Act, 1899.

ESTIMATED REVENUE FOR 1902-3.

Compared with the Receipts for 1901-2.

	Estimate for 1902-3.	Exchequer Receipts, 1901-2.
	£	£
Customs - - - - -	32,800,000	30,993,000
Excise - - - - -	32,700,000	31,600,000
Estate, etc., Duties - - - - -	13,200,000	14,200,000
Stamps - - - - -	8,200,000	7,800,000
Land Tax - - - - -	740,000	725,000
House Duty - - - - -	1,760,000	1,775,000
Property and Income Tax - - - - -	36,600,000	34,800,000
Post Office - - - - -	14,800,000	14,300,000
Telegraph Service - - - - -	3,630,000	3,490,000
Crown Lands - - - - -	475,000	455,000
Receipts from Suez Canal Shares and Sundry Loans - - - - -	880,000	870,000
Miscellaneous - - - - -	2,000,000	1,990,000
Total - - - - -	147,785,000	142,998,000

The total estimated expenditure and revenue, on the basis of existing taxation, being respectively 174,609,000*l.* and 147,785,000*l.*, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, therefore, had a deficit to provide for of 26,824,000*l.* But to this deficit he had still a material addition to make. It was his duty, he said, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, not to take a rosy view of affairs in South Africa, and to prepare for the worst rather than for the best. Conferences, they knew, were proceeding at the present moment, and he had hopes that they would lead to happy results, but he could not allow himself to be influenced by them. Nothing was more likely, he declared, to conduce to peace at the present crisis than a further proof by the House and the country that they were determined to carry the war through at any cost. Sir M. Hicks-Beach therefore asked the committee to provide for an addition to the deficit of between 16,000,000*l.* and 17,000,000*l.* for the purposes of the war.

There were also, he pointed out, charges which would have to be met for the South African Constabulary, and it would be necessary to grant some assistance to our sugar-growing Colonies in the West Indies, pending the abolition of bounties, and to provide for the interest on the further debt which would have to be incurred this year. Altogether, therefore, he asked for an additional 18,500,000*l.*, which brought the deficit up to 45,500,000*l.* He asked the committee to bear in mind that if peace should come gratuities and bounties would have to be provided for our soldiers, and that considerable sums would be required for transporting Reservists home and for maintaining a considerable force in Africa. Means would also have to be provided for the resettlement of the two Colonies which had been so terribly devastated by war—for rebuilding and restocking the farms, not only of our friends, but also of those who had been our enemies, and whom we hoped to make our friends in future. This declaration of policy was received with loud cheers. If peace, he continued, was made on terms satisfactory, enduring and safe, the country would be generous in these matters. Yet he did not believe that any great charge need be imposed upon the taxpayers, for he was still of opinion that it would be quite possible for the new Colonies to repay any advances that might be made to them.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then came to his proposals for meeting the deficit. He announced that he proposed to suspend the Sinking Fund once more, by which means he would obtain 4,500,000*l.* He also proposed to have recourse to the income tax, which he described as our great financial engine in time of war. The tax would be increased by 1*d.* When the war was over and circumstances permitted, the payers of the tax would have the first claim to a reduction. This increase of the tax would yield 2,000,000*l.* this year. He also proposed another kind of direct taxation—namely, an additional stamp duty of 1*d.* on cheques—which was ex-

pected to yield 500,000*l.* An addition to our indirect taxation being also desirable, he had decided, as there were strong reasons, which he explained, against increasing the duties on beer, tobacco, tea and sugar, to put a registration duty on imported corn and flour. It was necessary thus to enlarge our existing basis of taxation as, having regard to the continuous augmentations of naval and military armaments in other countries and to the increasing demands upon the Exchequer flowing from our modern civilisation, we could not hope for a decrease of our annual expenditure in years to come. Having sketched the history of the old registration duty on corn, before its abolition in 1869 by Mr. Lowe, he maintained that the repeal of the duty was a great mistake and that it ought to be reimposed. The duty would be 3*d.* per cwt. on all imported corn and grain, and the correlative duty on flour and meal would be 5*d.* per cwt. The yield of these duties in the current year he estimated at 2,650,000*l.*, making a total estimated receipt from new taxation of 5,150,000*l.* This would reduce his deficit to about 35,500,000*l.* He intended to borrow 32,000,000*l.*, and to make up the rest of the deficiency by drafts upon the unexpended Exchequer balances, which were nearly double what they were last year. He might also have subsequently to ask the Committee for temporary borrowing powers by Treasury bills to the extent of 10,000,000*l.* or 12,000,000*l.* In his concluding sentences the Chancellor of the Exchequer returned to the subject of the taxation of imported corn, and, justifying his proposal, replied in anticipation to those who he said would be sure to raise the cry that he was taxing the food of the people. He contended that, in these days of high wages and cheap bread, the people would not resent being asked to make what could be no more in each individual case than an infinitesimal contribution towards the cost of the war and of the Navy, which, as one of its primary duties, was charged with the protection of the food supply of the nation.

The result of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposals may be conveniently tabulated thus:—

Estimated expenditure—	
Debt and other Consolidated Fund Charges - - - -	£29,450,000
Supply Services - - - - -	145,159,000
	<hr/> £174,609,000
Estimated receipts on basis of existing taxation (details given on p. 121)	
	147,785,000
	<hr/>
Estimated deficit - - - - -	£26,824,000
Further War Expenditure and help to sugar-growing Colonies, etc. - -	18,500,000
	<hr/>
Total deficit, about - - - - -	£45,500,000
<i>Proposals for Meeting Deficit.</i>	
Increased Income Tax (1 <i>d.</i>) - - - - -	£2,000,000
Increased Stamp Duties on cheques and dividend warrants (1 <i>d.</i>)	500,000
Duty on imported corn (3 <i>d.</i> per cwt.) and flour (5 <i>d.</i> per cwt.)	2,650,000
	<hr/>
Total Receipts from new taxation - - - - -	£5,150,000
Suspending the Sinking Fund, about - - - - -	4,500,000
New Loan - - - - -	32,000,000
Draft on Exchequer Balances, about - - - - -	3,500,000

Prompt warning was given in the general conversation which ensued on the night of the introduction of the Budget of the strenuous opposition which would be offered to the leading feature of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposals. Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*) at once offered him assurance of it. A tax on corn was, in his opinion, the worst that could have been chosen to help to meet the vast expenditure entailed by the megalomania of the party in power. Warmth, indeed, almost embarrassing to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, marked the reception given by Members with well-known heretical leanings, like Mr. J. Lowther (*Isle of Thanet, Kent*) and Sir H. Vincent (*Sheffield, Central*), to his resort to an import duty on corn. But Mr. Churchill (*Oldham*), while holding that, taking the Budget proposals as a whole, they were the best solution which could have been given in the circumstances, descanted on the gravity of the increasing scale of the national expenditure, and predicted that if the fair trade issue were raised, as Sir H. Vincent desired, and as would probably happen through further indirect taxation, intense party bitterness, and changes in the disposition of parties, would ensue. The Unionist Mr. Seely (*Lincoln*) went much further and intimated his opposition to the corn duty. Very strong language was used about it on the Opposition benches, Mr. Broadhurst (*Leicester*) and Mr. Robson (*South Shields*) respectively describing it as "monstrous" and "wicked." From both sides of the House objection was taken to the proposed additional cheque duty as likely to cause more annoyance than its proceeds would be worth. In his general reply the Chancellor repudiated the idea that the corn duty would be protective or that it would raise the price of bread, and in the end the resolution sanctioning its imposition, but, as was clearly understood, only formally, was carried by 254 to 135.

In Committee of Ways and Means (April 15) the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved a resolution which authorised the raising of 32,000,000*l.* by the issue of Consols under the provisions of Mr. Goschen's Act, that is to say at 2½ per cent. till next year, and afterwards at 2½ per cent., and not redeemable till 1923. Being asked whether there was any prospect that a portion of the loan would be recoverable from the Transvaal, Sir M. Hicks-Beach said that there had lately been a remarkable development of the gold-mining industry in that Colony, the white population were returning to the towns, native labour was also coming in, and Customs receipts were increasing. He was so far from accepting the pessimistic conclusions of Sir David Barbour's report as to believe that within a few years' time the Transvaal would be able to contribute 30,000,000*l.* to the expenses of the war, and ultimately more. Sir W. Harcourt feared that enough allowance was not made in these Estimates for the large amount of money that would be wanted to repair the devastation caused by the war. Generally he

condemned the fiscal policy of the Government as throwing an unfair share of our burdens upon posterity. The Loan resolution was carried by 229 votes to 103. The resolution imposing an additional stamp duty of 1*d.* on cheques and dividend warrants encountered a good deal of opposition, and was only carried by 186 to 119, after the Chancellor of the Exchequer had promised to consider the question of exempting small cheques from its operation. The resolutions continuing the duties on tea, tobacco, beer and spirits were carried by large majorities.

Battle was not fully joined in the House of Commons on the corn duty for several days. Meanwhile a debate took place with reference to proclamations issued by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (April 16), placing a considerable portion of the country under sections of the Crimes Act of 1887, relating to special juries, changes of venue, and summary jurisdiction. The proclamations applied, with some difference of degree, to the counties of Cavan, Clare, Cork, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon, Sligo, Tipperary and Waterford; and to the cities of Cork and Waterford. On the following day Mr. J. Redmond (*Waterford*), in moving the adjournment of the House to call attention to this partial revival of the Crimes Act, maintained that the tenantry of Ireland were engaged in what was really a great trade union contest, and when they were accused of intimidation they ought to be tried as trade unionists charged with a similar offence would be in this country. He also protested strongly against the revival of Section 4 of the Act, which authorised a change of venue on the application of the Attorney-General. Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*), Irish Secretary, admitted the gravity of the action taken by Ministers, but said that it was taken to meet grave evils. The information upon which they had proceeded was collected with the greatest care, and that information showed that boycotting had increased to a serious extent. In January this year there were thirty-seven cases, in February forty-two, in March fifty-one (involving 301 persons). The number of persons actually unable to procure food unless given to them by the police was very small—probably only seven or eight—but, on the other hand, the number of persons indirectly affected by a boycott and living in an atmosphere of threat was much larger than the above figures indicated. The Government had refrained from proclaiming the United Irish League because they had thought it right to move step by step. The League was in the main a political organisation, and though he did not minimise the economic and social mischiefs of its action, he held that they might be exaggerated. It was not true that vast tracts of land were going out of cultivation as a consequence of the influence of the league; indeed the number of derelict farms was now not nearly as large as in some former periods. But the present intention of the Government was to grapple with the evil of

boycotting, which embittered the lives of peasant, tradesman, and labourer. The motion having been supported from the Nationalist benches, Mr. Archdale (*Fermanagh, N.*) thanked the Government for their action. Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*), on the other hand, believed that the tenant-farmers of Ulster would regard the proclamations as an act of war against the policy of land purchase, and Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*) ascribed the action of the Executive to the influence of certain Peers and others whom he called the "Orange gang"—"the curse of Ireland." While Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) characterised the case of the Government as exceptionally flimsy and unsubstantial, Lord H. Cecil (*Greenwich*) elicited loud cheers by the remark that, if there were any coercionists in the House, they were to be found on the benches occupied by the Nationalists. Mr. Redmond's motion was negatived by 253 to 148.

A good deal of melancholy retrospective interest was excited by the publication (April 18), in full, of the papers relating to the fighting at Spion Kop, but there was a general inability to understand on what ground Sir R. Buller had pressed, as a matter of justice to himself, for their publication. They showed, under his own hand, that he "blamed himself" for not superseding Sir Charles Warren in the conduct of the operations in question; and assuming the general correctness of the view he strongly expressed of the manner in which Sir C. Warren acted, his blame to himself, as the officer in chief command, was, in the opinion of the public, eminently deserved.

Also, on April 18, an announcement was made in Parliament which was commonly regarded as conveying a good deal of encouragement with respect to the probable result of the negotiations with the Boer leaders, although indicating that some weeks must pass before any decisive issue would be reached. It was to the effect that Lord Milner and Lord Kitchener had had two conferences with the Boer delegates, and that at their request Lord Kitchener, while refusing an armistice on military grounds, had agreed to give facilities for the election and meeting of representatives of the various commandos to consider the position. The Boer leaders, it was added, had left Pretoria for this purpose, and it was not expected that communications would be resumed in less than three weeks. Mr. Asquith, who spoke at Barnsley on the evening of the announcement just referred to, said that it seemed that at last we might be within measurable distance of peace; and he added a brief, but clear and emphatic, statement of the Liberal Imperialist view of the only sound form which any settlement could take. It must acknowledge, he said, as beyond question the supremacy of our arms. It must provide for the permanent incorporation of the new territories in the British Empire. It must not, by slipshod or ambiguous phrases, leave the door open to future misunder-

standings and controversy; and it must facilitate by every practical means a new start upon equal terms, the speedy repair under generous conditions of the social and economic waste of the war, the reconciliation and co-operation of the two white races, and the preparation of the way for that free and federated South Africa which was the ultimate goal of our policy.

On the same occasion Mr. Asquith gave moderate, though decided, expression to his disapproval of the Budget and the Education Bill. His views on those topics found utterance in later speeches at Westminster, which will fall to be noticed in their due order. It may be noted here, however, as an interesting evidence of the opinions on another subject of this statesman, who seldom spoke without making some clear contribution to public thought, that on April 16, in the House of Commons, he gave his strong support to the principle of the Local Government (Wales and Monmouthshire) Bill, of which Mr. Edwards (*Radnorshire*) moved the second reading. This measure would have transferred to County Councils in Wales (including Monmouthshire) many administrative powers at present exercised under the Public Health, Housing, and other Acts by Government departments. The Bill also allowed any five or more counties or county boroughs to elect a Joint Board for the management of their common affairs. Mr. Asquith urged the Government to accept the Bill in principle, even though its details might have to be altered in Committee, on the ground that it was only by devolution that they could enable the legislative and administrative business of the country to be carried out efficiently. He also held that it was mere political pedantry to contend, as opponents of the Bill had done, that Wales ought in no case to be distinctly or separately treated.

Colonel Wyndham-Quin (*Glamorgan, S.*) opposed the Bill, but Welsh Liberal feeling was of course warmly expressed in its support. Mr. H. Hobhouse (*Somerset, E.*), as an English Unionist, while apparently not going so far as to support the second reading of the Bill, expressed a hope that the Government would favour some plan for making possible the devolution of many minor powers to County Councils, in respect to their rural districts, after proper inquiry.

Mr. Long (*Bristol, S.*), President of the Local Government Board, pointed out that the chief difficulty was that, if powers over large urban communities were conferred upon County Councils, the jealousy of those communities would be aroused. He agreed, with certain reservations, that a devolution of some of the powers now exercised by Government departments would be advantageous in particular cases; but he could not approve a scheme of general devolution which should be universally applicable. Mr. Long resisted the proposal for the appointment of Joint Boards to represent counties and county boroughs, as it would entail the exercise of rating

powers by indirectly elected bodies. He also denied that there was any necessity for the establishment of Boards of this kind in Wales, where Joint County Council Committees could be appointed to transact business which it was thought ought to be done in association. He questioned whether localities would approve of the expense which they would have to incur if the powers of the central departments of State were transferred to them. The second reading of the Bill was rejected, but the majority against it was only 38, the numbers being 201 to 163.

In the course of discussion in Committee of Supply (April 18) on the Post Office Vote, in which Mr. A. Chamberlain (*Worces., E.*), Financial Secretary to the Treasury, firmly refused to reopen inquiries as to classes of servants whose claims had recently been considered by the Duke of Norfolk and by Mr. Hanbury, the present Postmaster-General, as well as by the Tweedmouth Committee, he made the satisfactory statement that Mr. Marconi had been given facilities by the Post Office for making experiments with a view to perfecting a system of wireless telegraphy. These experiments, on which between 2,000*l.* and 3,000*l.* had been spent, would, Mr. A. Chamberlain observed, make for the benefit not only of Mr. Marconi but of the Post Office, whose electricians, in conjunction with Principal Lodge and other scientific men, were devoting their attention to the same problem.

By the end of the first week after the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Budget speech, it had become tolerably evident that while its proposals were not, and indeed could not be, popular, there was no likelihood of any widespread or vehement agitation against their leading feature—the corn duty. The Cobden Club Committee (April 18) adopted a resolution condemning the proposed duties on imported grain and flour “as not only a violation of free trade principles and an interference with the free flow of the commerce of the country, but also as a grossly unfair tax upon the poorest classes, to whom even a fractional rise in the price of such a prime necessity as bread is a serious matter.” In the following week a vigorous expression of these views was issued by the club, in the form of a manifesto signed by Lord Welby. The directors of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce also resolved (April 19), quite in accordance with their traditions, that the corn and flour duties, “without a corresponding excise duty on competing home products,” were altogether to be deprecated. But the London, Birmingham, Hull, and other Chambers of Commerce directed any demonstrations of theirs against, not the corn duty, but the annoyance and hindrance to business threatened by the additional penny stamp on cheques. Here and there meetings of trade-unionists denounced the “bread tax,” but of any general indignation on the part of “the masses” against that impost no symptom appeared. Nor was anything of the kind

obviously evolved as the year advanced, though it was reasonable to suppose that the tax in question was one of the influences contributing to the series of electoral rebuffs subsequently sustained by the Government. Various commercial bodies, however, urged on the Chancellor of the Exchequer that, as he had framed his scale of duties on grain and flour, it would fall upon feeding meals and offals in such a way as very seriously to increase the expenses of stock farmers and stock keepers, which it was not thought he had contemplated or intended; and as will be seen he did not fail to pay heed to these representations.

The Parliamentary struggle over the Budget began seriously on April 21, and continued at frequent intervals over two months. On the evening just mentioned, in Committee of Ways and Means, the House of Commons took the resolution authorising an income tax at 15*d.* in the pound (a rise of 1*d.*) as the occasion of a general debate on the Budget. The proposed duty on corn was strongly condemned by Sir W. Thorburn (*Peebles and Selkirk*) and Mr. A. Cross (*Camlachie, Glasgow*), both Liberal Unionists. Several Conservative members complained of the addition to the income tax, and the doubling of the stamp duty on cheques was also very unfavourably criticised. Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) took exception to granting the Government so large a sum as 18,500,000*l.* for emergencies without fuller explanation as to the purposes to which it might be applied. Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*) was not alarmed at the growth of our expenditure, which he thought we could afford; he held, indeed, that the country would have to spend more money on education and on the Navy than it was now spending. But he considered that we were not taxing ourselves sufficiently, and he laid stress on the advantage of direct over indirect taxation as bringing better home to the tax-payer the sense of responsibility. Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*) warned the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the duty on corn would be strenuously resisted. He feared that it was the beginning of a system of oppressive taxation. Referring to proposals which had been made for the graduation of the income tax, he sought to prove that this change, however desirable it might be thought in principle, was impracticable.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer agreed that the graduation of the income tax was impossible; in any case it would lead to an odious system of inquisition, to which he would never be a party. As to the cheque duty, he had a scheme under consideration, though not yet sufficiently matured for statement, which would, he thought, remove some of the objections which had been urged to it. With respect to the corn duty, he did not believe that any rise in the price of bread which might have taken place since the introduction of the Budget would be permanent. Justifying his increase of indirect taxation, he maintained that the only alternative to the corn duty was an

addition to the sugar duty, which amounted already to 20 per cent. on the price. Were he to follow the counsels of some of those who had spoken and to double that duty, the burden would be much greater on the poor than any which could result from the corn duty. With regard to the money required for emergencies, anything that remained after meeting the contingent expenses of which he had spoken the previous week would be applied to the payment of debt. The income tax resolution was carried by 290 to 61.

On the following evening (April 22) the corn duty was the subject of a "full dress" debate, on the occasion of the confirmation of the resolution by which it had been authorised (April 14). It was opened by Sir E. Strachey (*Somerset, S.*), who denounced the duty as an iniquitous tax on the food of the people, and also as raising the prices of feeding stuffs for stock, and so operating as a bounty to Continental farm produce. An effective speech in favour of the duty was delivered by Mr. Law (*Blackfriars, Glasgow*), who maintained that if the cry for protection were again seriously raised in this country it would not be in the interests of agriculture, but would be heard from working men who saw their employment disappearing. In regard to the alleged possibility of a permanent rise in the price of bread, Mr. Law said that if the baker added a halfpenny to the price of a four-pound loaf—the additional cost of production due to the tax being only half a farthing—it would mean an additional profit, over and above the profit bakers were now getting, of fully 20 per cent. If that were possible, would they not all, he asked, become bakers? It was at least certain that the additional cost of the loaf would not on the average exceed the additional cost the baker had to bear; and he assured the Opposition that the day was past for reviving the cry about the big loaf and little loaf.

A speech of earnestness and weight against the corn tax was then delivered by Sir H. Fowler (*Wolverhampton, E.*). He was at pains to argue that the opinion of Mr. Gladstone could not be cited in favour of the old registration duty. The new duty, he maintained, would raise the price of the quartern loaf by a halfpenny, and it must needs press on the poorest of the poor. He denied that the only alternative, as alleged on the previous evening by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was an increased tax on sugar, and suggested, in the first place, tobacco, which he did not believe was at present taxed up to the point of diminishing the yield. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1898 took 6d. off tobacco; but when he put on additional taxation in 1900 it was only a tax of 4d. per lb. on that article. Thus tobacco, contended Sir Henry Fowler, was not really paying any war tax. It paid less than it did in the days of Mr. Gladstone. Again, he could see no earthly reason why beer should not be additionally taxed. But any tax was to be preferred to a bread tax.

In reply, the Chancellor of the Exchequer reminded Sir H. Fowler that he had increased the income tax, and explained again that he had left tobacco and beer alone because he did not believe that additional taxation on those articles would be profitable. He agreed that the country would not accept protection. But nobody had attempted to prove that the registration duty was protective when it was in force or that it then raised the price of corn and flour. The duty which he asked the House to sanction was so low that it could not have a protective effect. Neither Cobden nor Bright nor any one of any authority found any protective element in the tax until Mr. Lowe abolished it.

Sir M. Hicks-Beach went on to admit that since the introduction of the Budget there had been an appreciable increase in the price of bread in some localities; but this, he maintained, would not continue; and it was already recognised by the trade that the imposition of the duty would at most justify an addition of an eighth of a penny to the price of the quartern loaf. The price of wheat being so low the poor were assured of cheap bread. Dealing with the question whether the poorer classes of the community were in a position to contribute a little more to the revenue, he argued from statistics that the burden of indirect taxation on the poor was now infinitely lighter than it was forty years ago, and that, while wages had increased by 33 per cent., their effective value had also enormously increased. Pointing to the large revenue derived from the beer and spirit duties, he insisted that as the working classes could afford to spend so large a sum on drink it was absurd to maintain that they could not bear the trifling increase of indirect taxation which he proposed. It had become absolutely necessary to enlarge the area of indirect taxation, and he was convinced that the method of doing this which he had adopted would cause infinitely less inconvenience than any other measures which could have been devised for effecting the same purpose.

A little later, the point of the effect of the tax on the price of feeding-stuffs for stock having been raised by Sir C. Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Glouc.*), the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that offal would be only included in the class of meal charged at 3d. per cwt. Sir C. Dilke, however, complained that the new duty included, in grain, rice and other things not so included in 1869, and among them even locust beans, the fruit of a tree of the nature of dates. The experience of Germany, he contended, showed that a similar, but better balanced, grain duty, introduced as a revenue and not a protective tax by Prince Bismarck, was found to disturb trade so much that it was not worth keeping as a revenue tax. After other speeches on both sides, Mr. Cripps (*Stretford, Lancs.*), as a convinced free trader, defended the proposed tax. He argued that the consumer would probably not have to pay the duty, and that

in any case he would only have to pay very little of it. It could not possibly give corn what was known to economists as "scarcity value".

Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincs.*) having derided the gloomy vaticinations of the Opposition, and promised to come to the aid of the people if any Government should propose a food tax seriously interfering with their comfort and well-being, Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*) maintained that in the end the duty must fall mainly on the consumer. He had heard of no reason why the rise which had occurred in the price of bread in some places should not continue, to the great distress of the many thousands of people in this country who were living on the verge of starvation.

Mr. Balfour said it had been argued last year that the coal tax would be most felt by the consumer, and the contention had proved to be baseless. Unless it could be shown that English farmers would now grow corn which they would not have grown except for the imposition of the duty, or that the foreign production of corn would be influenced by the duty, all talk about protection was a mere waste of words. He appealed to Liberal statesmen not to act the part of demagogues by attempting to revive the passions which the old Corn Laws aroused when they sent the price up to 80s. the quarter, and families were really threatened with starvation. Such an attempt was not only immoral, but doomed to failure, for the working classes, having endorsed the policy which had rendered additional taxation necessary, would not shrink from contributing their share.

The closure having been carried, the resolution was confirmed by 283 votes to 197. Two Liberal Unionists (Messrs. A. Cross (*Camlachie, Glasgow*) and C. H. Seely (*Lincoln*)) were in the minority, as was Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*). The resolution adding a penny to the income tax was confirmed by 297 to 67. On April 28 the Chancellor of the Exchequer endeavoured to pacify the opposition aroused by his proposed doubling of the stamp duty on cheques by suggesting in the House of Commons that the drawer of a cheque for less than 2*l.* should be able to recover the added penny by presenting the cheque, after it had been cashed, at any money-order office. The suggestion was received with laughter and seemed to find little favour either inside the House or outside. The tax itself had been more or less strongly condemned by the general committee of the Association of English Country Bankers, the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, and other mercantile bodies.

In both Houses, on April 24, there was some discussion of martial law and its results. Lord Coleridge, in the Lords, put a series of questions designed to show that martial law was being unnecessarily applied in Cape Colony at enormous distances from the seat of war. He cited the opinion given by Sir

R. Solomon, actually Lord Milner's legal adviser, to the effect that the establishment of special courts for the trial of civilians, when the civil courts were open, was contrary to the law of the land, and that the sentences of such courts would have to be dealt with by an Act of Indemnity. Lord Alverstone (Lord Chief Justice) pointed out that martial law rested upon the paramount duty of the Executive to defend the Commonwealth against its enemies; and the mere fact of the sitting of the civil courts could offer no bar to its operation. Lord Raglan (Under-Secretary for War) pointed out that it was necessary to take stringent measures, even at a great distance from the seat of war, to prevent the conveyance of arms and ammunition to the enemy; and Lord James of Hereford added that his Majesty's Government, believing that the proclamations establishing a state of martial law were both necessary and legal, desired to accept the entire responsibility for what had occurred in South Africa.

In the Commons a very brisk debate was raised on the same day, by Mr. Morley (*Montrose District*), on the detention, under the authority of martial law, in South Africa, of Mr. Cartwright, who had just completed a year's imprisonment inflicted by a civil court for the publication in the *South African News*, which he had been editing, of a letter conveying a gross libel on Lord Kitchener, who was charged with secretly ordering his troops to take no prisoners in a certain engagement. He now wished, for private reasons, to come to England, but was forbidden to do so, because, according to Lord Stanley (*Westhoughton, Lancs.*), Financial Secretary to the War Office, his views being "strongly anti-British," it seemed inexpedient "to increase the number of persons in this country who disseminated anti-British propaganda." That, Mr. Morley said, appeared to him the most outrageous and indefensible answer ever given in Parliament. If Mr. Cartwright published libellous matter here he could be punished for doing so. It had transpired that Mr. Cartwright would be allowed to come to England if guarantees for his good behaviour were forthcoming, but the Government had no right to require anything of the kind. In reply, Mr. Brodrick (*Guildford, Surrey*), War Secretary, reminded the House of the nature of Mr. Cartwright's offence and observed that it was, unhappily, not to be disputed that men like him might exercise considerable influence on the minds of the Boers and induce them to ask for terms which could not be granted. Therefore he could not be allowed to go free except under conditions. In any case the motion before the House was premature, the question to which it related being under consideration. In the meantime he could not overrule the decision of the authorities in South Africa, who would be guilty of a gross dereliction of duty if they were not to take every precaution against action on the part of individuals that might lead to an indefinite prolongation of the struggle. Sir W.

Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*), in a vehement speech, suggested that martial law was not going to be confined to South Africa. Mr. Elliot (*Durham*) spoke very strongly in support of Mr. Morley's motion, and denied that there were any two sides to the question of the incompetence of the military authorities to prevent Mr. Cartwright's coming to England, his original sentence having been served. Mr. Churchill (*Oldham*) took similar ground. Mr. Balfour insisted that if the military authorities were of opinion that serious injury to British interests in Africa might result from the presence in Europe of a particular individual it was their duty under martial law to detain him. By agreeing to the motion, he urged, the House would pass condemnation upon Lord Kitchener and his military advisers without having heard their case, which at the present juncture of affairs might have a disastrous effect. Mr. Yerburgh (*Chester*) and Mr. Lambton (*Durham*) took the same view. Nevertheless the motion was further supported by several Ministerial speakers, as well as with much vigour and earnestness by Mr. Asquith, who observed that the Government alone could be held constitutionally responsible in the matter. Mr. Markham (*Mansfield, Notts.*) denied that Mr. Cartwright held anti-British views, or that he had seen the libel before it was published in his paper. In the end the motion was rejected by 259 to 182, but eight Unionists voted against the Government.

In the latter part of April a great deal of public attention, and indeed apprehension, was excited by the announcement that several of the chief British companies engaged in the Atlantic shipping trade had been drawn into a gigantic trust, presided over by the great American financier, Mr. Pierpont Morgan. The only great British firms in the trade not believed to be included were the Cunard and the Allan, and it was understood that agreements as to rates had been entered into with the North German and Hamburg-American Lines. The broad fact of this combination became known many days before its actual terms were divulged. There was a widespread feeling that the supremacy of the mercantile marine had slipped from us while we had slept, and that possibly the Government might have prevented this. Much uneasiness was also felt as to the effect of the transaction on the availability of the swift, subsidised steamers which hitherto could be counted on as reserve cruisers in time of war. Questions asked from Ministers early elicited the information that the Admiralty had appointed a committee to ascertain in what way and at what cost steamers of greater speed than those now employed, and of greater efficiency for war purposes, might be obtained in return for subsidies paid, and also to ascertain and report as to what modification of the existing form of agreement and what addition to the present rate of subsidy might be necessary in order to prevent the transfer to a foreign flag without permission of the Admiralty

of any ship which received or had received a subsidy. Also (April 28) Mr. Arnold-Forster stated that they were assured that the control exercised by the Admiralty over subsidised ships would continue until the end of the contracts respectively relating to them; and further Mr. G. Balfour (President of the Board of Trade) stated (May 1) that no change in the nationality of any of the ships in the possession of the combination was necessarily involved. Everybody, however, was thirsting for much more information, and Sir J. Woodhouse (*Huddersfield*) had no difficulty in obtaining leave to move the adjournment of the House of Commons for the discussion of the subject. The ensuing debate (May 1) was interesting, though not very elucidatory. Sir J. Woodhouse wanted to know what was to be done regarding the subsidised steamers, and pressed for an assurance that the Cabinet recognised the very serious aspect of affairs. Mr. Gibson Bowles (*King's Lynn*) feared that the trust would exercise every sort of pressure to procure advantages for the ships under its control, and that after a time British "tramp" ships would be driven off the Atlantic. He suggested that assistance might be given to owners of vessels who did not join the combination, and that the navigation laws might be revived.

Mr. Balfour did not see how the discussion would have any useful results. The Government had paid close attention to the subject during several weeks, and they had obtained a great deal of information given under the seal of secrecy. As to subsidised cruisers, he could only repeat that the lien which the country had upon the services of those vessels in time of war would hold good until the contract with the Admiralty had run out—that was to say for three years; and in that interval it would be the duty of the Government to see that, whatever injury might be done to other interests, at all events the efficiency of the Navy should not be impaired. The commercial aspect of the question was extremely complicated; and to those who asked the Government to interfere in a trade combination he would point out that such a departure from the traditional practice of this country could not possibly be taken except after prolonged and anxious inquiry. Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) thought that nobody could blame the Government for proceeding with the greatest caution. The difficulties of the question had been illustrated by the failure which attended the efforts of the American Congress and State Legislatures to grapple with trusts. Mr. Rea (*Gloucester*), in an interesting speech, maintained that the British steamship companies, which had been widely blamed, had acted a prudent part, and not an unpatriotic one; the choice before them being co-operation or a competition in which they had every prospect of being worsted. Lord C. Beresford (recently returned unopposed for Woolwich) recommended a grant of subsidies to steamers trading with Canadian ports, believing that American traders who did not approve the

combination would be ready to take advantage of an alternative route. Eventually the motion was withdrawn.

It was not till May 9 that the public were made acquainted with the terms of the provisional agreement for the combination of Atlantic steamship companies owning the White Star, Dominion, American, Atlantic Transport, and Leyland lines—which had been signed as far back as February 4. The financial aspects of this transaction are referred to in a later chapter by Mr. Harcourt Kitchin, and need not be dealt with here. But it may be mentioned that the corporation was to be organised under the laws of the State of New York or some other State of the Union. Also, under a supplementary builders' agreement, Messrs. Harland & Wolff, of Belfast, were to be its sole shipbuilders for the United Kingdom, and they were debarred from building for other shipowners, unless work was slack, and in any case for competitors with the trust. Power was expressly reserved to them to accept orders from the Hamburg-American Line. The trust might place such orders as it pleased in the United States. The agreements were for ten years, with five years' notice thereafter.

A good deal of annoyance having been expressed at the want of regard for British interests which, so it was suggested in some quarters, had been exhibited on the part of the great Belfast shipbuilding firm, Mr. Pirrie, its chairman, issued a vindication (*Times*, May 13), in the course of which he said that there was no intention whatever of making any change in the flag of the vessels of the British companies joining in the combination. Not only would vessels already receiving subventions remain at the disposition of the Admiralty to the end of the existing contracts, but an undertaking would be given, if desired, by the companies concerned, for the extension of those contracts, and Mr. Pirrie had no doubt that similar arrangements could be entered into with regard to new vessels that might be built by Messrs. Harland & Wolff or other firms for the British companies in the combination. As to the agreement on the part of Messrs. Harland and Wolff not to build for shipowners in competition with the combination, that merely embodied a business principle on which the firm had always acted.

That Mr. Pirrie's view of the situation, as far as concerned the relations between the Admiralty and the combination, was, at least in part, accepted by the Government, appeared from a statement made by Mr. Arnold-Forster on May 12. He then said, in reply to questions, that the agreement between the Admiralty and the White Star Company, in respect of the retention of their vessels, was about to be renewed for three years, and the following additional provision, among others, would be included in it: "The company shall not, without the previous consent in writing of the Admiralty, transfer to a foreign flag any of the vessels subject to this agreement." The addition had already been agreed to by the company, and an

instalment of the subsidy had been paid on the terms of the new agreement. The Admiralty, the Secretary said, were advised that nothing in the agreement signed on February 4 would interfere with their right of enforcing the terms of their agreement with the White Star Company in respect of subsidised ships. The number of men of the Royal Naval Reserve now borne on the subsidised ships was 213.

The debate on the second reading of the Education Bill, which began on May 5, was conducted on a level well worthy of the House of Commons, but it is only possible to make some brief indications of its purport here, in view of the extremely protracted nature of the subsequent discussions of that measure. Its rejection was moved by Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*), in an uncompromising speech. It was, he said, most reactionary, and could not be accepted as even an instalment of reform. The creation of a single education authority would be paid for too dearly by the extinction of the School Boards, which had done such admirable work; and in any case County Councils were not the best authorities for dealing with elementary education. Moreover, in some respects, which he indicated, the Bill failed to establish unity of administration, and so fell short of the avowed intention of the Government. He feared that the power now exercised over schools by the Central Department at Whitehall would be diminished, and argued that the effect of appointing Education Committees to act under the County Councils would be to divorce administrative authority from financial authority. The local managers of Voluntary Schools would be virtually independent of the Education Committees, whose instructions they could not be compelled to carry out. For secondary education the Bill would do little, if anything. It would not promote the better training of teachers, and would not unlock the door which sectarianism shut against Nonconformists who wished to become teachers. In fact, he preferred to call it, not an Education Bill, but a Voluntary Schools Relief Bill. Sir J. Gorst (*Cambridge University*), Vice-President of the Council, said that if they were to have a single educational authority—as to which there was practical agreement—it must be either the County or Borough Council, or the School Board. An *ad hoc* authority was an anachronism, and they were the true reactionaries who upheld it. The principle of the Bill was to entrust education in every county and county borough to the body which represented the ratepayers most closely, and he believed that by so doing they would enlist popular sympathy on the side of education. The functions of the Board of Education would, however, continue unimpaired. In regard to secondary education organisation was wanted more than funds, and the localities would have quite sufficient funds to start upon. As to primary education, the supersession of the Voluntary Schools, with their 3,000,000 children, could not be contemplated seriously. For the secular instruction given in

those schools the local authorities would in future be responsible. He repeated his conviction that the religious difficulty did not exist in the schools themselves, but only in the House of Commons and on public platforms. He denied that there was any foundation for the statement that Dissenting parents were prevented from sending their children into the teaching profession by the action of Voluntary School managers. Sir C. Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Glouc.*) touched upon what he held to be the destructive character of the measure as it affected primary education in the rural districts. If the rural counties carried out successfully the improvement of higher education it would be at the expense of primary education ; and if primary education were forced upon them by the repeal of the optional clause secondary education would also suffer. They must remember that the rural County Councils would work under the fear of the farmers, who would dread above all things an increase of the rates.

Sir R. Jebb (*Cambridge Univ.*) strongly supported the Bill, which, in his opinion, would have good results as far as secondary education was concerned, while, with regard to elementary education, it gave the local authority means for rendering all elementary schools efficient, the central authority being at the same time in a position to insist that this should be done. Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*) said that the Bill contained imperfections which would prevent him from voting for it ; but, on the other hand, he should not vote against it. Lord E. Talbot (*Chichester, Sussex*), speaking for the Roman Catholics, strongly advised the Government to make the provisions of the Bill for dealing with elementary education compulsory. On the other hand, Mr. Perks (*Louth, Lincs.*) observed that the Methodist Church had pronounced against the measure by an overwhelming majority, notwithstanding that considerable pressure in favour of accepting it had been brought to bear on its Educational Committee by elementary teachers. Mr. Randles (*Cockermouth, Cumberland*), however, a Conservative Nonconformist, thought that the Bill was a distinct improvement, from the Nonconformist point of view, on existing conditions. Sir W. Hart-Dyke (*Dartford, Kent*), a former Conservative Education Minister, who continued the debate (May 6), had heard no suggestion of any practical alternative to the Government Bill. He did not himself regard it as perfect ; but it was imperative that the work of organising education should be taken in hand without more delay. The Bill made a good beginning, and he believed that in time it would lead to an educational system worthy of a great nation.

Sir E. Grey (*Berwick, Northumberland*), in a moderate and weighty speech, found no fault with the principle of the Bill, but much fault with the application of that principle. The Bill did not really establish a single local authority for education, and the confusion resulting from the existence of

independent authorities would continue. It was one of the defects of the Bill that it gave County Councils no mandate to supply higher education. They ought to be required to prepare schemes for the development of higher education, and they should be encouraged to be liberal in their plans by an offer of a contribution from the national exchequer which should be at least equal to the amounts raised from the rates. Turning to the provisions dealing with elementary education, he thought that the nation might make a better bargain with the Church. In rural districts the Parish Council should be allowed to name a third of the Board of Managers of Voluntary Schools, the local educational authority naming another third, while the denomination would appoint the remaining third. At the same time a guarantee could be exacted that religious teaching should be given in conformity with the tenets of the denomination to which the building belonged, when the parents of the children desired it. The Bill as a whole he condemned.

The most striking speech of the debate was that of Lord H. Cecil (*Greenwich*), which was recognised by the best judges as bringing him within the front rank of modern Parliamentary orators. He appealed to the Opposition to trust the County Councils. The choice really lay between trusting the elected representatives of the people or confiding the interests of education to an aristocracy of educationists, and nobody who accepted the principle of democratic self-government could be in doubt as to which was the fitter authority to decide either what should be generally the standard of education or what should be the amount of money spent on it. The Bill gave the representatives of the people absolutely efficient control over all secular education. To add to the outside representation in the management of Voluntary Schools might be to destroy their denominational character. Referring to the threat of irreconcilable opponents of the measure, that they would refuse to pay a rate partly applicable to the maintenance of denominational teaching, he observed that Churchmen, if put to it, might retaliate by adopting the same tactics. Having dwelt on the importance of attaching a child to some denomination, so that it should not develop merely negative views with regard to religion, he described the Bill as a measure that maintained the *status quo* between denominationalists and anti-denominationalists, and continued the unsatisfactory settlement of 1870. It was an opportunist measure, inasmuch as it put the religious difficulty on one side, and he should have thought it would therefore have been approved on the Opposition benches. But, with great earnestness, he maintained that for the final settlement of that difficulty there must be co-operation between the Church of England and Nonconformity, which was the Church's natural ally. The Church would welcome a settlement on the only possible basis of agreement—namely, that every child should be brought up in the belief of his parents.

In a peroration of remarkable eloquence, Lord H. Cecil urged that the great ideal to be aimed at in education was the improvement of the national character, and towards the realisation of that ideal, operating alike in the Imperial and domestic spheres, he besought the co-operation with Churchmen of Nonconformists and even of high-souled Agnostics.

Dr. Macnamara (*Camberwell, N.*) urged the adoption of provisions of compromise in regard to the possible retention of School Boards in large towns and in regard to the arrangements for religious teaching in Voluntary Schools, and deprecated the flat rejection of the Bill. Sir W. Anson, in supporting the Bill, pointed out that there was no need for the country to lose the services of those School Boards which had done good work; the County Council could in fact appropriate any School Board *en masse* by turning it into the Education Committee. Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*) (May 7), adopting a point of view which he often emphasised in subsequent debates, maintained that the kind of decentralisation offered by the Bill was a delusion, not to say an imposture. At the root of the Bill, in his opinion, there evidently lay a deep-seated distrust of the County and Borough Councils, which were to be placed under a humiliating tutelage. The measure did nothing for elementary education; it simply relieved the denominational managers from their contributions without imposing any material obligation upon them. Sir R. Finlay (*Inverness District*), Attorney-General, met the argument that the local authority would have no power by pointing out that that was not the opinion of the Association of County Councils, which had just passed by a large majority a resolution cordially approving the principle of the Government measure and promising loyal co-operation. Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*) said that the Nationalists would support the Bill, but without enthusiasm, for it did not really solve the religious question, and it was idle to shirk a solution.

At this point—the evening sitting of May 7—there was interpolated a debate on the circumstances of Mr. Dillon's suspension on March 20. Mr. Mooney (*Dublin, S.*) moved a resolution declaring that the Speaker ought to have ruled that the words applied by the Colonial Secretary to Mr. Dillon ("The hon. member is a good judge of traitors," when he interjected the statement that General Ben Viljoen was a traitor) were unparliamentary, and ought to have directed Mr. Chamberlain to withdraw them. The motion was strenuously resisted on its merits and on general grounds by Mr. Balfour. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, while deprecating the insufficiently judicial spirit shown by the Leader of the House, expressed himself satisfied with the conduct of the Chair on the occasion in question; and the resolution was negatived by 398 votes to 63.

On May 8 the Education debate was resumed, and, for the time, concluded. Mr. Lloyd George (*Carnarvon Dist.*) opposed

the Government Bill as calculated to "rivet the clerical yoke on thousands of parishes." On the other hand, Mr. Talbot (*Oxford Univ.*) pointed out that the schools in many villages were under the control of the clergy simply because no one in the parish except the clergyman took any interest in the subject. The Bill proposed to bring in outside persons to help him, surely an extraordinary method of increasing clerical control. Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*) said that he should vote against the Bill because in his opinion it afforded no real prospect of educational improvement, because it would extend and aggravate sectarian animosity, and because it disregarded the democratic principle that public control should be exercised over expenditure provided for out of the funds of the State or out of the pockets of the ratepayers. He held that a more statesmanlike policy than that of the Bill would be to maintain the large School Boards and to establish a *concordat* between them and the Town and County Councils, under which they could jointly carry out a regular and co-ordinated system of elementary and higher education. With regard to the denominational schools, which he recognised as forming an indispensable part of our educational system, Mr. Asquith declared that the compromise of 1870, although not logical, had worked fairly well, and that before upsetting it the Government ought to have consulted both parties to the arrangement. The Voluntary Schools, he realised, must be helped because they were inefficient; but he insisted that the additional funds contributed by the community ought to be devoted without subtraction to the work of increasing their efficiency. The failure to secure this was a fatal blot on the Bill.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Dist.*) described the Bill as the Bill of the Church party. Now that their schools were to be paid for by the public, the old bargain was over, and a new system should be built up on the basis of public control. Under the Bill the School Boards, successful though many of them had been, were to live at the mercy and die at the will of the County and Borough Councils, while the Voluntary Schools were to be supported out of the rates. He agreed with Sir W. Harcourt that the small farmers and tradesmen who would have to pay the additional rates would form the opinion that this charge was imposed upon them in order to relieve the former subscribers who were their wealthy neighbours. This was not the way to popularise education.

Mr. Balfour, replying on the debate, dealt first with the objection that the Bill would increase the rates, and pointed out that if the Opposition had their way and were allowed to destroy the Voluntary Schools the burden thrown on the rates would inevitably be much greater. He insisted that unless the Voluntary Schools were to be abolished and universal rural School Boards set up—and this no one advocated—the scheme of the Government was the only possible one. Meeting the

objection that there would not be sufficient popular control over primary education, he pointed out that there would be the control of the County Council and of the Education Committee. Secular education would be supervised by these bodies, and they would be empowered to dismiss teachers who should fail in their secular work. With regard to the composition of the Education Committee, he stated that if the House desired that there should always be upon the committee a majority consisting of members of the County Council, an amendment giving effect to that desire would probably be accepted in committee. He did not believe that on educational grounds, alone, the Opposition would force a division against the Bill. It was the religious question raised by the Nonconformists that accounted for all the trouble. In what way, he asked, did the Bill interfere with conscience? The use of the rates for the development of education in Voluntary Schools was only an extension of a practice which had been acquiesced in by Nonconformists in the past. The truth was that the grievances of the Nonconformists would be largely diminished by the operation of the Bill. He admitted that in the Church some men of narrow and bigoted views might be found, and that in a few schools unjustifiable things might have been done. Evils of the kind would be unlikely to occur in future, for the Bill would put an end for ever to the one-man management of schools, and in extreme cases it would be possible to build new schools.

The second reading was carried by 402 to 165. The largeness of the majority, which was hailed with loud Ministerial cheers, was, of course, due to the Irish Nationalist vote being thrown in support of the Bill; but the defections on the side of the Government were very few, only two Conservatives, Major Russell (*Walsbyford, Essex*) and Major Banes (*West Ham, St. and Essex*), Liberal-Unionists, Mr. Hain (*St. Ives*), Mr. Cathcart Watson (*Orkney and Shetland*) and Mr. T. W. Russell (*St. Ives*), voting in the minority.

In the course of the week which witnessed the pitched Parliamentary battle just sketched, Lord Salisbury delivered (May 17) an interesting speech at the annual meeting of the Primrose League. Referring to the war, he observed that when all allowances had been made for the sorrowful side of the picture—the losses, privation and misery involved—they could yet recognise as a set-off that “the power, the prestige, the influence, aye, and the magic effect of our great Empire was more potent, more efficient, more admirable than it was when that period began.” He vigorously repudiated Mr. Morley’s insinuation that the Cabinet in 1899 would, if gifted with prophecy, have abandoned their policy. As to the settlement, one thing was plain. There could be no sliding back into a position which would allow the enemy to renew the struggle. At the same time Lord Salisbury expressed an earnest hope that the Boers will join with us in setting up and entering into a political

structure which shall enable them to enjoy to the full all the order and all the strength which is conferred upon our brother nations by our Colonial system." While dwelling on the progressive zeal and affection of the Colonies the Prime Minister deprecated any premature efforts to hurry on the Federation of the Empire, which might produce a reaction of sentiment.

At about the same period the Liberal League issued a manifesto expounding its attitude towards Imperial and domestic questions, on the lines of the recent speeches of its principal founders. In a prefatory note to a reprint of his Liverpool and Glasgow speeches, to be issued by the League, its president, Lord Rosebery, defended himself against the charge of "something like apostasy" with regard to Home Rule. In effect he said that it was not he but the question which had changed. "This, then," he concluded, "is the point—that the conditions of the problem of Irish government have fundamentally changed; that it must be viewed in a new aspect and approached in a new spirit. Equality of treatment, so far as possible, throughout these islands, which constitute the heart of our Empire, should be the aim that statesmen should have in view. That is a policy of justice and of true union, a policy in accordance with the best Liberal traditions. But it is a policy which must be pursued gradually and tentatively if it is to receive the necessary support of the nation at large."

The Parliamentary campaign on the Budget was renewed on May 12, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the second reading of the Finance Bill. The spirit with which the Opposition returned to the fray was stimulated by the result announced on May 10 of the bye-election at Bury, at which Mr. G. Toulmin (L.), who had been beaten by a majority of 849 by Mr. Kenyon (C.) in 1900, had succeeded in securing the seat by a majority of 414 over Mr. H. Lawson. That gentleman had joined the Unionist ranks rather too recently to make the best of candidates; but it was generally understood that the election had turned largely on the Corn Duty, the denunciations of which by Mr. Toulmin and his supporters had been driven home by a local rise in the price of bread. In moving the second reading of the Finance Bill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that, yielding to the representations made to him by bankers and others, he had decided not to proceed further with his proposal to increase by 1*d.* the stamp duty on cheques. He was not prepared to state on that occasion what proposal he should make in substitution for the dropped duty.

Sir W. Harcourt moved as an amendment: "That this House declines to impose Customs duties upon grain, flour, and other articles of the first necessity for the food of the people." It was absurd, he said, to argue that the tax would not raise the price of bread, for it had been raised already at the expense of the consumer. He blamed the Government for giving doles

to favoured classes. But for that policy it would not have become necessary to tax the food of the poor. Sir M. Hicks-Beach admitted that there had been a rise in the price of corn in the last few weeks, but there was always a rise when stocks were low in the spring of the year. The price of wheat was the same as it was in March, 1901, and the price of flour was almost the same as it was at that time. As to the rise in the price of bread it was not general. There had been no general rise in price in London; in nineteen other large cities there had been no rise at all, and in nine others there had been a rise of a halfpenny on the quartern loaf. In one large city there had actually been a drop in the price. Out of 284 co-operative societies only thirty-two had raised the price by a halfpenny. Earl Percy (*Kensington, S.*) supported the Bill in an eloquent speech, urging in effect that the need for self-sacrifice on behalf of the State required to be brought home to every member of the State. Sir H. Fowler (*Wolverhampton, E.*) warned the House that in accepting the proposal to tax corn it might "get into the rapids." On the Ministerial side Sir E. Vincent (*Exeter*) urged the Government to withdraw the tax, which he believed to be foolish and retrograde. Mr. Churchill (*Oldham*), however, while he deprecated the growth of the national expenditure, which rendered increased taxation necessary, justified the corn tax as an honest and brave act of policy. At the end of the debate Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling District*) observed that avowed Protectionists had taken little part in it. It looked as if a hint had been given them to hold their tongues. If the tax was not protective it paved the way to protection; and Sir Wilfrid Laurier was believed to be expecting a differentiation in favour of Canadian wheat. Mr. Balfour declared that Sir W. Laurier's visit to this country had nothing to do with the tax, directly or indirectly. He contended that if, in carrying out what was undoubtedly the policy of the people at large, the Government had laid the whole burden of its cost upon a small and relatively helpless minority, they would indeed have been open to the charge of cowardice and meanness levelled against them by the Opposition. Sir W. Harcourt's amendment against the corn duty was rejected by 296 votes to 188.

In the adjourned debate (May 14) on the main question, Mr. E. Robertson (*Dundee*) called upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to ask the Colonies to make their due contribution to the expenditure of the Empire. He also maintained that a large amount of revenue might reasonably be obtained from an increase in the duties on liquor licences. In his reply on the debate, the Chancellor of the Exchequer took occasion to say that he should be very glad if the Colonies would consent to contribute to the expenditure on Imperial defences, and reminded the House that this question was to be considered at the coming conference with the Colonial Premiers. As to the suggested

increase of the licence duties, he recognised that they might possibly be increased with advantage so far as the larger public-houses were concerned, but held that any additional revenue obtainable in this way ought to go in aid of local taxation. In any case the question could not be dealt with except after full inquiry. The Bill was read a second time by 224 to 134.

In resisting an amendment to the second reading of the Loan Bill, Sir M. Hicks-Beach said that he still anticipated that it would be possible to earmark certain sources of revenue in the new Colonies, and to apply them from time to time to the service of a considerable portion of the debt incurred by reason of the war. Out of the proceeds of the present loan, amounting to 29,920,000*l.* a sum of 11,136,000*l.* would probably be available for the relief of the Exchequer in the "lean" quarters, that was to say, the first three-quarters of the financial year. What was not wanted for other purposes would be applied to the redemption of the floating debt. In obtaining 93½ per cent. on a fresh loan of 32,000,000*l.* he did not consider that he had made a bad bargain for the country. The amendment was negatived by 232 to 109, and the second reading of the Loan Bill carried by 224 to 102.

It may be mentioned here that earlier in the same sitting Lord Charles Beresford (*Woolwich*) made it clear, in a discussion for which space cannot be found here, that he himself had been responsible for the publication of a letter of his to Mr. Arnold White in 1901 (see ANNUAL REGISTER for that year, p. 173), expressing anxiety concerning the condition of the Mediterranean Fleet, of which he was then second in command.

At the evening sitting of May 14 Mr. Beaumont (*Hexham, Northumberland*) moved a resolution declaring "that legislation was necessary to prevent workmen being placed by Judge-made law in a position inferior to that intended by Parliament in 1875." By the judgment in the Taff Vale case, he pointed out, it had virtually been laid down that a union could be sued in its corporate capacity, and its funds made attachable, for peaceful picketing. This seemed to be a construction of the law which was not intended by the Act of 1875. In seconding the motion, Mr. Bell (*Derby*) said that if trade unions were liable to be sued, they ought also to have the right to sue. He contended generally that the law of conspiracy was unduly favourable to masters and harsh as against men. Mr. Renshaw (*Renfrew, W.*) moved as an amendment "that the House declined to commit itself to fresh legislation on the subject of trade disputes until it was shown that the existing law did not sufficiently protect workmen in the exercise of their lawful rights." Sir R. Reid (*Dumfries District*) pointed out that since it had been decided that unions could be sued, all their compassionate funds might have to be spent in paying damages for breaches of the law committed by individuals. The Attorney-General maintained that the law of conspiracy dealt impartially with employers and

employed. All that the Lords had decided in the Taff Vale case was that trade unions were subject to the ordinary law of the land, and responsible, like other employers, for the acts of their officials within the scope of the officials' duties. He could not allow that such a decision inflicted any special hardship upon trade unions, and he saw no reason for giving them privileges which were not shared by all classes of the community. Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*) complained that the law, especially in regard to picketing, was in a state of confusion, due to the conflicting interpretations of the judges, and he appealed to the Government to appoint a small commission for the codification of the law of conspiracy so that plain men might understand it. Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*) was also of opinion that the law in regard to the liability of trade union funds, picketing, and conspiracy ought to be inquired into with a view to clear and definite legislation. Mr. Ritchie (*Croydon*), Home Secretary, on the part of the Government, declined to accept this suggestion, adding, however, that if it should become apparent in the final trial of any case in the House of Lords that legislation was desirable on any given point, they would be ready to take the matter up. After a few words from Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, who regretted the *non possumus* attitude of the Government, Mr. Robson (*Shields, S.*) moved the closure, which was carried by 199 to 177. Mr. Renshaw's amendment was then carried by 203 to 174, but on its being put as a substantive motion the adjournment of the debate was moved, and, it being midnight, the debate stood adjourned accordingly. The minority in the second division consisted of Liberals, Nationalists, and twelve Unionists—including one member of the Government, Mr. Hayes Fisher (*Fulham*).

On May 15 Mr. Balfour made a statement as to the measures of relief adopted for the sufferers from the recent appalling disasters in the West Indies, which are described in later chapters of this volume. After referring to the St. Vincent Relief Fund opened at the Mansion House, Mr. Balfour said that Canada, Jamaica, the neighbouring West Indian Islands and Mauritius had promised help in money or kind, and he did not doubt that other Colonies would be equally generous. In addition, the Governor of the Windward Islands had been authorised to spend whatever was necessary. Moreover, the Government were prepared, without naming any definite sum, to supplement contributions from other sources to such extent as might be thought requisite, and to augment the West Indies deficit grant annually voted by the House. The United States had, in the most sympathetic manner, expressed their desire to share in the work of aid and rescue, and the Governor of the Windward Islands had been consulted as to the manner in which that generous offer could best be accepted. With regard to Martinique, Lord Lansdowne had telegraphed on the 12th inst. to our Ambassador at Paris, offering the services of medical officers

as well as supplies and medical comforts from the neighbouring British possessions; and the offer of provisions and medical comforts had been gratefully accepted.

After a brief and desultory discussion the House of Commons rose on May 16 for the Whitsuntide Recess, the Peers, who had had almost no occupation since Easter, having dispersed a day or two earlier.

CHAPTER IV.

National Liberal Federation Meetings: Resolutions as to Corn Duty, Education, and Home Rule—Lord Rosebery on Education Bill—Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham, on Education Bill and inter-Imperial Commercial Relations—Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman at Darlington—Co-operative Congress—Education Estimates in Commons—Tributes to Lord Pauncefoot—Debates on Naval Construction and Factory Law Administration—Peace in South Africa: Universal Joy; Friendly Public Feeling towards the Boers; King's Message; Announcements in Parliament—Education Bill in Committee, and Opinions Outside—Loan Bill Read a Third Time in Commons: Chancellor of the Exchequer's Revised Budget Figures—Votes of Thanks to Troops, and Grant to Lord Kitchener—Speeches by Mr. Morley and Lord Strathcona—Finance Bill Debates in Committee—Arrest of "Colonel" Lynch—Finance Bill Debates and Divisions in Committee, on Report, and on Third Reading in Commons: Lord Goschen's Speech in Lords—The Education Bill; Non-conformist Deputation to Mr. Balfour; Committee Resumed; Enlarged Grants to Elementary Schools; Amendments accepted on Secondary Clauses—Discussion on Imperial Defence—Preparations for the Coronation—The King's Illness, Convalescence and Recovery; Public Feeling Thereon—Coronation Honours—Licensing and Midwives Bills carried through Parliament—The Cape Constitution Question—Lord Kitchener's Return—Lord Salisbury's Retirement—Mr. Balfour Prime Minister—Reconstruction of Ministry—Education Bill Committee Resumed; Option Clause Struck Out; Prolonged Conflict on Voluntary Schools Management Clause; Clause Carried—Disorders at Sandhurst—Foreign Affairs in Both Houses—Irish Debate in Commons—Mr. Chamberlain on South African Settlement—Mr. Balfour on Imperial Defence.

THE approach of Whitsuntide had, as usual, been the signal for a large number of political and other gatherings in the country. On May 13 and 14 the National Liberal Federation held its meetings at Bristol, when, after twelve years' service, for which he was warmly thanked, Dr. Spence Watson retired from the presidency, and was succeeded by Mr. A. Birrell, M.P. The Federation naturally regarded the Bury election as affording satisfactory evidence of the growing dissatisfaction of the country with the Government, especially in connection with the corn duty, against which it passed a resolution of strenuous protest. The assembled delegates were also congratulated by Mr. Arthur Acland, whose appearance was very cordially welcomed, on the united front which the Liberal party presented in regard to the Education Bill, and at his instance that measure was denounced in a long resolution. The Federation expressed its "unabated confidence" in Lord Spencer and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, as the chosen leaders of the party in Parliament, and passed, unanimously, a resolution in favour of devolving upon "a representative body in Ireland the power of

legislating with reference to what the Imperial Parliament shall decide to be distinctively Irish affairs." This Home Rule declaration might be regarded as the Federation's answer to the views recently expressed on that subject by Lord Rosebery and the Liberal League, and did not seem to point directly towards Liberal re-union. Nor, at the first blush, was any such tendency observable, even in regard to the Education Bill, in a speech delivered by Lord Rosebery on receiving the honorary freedom of the borough of Colchester (May 15). He then "rejoiced, on the whole," in the provision of that Bill which added the supervision of education to the responsibilities of municipal authorities, as being calculated to enhance the "strength and lustre" of municipal institutions by helping to draw citizens of all ranks, degrees, and abilities to take service in them. In the different atmosphere of a National Liberal Club dinner (May 23), however, Lord Rosebery was able to treat the Education Bill as a measure which could, or should, unite the Liberal party in resistance to it, because while perhaps aiming—but, even so, ineffectively—at a reinforcement of the weight and power of municipal institutions, "in far more important and far-reaching respects it conflicted with every Liberal principle in regard to education."

Stirred, possibly, by the Bury rebuff, Mr. Chamberlain delivered a very vigorous vindication of the Government and of the continuing claims of the Unionist party to the confidence of the country at the annual meeting of the Birmingham Liberal Unionist party (May 16). So far as concerned the question whether the original ground of the Unionist alliance had disappeared, he was able very plausibly to point to the resolution mentioned above, passed by the official organisation of the Liberal party, as showing that if Lord Rosebery and Sir H. Fowler, who had abandoned Home Rule, were to succeed in turning out the Government, they would practically do so in the interest of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and his views, and "once more we should be plunged in the mists and marshes of a disunionist controversy." Mr. Chamberlain also entirely denied the charges of legislative sterility brought against the Unionists by Lord Rosebery. In this connection he enumerated a not unimpressive list of social and other reforms which they had passed, and called attention to the fact that in the present session they were not merely pushing forward a measure of moderate, but practical, temperance reform, but also an Education Bill which, whatever its faults, was comprehensive in the scope of its aims. He went on to declare that had the Government been guided by purely party interests they would never have touched this thorny problem. But to have refused would have been to neglect a great national duty. He contended that the Bill was an honest attempt to deal with a state of things that constituted a national weakness and a national danger. He gave the assurance that on all points of detail the Govern-

ment had an open mind. Coming to elementary education and the religious question, Mr. Chamberlain maintained that what was called unsectarian education was unfair to Roman Catholics, to Jews, and to many more who considered that an insufficient and undefined religious instruction was in itself irreligious and, therefore, sectarian. But, it was said, there was the conscience clause. Yes; and if the conscience clause justified them in imposing on the Board Schools an education which Churchmen and others objected to, it also justified Churchmen in giving in their schools instruction to which some of those present might object. The only alternatives, he contended, were: (1) to adopt the system of secularism as tried for six years by the Birmingham School Board, and abandoned at the instance of the Nonconformists; (2) to adopt and continue the compromise of 1870. The Bill was an acceptance of the latter alternative, coupled with the great and important change that in return for defraying the cost of the secular instruction in denominational schools the Bill claimed from the denominations a far more complete and searching control over that instruction than had before existed. The teachers, it was true, would still be elected by the managers, but that was a necessity of the case. "If," said Mr. Chamberlain, "you take that away you take away the whole object and intent of the Voluntary School. You cannot ask—it would be monstrous hypocrisy to ask—that Voluntary Schools which give, let us say, either Roman Catholic or Protestant teaching should be required to accept teachers who do not believe in it. You cannot have Christianity taught by a Jew, you cannot have Roman Catholicism taught by a Protestant, you cannot have Wesleyanism taught by a Church of England teacher." Mr. Chamberlain, in effect, while he did not pretend that the Ministerial measure embodied an ideal solution of the education question, yet declared that it was, in his honest judgment, the only possible solution at the present time.

In the same speech the Colonial Secretary referred to inter-Imperial relations in terms which excited much comment, and their precise import a good deal of speculation, especially in view of the approaching gathering of Colonial Premiers in London. "At the present moment," said Mr. Chamberlain, "the Empire is being attacked on all sides, and in our isolation we must look to ourselves. We must draw closer our internal relations, the ties of sentiment, the ties of sympathy, yes, and the ties of interest. If by adherence to economic pedantry, to old shibboleths, we are to lose opportunities of closer union which are offered us by our Colonies, if we are to put aside occasions now within our grasp, if we do not take every chance in our power to keep British trade in British hands, I am certain that we shall deserve the disasters which will infallibly come upon us." The future, Mr. Chamberlain went on to say, was for great Empires and not for little States. The question for this generation was whether we were to be numbered among

the great Empires or the little States. "The realisation of the highest ideal," he declared, "will, in my judgment at any rate, make for the peace and civilisation of the world." Without doubt, and not unnaturally, this passage served to stimulate the hopes of those who wished, and the anxieties of those who feared, to see in the corn duty an opening towards the establishment of a British Tariff Union. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, who spoke at Darlington (May 24), dealing with this question, after denouncing the corn duty as throwing over both the doctrine and the practice of Free Trade, said that Mr. Chamberlain had hinted at preferential duties in favour of the Colonies. Well, Liberals were not behind their political opponents in loyalty and friendliness to the Colonies; but, as they wished the colonists to be masters in their own house, so they wished us to remain masters in ours. Liberals did not wish a tie to become a chain, and, so far from believing that good and intimate relations between the Colonies and this country would be consolidated in such a manner, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman was satisfied that they would be greatly endangered.

The Co-operative Congress, which generally holds itself aloof from the treatment of matters of controversial politics, had before it at its meeting at Exeter (May 19-21) a resolution condemning the Education Bill as making "no adequate provision for secondary education or for the improvement of general education, and removing the whole question from the hands of directly elected representatives of the people." A Preston delegate protested against the manner in which the subject had been sprung upon the meeting, his own constituents (numbering 13,000), for example, having had no opportunity of expressing any opinion on the Bill. The resolution, however, was passed by a large majority, and one denouncing the corn duty was carried unanimously. So also—which, perhaps, did not serve to add weight to the resolutions just mentioned—was a declaration in favour of old-age pensions, of 5s. a week at least, for every man and woman on attaining the age of sixty, of which the entire cost was to be defrayed from the Imperial Exchequer.

The first Parliamentary week after the Whitsuntide recess passed in comparative calm. On the day—May 26—when the House of Commons re-assembled, Sir J. Gorst made what was to be the last official statement in support of Education Estimates under the old system. In the course of his speech introducing the vote of 9,921,852*l.*, he touched on the advantages of the "block grant" system which was about to be introduced in the case of secondary schools receiving science and art grants, and had already been introduced in the case of elementary schools. In the former case he anticipated that the existing inducements to cram students would be removed, and in regard to elementary schools he was entirely satisfied that the change was of very great value in securing that the

foundations of education should not be neglected, as had too often been the case, and in giving scope for greater variety and elasticity. But of course the good working of the block grant system must depend on the efficiency of the inspectors, and in that connection Sir J. Gorst stated that a new plan had been introduced, under which young men were appointed as junior inspectors, and worked for a considerable time under supervision. With regard to evening schools, he said that this year more solid work had been done in them than in previous years. There had, indeed, been fewer enrolments, but the average attendance had been greater. A longer time must, however, elapse before the effect of the minute of July, 1901, could be finally judged.

The generally favourable view of the position of evening schools given by the Vice-President was strongly challenged by Dr. Macnamara (*Camberwell, N.*), who stated that in several large towns school work of that description was either no longer carried on or only partially continued in consequence of the Cockerton judgment and the subsequent action of the Government. Mr. Yoxall (*Nottingham, W.*) equally held that the Board of Education was to blame for the state of doubt and anxiety in which the managers of evening continuation schools found themselves. Sir A. Rollit (*Islington, N.*) regretted any diminution in the numbers attending evening schools, and held that in this matter no arbitrary age limit should be imposed. He also thought that there was something more to be said than the Vice-President appeared to think in favour of grants for special subjects. On the other hand he expressed strong approval of the regulations which had been made for the teaching of commercial subjects.

In his reply Sir J. Gorst maintained that the minute of July, 1902, had not had the effect of reducing the number of scholars who went to the evening schools solely for the purpose of receiving instruction; and a reduction moved by Dr. Macnamara was rejected by 181 votes to 102.

At the evening sitting of the same day the Colonial Secretary gave some interesting information as to the affairs of Cyprus, his good work in regard to the administration of which was cordially acknowledged by Mr. Buxton (*Poplar*) and other speakers. On a motion to complete a grant of 30,000*l.* in aid of the island revenues, he said that the construction of the harbour at Famagusta was very shortly to be begun. He would give facilities for the establishment of a land bank by private enterprise. A regular weekly service with Egypt was about to be established. The irrigation works which had been undertaken had been completed successfully, but unfortunately the inhabitants were not very anxious to avail themselves of the benefits which these works conferred. Steps, however, were to be taken to get over this difficulty, and eventually the works would probably be extended.

On the vote of 527,570*l.* for the diplomatic and consular services, Lord E. Fitzmaurice (*Cricklade, Wilts*) took occasion to pay an interesting tribute to the memory of Lord Pauncefote, with whom he had formerly served at the Foreign Office. Lord Granville had told him (Lord Edmond) that, although it had been to his advantage to have had under him other eminent men, he could honestly say that there was no man to whom he felt he owed a greater debt of official obligation than he did to Sir Julian Pauncefote. The tribute thus offered was cordially echoed by Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) and Lord Cranborne (*Rochester*), Under Foreign Secretary, both of whom credited to the lamented diplomatist an important share in the improvement of Anglo-American relations. Mr. J. A. Pease (*Saffron Walden, Essex*), supported by Sir C. Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Glouc.*), moved to reduce the vote as a protest against the continued existence of slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba and on the East African mainland strip. Lord Cranborne having recalled the fact that in Zanzibar and Pemba slaves could be emancipated on applying to the courts, and again urged the well-known objections, on social grounds, to a policy of universal and immediate emancipation, the amendment was rejected by 123 to 59.

A question of rapidly-growing public interest—the regulations relating to the use of motor cars on public roads—was briefly before the House of Commons on May 27. In Committee of Supply on the Local Government Board vote the matter having been raised by Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Long (*Bristol, S.*), President of the Board, admitted that the present regulations were altogether inefficient. While they placed undue restrictions in the way of those who wished to use motor cars prudently, they did not prevent reckless persons from doing great harm. But if there was to be any increase of the maximum speed allowed, adequate means of identification must be devised, and from any new regulations that might be issued there must be no exemptions. He hoped to be able to make proposals which would be advantageous to the owners of motor cars and which at the same time would afford the public greater security against injury.

On May 28, Mr. Arnold-Forster (*Belfast, W.*), Secretary to the Admiralty, moved the second reading of the Royal Naval Reserve Volunteers Bill, permitting British subjects serving in ships registered elsewhere than in the United Kingdom (whether in the Colonies or in foreign countries), and residing outside it, to enter the Reserve. After a short discussion the Bill was read a second time without a division, and it ultimately became law with no difficulty. At the evening sitting of May 28, after some debate, the Select Committee which sat in the previous year to inquire into subsidies to foreign vessels and their effect on British trade was reappointed. Also, on the motion of Mr. Balfour, it was resolved to appoint Select Committees

to inquire whether in the interests of economy, efficiency and convenience any alterations should be made in the rules relating to the management of private business, and whether any plan could be devised which would enable the House to make a more thorough examination than was possible now into the details of the national expenditure.

The question of the adequacy of the provision made in the Navy Estimates for the development of our first line of defence was raised (May 29) by Sir C. Dilke on the Shipbuilding Vote (4,812,700*l.*). He held that the provision was far too small. In maintaining the contrary, Mr. Arnold-Forster pointed out that since April, 1901, thirty-five ships had been completed and passed into the Navy, and in the present year there would be seventy-five ships under construction, including twenty-four armoured cruisers and fourteen battleships. That would be a colossal addition to the Navy, and the construction of twenty-seven other ships was contemplated. Comparing our position with that of other naval Powers, he pointed out that the vote for new construction and the ancillary votes amounted together to more than 18,000,000*l.*, while the total German naval expenditure was only 10,000,000*l.*, and that of France 12,000,000*l.* The Admiralty had framed their programme in accordance with the well-known standard of comparative strength which the House had approved. He did not say that the development of battleship construction in other countries might not at a future time necessitate an abnormal addition to our shipbuilding programme; but no such necessity had as yet arisen. The Admiralty were not going to allow their shipbuilding programme to fall behind. There had been arrears, due partly to the delay that had occurred before a decision was come to as to the type of boilers to be selected. In regard, however, to the rapid construction of ships the outlook was now more cheerful, in consequence of arrangements which had been made with the Elswick firm, and with Messrs. Vickers, and of the changes which had been effected in various departments of Admiralty work in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee over which he had himself presided.

In the course of the subsequent debate Mr. Allan (*Gateshead*) condemned the continued use of Belleville boilers, and the insertion of "combined" cylindrical and water-tube boilers in six new cruisers without more knowledge than we possessed of their merits. On the latter point he was supported by Lord C. Beresford (*Woolwich*), who, on the question of speed in ships, said that on the whole our fleet was equal, but not superior, in speed to that of France. In his reply, Mr. Arnold-Forster said that Belleville boilers were not to be supplied to new ships, but it would be a gross error to suppose that they were all bad, and he justified the adoption of combined boilers. The Shipbuilding Vote having been ultimately agreed to, that for contract work was then discussed, Sir J. Colomb (*Yarmouth*) moving its reduc-

tion in respect of subventions to merchant vessels, partly through his impression that the subvention was the same for all, whatever the speed, and partly because of the absorption of the White Star Line in the Morgan shipping combination. On the first point he was reassured by Mr. Arnold-Forster, but on the other, having limited the amount of reduction to the 21,000*l.* subsidy to that particular line, he persisted, with the support of Mr. Bowles (*King's Lynn*), but was beaten by 150 to 73.

On the Home Office Estimates, in Committee of Supply (May 30), some matters of Factory Law administration and extension were referred to. Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*) commended the work of the Home Office on some points, including the reduction of lead poisoning in the Potteries; and, after dwelling on the readiness repeatedly shown by the House to vote the necessary money for enforcing the factory laws, said that this should encourage the Home Secretary to make fresh proposals with regard to labour in laundries, and also as to dangerous industries. The Home Secretary acknowledged that he was by no means satisfied with the present condition of the law as to laundries. The Government were compelled to abandon their proposals in 1901, but he had since been in communication with institution laundries, and the majority were favourable to an amendment of the law. He was hopeful that the Government might be able to propose soon—though, of course, not in the present session—some legislation which, while not giving all that might be desired, would go a long way in the right direction. With regard to the difficulty of getting some magistrates to impose such penalties as would secure a due observance of the law, it was extremely hard to know what was the best way of dealing with the matter. But he would consider whether any steps could be taken in the direction suggested by Mr. Asquith of addressing circulars to the different benches of magistrates, pointing out the importance of uniformity and the gravity of the interests involved. There had been a very marked improvement in respect of lead-poisoning, and the operation of the law was leading to very satisfactory results.

Two days later, on Sunday, June 1, came the blessed news of Peace in South Africa. Latterly there had not been much doubt that this would be the issue of the negotiations between the British High Commissioner and General in chief command and the leaders of the Boers. But there was always the possibility of a breakdown at the last moment. The relief and joy, therefore, felt throughout this country and the British Empire on the arrival of the news that the terms of surrender had actually been signed were intense and universal. For more than two years and a half the nation had been engaged in a struggle which, while no doubt it afforded many opportunities of winning distinction to officers and soldiers, was yet singularly lacking in the circumstances calculated to stimulate

national pride or self-satisfaction. Especially had this been the case during the long-protracted period of guerilla fighting, which, contrary to all expectation, had ensued on the occupation of Pretoria. There was hardly a family circle in the United Kingdom into which the struggle had not brought keen personal anxiety, even if not, as had happened in multitudes of cases, bitter distress and bereavement. Yet there was never any disposition, except among the minority who looked upon the war with moral disapprobation, to favour any acceleration of peace by a settlement based upon anything short of the unchallenged recognition of British authority from the Cape to the Zambesi. When, therefore, it was realised that at last, after such terrible sacrifices on both sides, the fighting burghers had agreed to lay down their arms and to acknowledge King Edward as their lawful Sovereign, with no reserves containing the seeds of future misunderstanding, the delight of the English people was of the keenest possible description.

It found vent in very various ways—in thanksgiving services, in the ringing of church bells, in illuminations, fireworks and bonfires, in municipal and other processions, and in the general trooping about the streets of London and other great towns of innumerable multitudes with joy in their faces. A certain amount of horseplay there may have been in London, as after the reception of the news of the relief of Mafeking; but on the whole the attitude of the British people, in presence of the issue so earnestly desired and so long delayed, illustrated both good feeling and self-restraint. For an account of the negotiations leading up to the Peace and the terms of surrender themselves the reader must be referred to Mr. Whates's African Chapter in this volume. Here it is sufficient to say that the feature of the settlement which, next to its decisive recognition of British sovereignty over the whole Boer race and their territory, gave greatest satisfaction was the absence of any condition either oppressive or humiliating towards our late enemies. In the British temper at the conclusion of the war nothing was more observable than a desire for the cultivation as quickly as possible of the most friendly relations with those who had so long withstood the whole military strength of the Empire. In this connection the promise in the terms of surrender of a free grant of 3,000,000*l.* to be applied to such purposes as the re-settlement of the Boers in their homes, and the supplying to them of food, seed, and implements, as well as of loans free of interest for two years for similar objects, was regarded here with cordial satisfaction. Even among those who had been throughout strong opponents of the policy of the war, there was a prevailing disposition to recognise that the settlement finally reached was marked by a humane and conciliatory spirit on the part of his Majesty's Government. To the general feeling of his subjects felicitous expression was given in the following message from his Majesty which appeared in the Press on

June 2:—"The King has received the welcome news of the cessation of hostilities in South Africa with infinite satisfaction, and trusts that peace may be speedily followed by the restoration of prosperity in his new dominions, and that the feelings necessarily engendered by war will give place to the earnest co-operation of all his Majesty's South African subjects in promoting the welfare of their common country."

On the same day the terms of the Peace Agreement were read in the House of Lords by Lord Salisbury and in the House of Commons by Mr. Balfour. With almost an exaggeration of the restraint in expression of feeling habitual to the British statesman in office, neither Minister offered any comment upon the character and effect of the historic document which he thus made known. In the Upper House, however, Lord Rosebery promptly offered his "hearty, unstinted and unreserved congratulations to the Government" on the conclusion of peace, and Lord Tweedmouth (in the absence of Lords Spencer and Ripon), while abstaining from any direct observation on the terms of the agreement, expressed the confident hope that they would be so interpreted and carried out by both parties as to secure the lasting pacification of South Africa. In the Commons Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman said a few words, very happily, in the same sense, accompanying them with a tribute, which was heartily and generally applauded, to the admirable qualities which had been displayed both by those who had fought for us and by those "who up to now have been our enemies, and who now are our friends and fellow-citizens."

Firmly rejecting the suggestion of a military Member that the occasion might suitably be celebrated by an adjournment of the House, Mr. Balfour invited the House of Commons to proceed to the orders of the day, first among which stood the beginning of the Committee on the Education Bill. Before proceeding to give such indications as exigencies of space will allow of the commencement of the detailed discussions of this momentous measure, it may be recorded that on May 29, in addressing a large meeting at Leeds, Lord Rosebery had again attacked the Bill on the ground that not efficient education, but denominational education was what the Government were evidently resolved to support. As to secondary education, the Bill seemed to him to do next to nothing. He went on to say that the intensity of the opposition to the measure was due to no indifference to religion, but to the natural objection entertained by the Nonconformists to pay rates for the support of schools from the religious teaching in which they differed fundamentally. For that difference, he said, amid loud and continued cheers, they had suffered much in the past and were prepared to suffer much in the future. The religious difficulty, however, though it was the mainspring of the opposition to the Bill, did not present itself obviously on the first clause, which dealt only with the constitution of local authori-

ties. In this connection the proposal was that the council of every county and of every county borough should be the local education authority, subject to the proviso that in the case of boroughs with a population of over 10,000, or of urban districts with a population of over 20,000, the local councils should exercise authority in regard to elementary education. This, of course, was clearly understood to involve the abolition of all School Boards, to which course, it may be mentioned, very emphatic objection was taken in a resolution carried unanimously at a conference held in London (May 28) by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress.

A number of instructions to the Committee having been ruled out of order by the Speaker, the House entered upon the discussion of the clauses of the Bill, when Mr. Channing (*Northants., E.*) moved to postpone Clause 1. His ground for doing so was that the real motive of the Bill was the subsidising of Voluntary Schools, and that it was futile to discuss other matters before that dividing issue was dealt with. Mr. Balfour, however, maintained that the clause came rightly first, as the foundation of educational reform was the constitution of a single authority. The amendment was supported by Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*), Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon District*) and other Members, but was rejected by 288 votes to 122. Thereupon Mr. Lambert (*South Molton, Devon*) moved an amendment the effect of which would have been to restrict the operation of the Bill to secondary education. This proposal was supported from the front Opposition bench by Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*), Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) and Sir W. Harcourt, the grounds taken being generally that the new authority would not have time to deal with both secondary and elementary education and that one or the other or both must suffer. Mr. Balfour, however, emphasised the necessity of regarding the two kinds of education as indivisible halves of one great whole, which, he said, was the view of the subject taken in America and Germany. Sir W. Anson (*Oxford University*) also maintained that it was essential to effective continuity between the lower and higher grades of education that all should be dealt with by the same authority; and the discussion having been closed, the amendment was rejected by 299 votes to 114. So passed the first afternoon sitting in committee on the Education Bill. At the evening sitting of the same day voice was given by Mr. J. A. Pease (*Saffron Walden, Essex*) to a feeling undoubtedly entertained with much strength in a number of large towns where School Boards had done good work. In that interest he moved an amendment having for its object the constitution of School Boards into general education authorities in large towns. Sir J. Gorst (*Cambridge University*), Vice-President of the Council, while disclaiming any hostility to School Boards such as had been often attributed to him, pointed out that the amendment was subversive of the whole principle of the Bill. It was most

desirable, the Government held, to have not only one educational, but also one rating authority in a locality; but municipalities would be able to avail themselves for educational purposes of the services of members of existing School Boards. Mr. Mather (*Rossendale, Lancs.*), Dr. Macnamara (*Camberwell, S.*) and other Members appealed to Mr. Balfour to give way on this point. But he pointed out that the amendment asked them to divide the country educationally into two entirely different spheres of administration. This, he held, was quite impossible, and the amendment was rejected by 219 votes to 117.

A considerable part of the sittings of the next two days (June 3 and 4) was occupied by the discussion of amendments dealing with the proviso, already quoted, in Clause 1, that in boroughs of over 10,000 and urban districts of over 20,000 inhabitants the municipal council should be the authority for purposes of elementary education. Dr. Macnamara moved its omission as being contrary to the "one authority" principle in the case of no fewer than 327 boroughs and urban districts, and also as taking out of the county rural areas the "fat" rating districts for purposes of elementary education. The amendment elicited a good deal of difference of opinion on both sides. It was opposed by Mr. Balfour, who maintained, but not in a very confident tone, that the provision as it stood was a practical one. He did not deny that to a not unimportant extent it militated against the development of the principle of one authority, but he pointed out that under the Bill the boroughs in question would retain their existing right of spending a penny rate on secondary and technical education, and argued that thus a harmony between primary and secondary education would be established within them. He also maintained that no rule could be laid down as to the most valuable rating areas.

There was, however, very little doubt that, but for the prospect of irritation in the small boroughs and urban districts if they were not allowed the measure of educational autonomy proposed in the Bill, the Government would have thought it better educational policy to place them entirely under the county authority. These electoral considerations operated at the same time in the minds of many members of the Opposition as well as Ministerialists, and Dr. Macnamara's amendment was defeated by 307 votes to 88. Very large majorities also rejected other amendments, also opposed by the Government on grounds of probable practical effect rather than principle, directed to make the minimum limit of population, in the proviso under discussion for partial local educational autonomy, the same for boroughs and urban districts. When the Committee was resumed (June 17), an amendment moved (June 4) by Sir E. Grey (*Berwick, Northumberland*) was further discussed. It would have required that the municipal authorities of the urban districts and small boroughs must obtain the consent of the

County Council before becoming the local educational authorities. Mr. Mather (*Rosendale, Lancs.*), however, supported the clause as it stood on its educational merits, and though Sir W. Anson (*Oxford University*) gave his voice for Sir E. Grey's proposed modification, the Government were sustained in resisting it by 272 votes to 114.

Reverting to the first week of June, the evening sitting of the 4th was occupied by the third reading of the Loan Bill, in moving which the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a statement as to the Budget figures in the light of the conclusion of peace. He reminded the House that he had asked for nearly 17,000,000*l.* for war expenses, and for borrowing powers up to 12,000,000*l.*, to finance the Exchequer during the first months of the year, besides the 32,000,000*l.* loan, which two sums of 17,000,000*l.* and 12,000,000*l.* would not now be required. The war had lasted for two months out of the eight for which he had taken 40,000,000*l.*, but the expenditure had been somewhat greater than the estimated average, because larger reinforcements had been sent than had been contemplated. About 28,000,000*l.* would be saved, but it would be impossible to commence the saving for some weeks. Since May 30 orders had been sent to stop all war expenditure that could be stopped, but there would still be considerable sums to be expended for military purposes, such as demobilisation, transports and gratuities, and for the maintenance of the population in the concentration camps until their homes were restored and the South African winter was over, etc. He therefore adhered to his original estimate of 174,609,000*l.* for the expenditure of the year, to which had to be added 1,750,000*l.*—750,000*l.* for the South African Constabulary, 750,000*l.* interest on the new debt, and 250,000*l.* proposed grant to the West Indies—making a total of 176,359,000*l.*, and leaving a deficit of 28,574,000*l.* By maintaining the increased income tax and the new corn duty this was reduced to 19,500,000*l.*, which would be met out of the loan, leaving a balance of 10,500,000*l.*, from which he would ask the House to restore the sinking fund, with a margin of 6,000,000*l.* for the relief of the floating debt. When civil government was established in the Transvaal, the Government intended to ask Parliament to guarantee a loan to be raised in the new Colonies for the conversion of their debts, for the acquisition of their railways, and for other beneficial purposes. Sir W. Harcourt, who remarked that peace apparently this year was not to be much cheaper than war, regretted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not propose some remission of taxation. He approved, however, cordially of the restoration of the Sinking Fund, and congratulated Sir M. Hicks-Beach on his financial courage; and the Bill was read a third time by 216 to 49. On its second reading in the Lords, Lord Goschen (formerly Chancellor of the Exchequer) remarked on the extraordinary strength of the country's credit.

The loan of 32,000,000*l.* was issued at 93½, and the price was now 97 for what was practically a 2½ per cent. stock. Seeing that the rate of 2¼ only lasted till April, 1903, we had borrowed 159,000,000*l.* for the war, of which 122,000,000*l.* was an addition to the permanent debt, and yet a 2½ per cent. stock, as he showed by calculation based on the price of 3 per cent. Consol stock when the conversion took place in 1888, stood thirteen points higher than it would have done in that year. Lord Salisbury said it was of great importance that they should be assured, on authority so high, that our monetary dealings, which had undoubtedly not been distinguished by timidity of late years, had not impaired, but seemed rather to have strengthened, the financial position of the country.

The pleasing duty of voting thanks for military services in South Africa was discharged by Parliament on June 5. In both Houses a series of resolutions was moved, recording grateful appreciation of the gallantry, energy, discipline and good conduct of all ranks of all the services employed—Naval and Military, Home, Indian and Colonial; noting the "cordial good feeling" by which they had all been animated; expressing admiration for the devoted valour of those who had fallen, and deep sympathy with their relatives and friends; and thanking also the members of all the Militia corps which had been embodied in the United Kingdom during the war for their zealous and meritorious services at home and abroad. These resolutions were moved in the Upper House by Lord Salisbury, who, in the course of his speech, observed that a force varying from 200,000 to 260,000 men had been kept in a land 6,000 miles away, in order to repel an attack which was in no way provoked, and to show that such attacks could not be made with impunity. Our troops had shown even more than usual resource and energy in contending with difficulties of no ordinary kind. To that undertaking, the Prime Minister was careful to point out, they had been drawn not by the coercive action of law, but by the emoluments and honours of a great and splendid vocation. In his belief the result of the war was that in the eyes of all the world we were much stronger than ever before. The motion was seconded in very sympathetic terms by Lord Spencer, and carried *nem. con.*

In the Commons the proceedings began with the proposal by Mr. Balfour, in pursuance of the recommendation of a Royal message, of a grant of 50,000*l.* to Lord Kitchener "in recognition of his eminent services during the war in South Africa," for which he had been advanced to the rank of general in the Army and viscount in the Peerage. In making this motion Mr. Balfour pointed out that had we been fighting a highly organised industrial community the war would have come to an end with Lord Roberts's success. The difficulties thrown in the way of his successor were of a novel and most formidable character. Lord Kitchener had to deal at the same time with

no less than ninety small mobile columns scattered over an area greater than that of large European States, and those columns were not hampered by the military necessities of defending great commercial or national interests. One further difference which greatly added to Lord Kitchener's difficulties, and which, so far as he knew, was absolutely new in the history even of guerilla warfare, was that we were, while fighting our enemies, supporting the whole civil population. In the course of his operations against this mobile foe Lord Kitchener created no less than 4,000 miles of lines defended by blockhouses—a distance greater than the whole distance which separated the Atlantic from the Pacific in North America, greater than that which separated Khartoum from Cape Town. This gigantic task showed a fertile brain and its success showed boundless courage, boundless energy and boundless resource; and it was to these great qualities we owed the fortunate termination of the war in South Africa. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman supported briefly, but most cordially, this recognition of the great services rendered by Lord Kitchener, who had shown himself a great soldier and, more than that, a great administrator, a master of the art of organisation, a tactful negotiator and a large-minded man. Mr. W. Redmond (*Clare, E.*) having provoked a scene by describing Lord Kitchener as the "one general of all others who had consistently made war upon women and children," the grant was agreed to by 380 to 44—the latter all Irish Nationalists except Mr. Cremer (*Haggerston*), and Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) who, even while voting against this and all such grants on principle, could not withhold his recognition of the manner in which Lord Kitchener had discharged the responsibilities laid upon him.

In the course of his speech in support of the votes of thanks to the forces, Mr. Balfour pointed out that this was the first time when the Militia, Yeomanry and Volunteers had been side by side with the Regulars in the fighting line, and also the first time when any large body of our Colonial fellow-subjects had come forward at a moment of great Imperial need and thrown in their lot with the mother country. The services which our Colonies had rendered had been great, and the spirit which had actuated them marked the opening of a new chapter in our Imperial history. Eulogising the conduct of all the troops engaged, he dwelt on the exceptional humanity which they had displayed, and, referring feelingly to the losses which had been sustained in the course of the war, he observed that it might be a consolation to the widow and bereaved parent to know that those they loved had died in a cause which the country believed to be just, and had not died in vain.

Two speeches made outside Parliament in the same week were interesting from different points of view. At the opening (June 6) of the Colonial Troops Club, provided for the Colonial troops attending the Coronation by the liberality of Miss

Brooke-Hunt, Mr. Chamberlain, who performed the function, naturally dwelt on the debt which the mother-country owed to the Colonies for their conduct during the war. Lord Strathcona, who followed, said that from the moment that Mr. Chamberlain took up the office of Colonial Secretary they felt assured that the best interests of the Colonies were safe, and throughout the whole length and breadth of the Empire there was but one feeling—that of admiration for the manner in which the Colonial Secretary had acted. Speaking at Edinburgh (June 7) Mr. Morley, while withdrawing nothing that he had said in condemnation of the war—which, he now affirmed, had evidently been resolved on from the first in the Cabinet, in the House of Commons and by public opinion—regarded the settlement at last reached as being mainly on principles which he had advocated from the first. But he added that it was only a rough draft, and that it remained to be seen who would have the completion of it and in what spirit that would be done.

The opposition to the corn duty was carried on with renewed vigour during the later stages of the Finance Bill on several days in June. The House having gone into Committee on the Bill, the postponement of the first clause imposing the grain duty was moved by Sir H. Fowler (*Wolverhampton, E.*), as he wanted a less vague statement from the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to how he proposed to spend the money which would not now be required for the war. Sir M. Hicks-Beach repeated his statement as to the expenditure which must be incurred on the termination of the war, and once more declined to devote borrowed money to the relief of taxation. Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*) contended that the only possible justification for a corn duty was a state of war, and generally demanded a new Budget. In the course of the ensuing debate Mr. Gibson Bowles (*King's Lynn*) and Sir E. Vincent (*Exeter*) supported the Opposition. Sir M. Hicks-Beach promised to lay before the House a detailed statement of the expenditure necessitated by the close of the war as early as possible, and that there should be an opportunity of discussing the alteration of the allocation of the items. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*), however, said that that did not meet them. This new duty was to lead to a total subversion of our whole financial system in regard to the relations of this with other countries. The postponement of the clause was eventually negatived by 264 to 176.

On an amendment, moved by Mr. Channing (*Northants, E.*), proposing to limit the operation of the corn duty to the current financial year, Sir W. Harcourt asked whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer regarded the duty as a step towards the establishment of preferential trade with the Colonies, a policy which he condemned. In reply, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, who resisted the amendment on the ground that if an indirect tax was imposed for one year only great uncertainty

and confusion resulted, explained that he had reintroduced this duty, as he had often stated, in order to provide for a part of the cost of the war and because it had become absolutely necessary to enlarge the area of our indirect taxation in consequence of the growth of expenditure. After dwelling on the inexpediency and injustice of adding in time of peace to the burden of the income-tax payer, he ridiculed the notion that the corn duty was to be regarded as the prelude to a Customs union of the Empire upon a protectionist basis. Alluding to certain observations of Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the subject in the Dominion Parliament, and while expressing his great respect for that statesman, he disclaimed altogether the interpretation which he had put upon the duty. But, he added, with reference to the approaching conference with Colonial representatives, supposing it should become possible to have free trade throughout the Empire, would not such an arrangement bind fast together the Colonies and the mother-country? Free trade with our Colonies would not necessarily involve the imposition of duties as against foreign nations, "but if we could have free trade with our Colonies even some sacrifice in that direction might be made." It was not, however, possible that there should be free trade at the present moment between England and the Colonies; but might not the trade between them be made freer without injuring any foreign country at all? He believed in dealing with this important question on the basis of free trade, and not upon the basis of protection. It was not the policy of the Government to impose duties as against foreigners in order to give an advantage to our Colonies, but they wished to do what they could to make trade between the mother-country and the Colonies freer in order to promote the interests of all. The corn duty he had proposed as a revenue duty merely, with no idea of prejudicing any discussion that might take place with the Colonial representatives, assembling for the Coronation, on the question of our commercial relations.

The latter part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech was repeatedly cheered by the Opposition, as, on the whole, affording assurance that the disposition towards a British Zollverein based on preferential duties as against the outside world, supposed to be indicated in Mr. Chamberlain's Birmingham speech, had not gained the collective acceptance of his colleagues, though the phrase placed above in quotation marks allowed a certain amount of lingering misgiving as to possible attempts at compromise. Mr. Channing's amendment was rejected, but only by the comparatively small majority of 236 to 163. A further long debate on the same feature of the Budget proposals was raised (June 10) by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, who pointed out that while the Chancellor of the Exchequer disclaimed any intention of imposing protective duties on foreign goods, he failed to deal with the argument that a protective result could be produced by the withdrawal

or modification of a duty in favour of the Colonies. Sir W. Harcourt drew attention to resolutions lately adopted and published by the Canadian branch of the British Empire League, advocating an arrangement for Imperial defence, based on the proceeds of preferential duties in favour of British produce levied at all ports in the Empire, and said that the proposal of the corn duty here, shortly after that declaration of principle, was a remarkable thing. Mr. A. Chamberlain described as fantastic the connection thus sought to be established, but protested against the attempt of the Opposition to force the Government to slam the door in the faces of the Colonial Premiers and ignore their arguments before hearing their proposals. In the course of the subsequent discussion Mr. Toulmin, the recently elected Liberal Member for Bury, condemned the new duty on the ground that it would cause great hardship to the poor.

In a vigorous concluding speech the Chancellor of the Exchequer strenuously denied that the duty could possibly have a protective effect. He stated that in the five weeks succeeding the introduction of the duty 9,146,000 quarters of wheat were imported as against 5,470,000 quarters in the corresponding weeks last year. And yet the Cobden Club declared that the duty was hampering trade! The increase in certain localities in the price of the quartern loaf was not attributable to the duty, and the price would remain the same even if the duty were abandoned. Dealing with the objection that this was but the first step, and that next year the Government would be urged to increase the duty to 3s. or 5s., he assured the Opposition that if such an increase were ever proposed he should fight on their side against it. The closure was shortly afterwards carried and the first clause of the Finance Bill sanctioning the corn duty was agreed to by 279 to 193. At the evening sitting a proposal by Mr. Flynn (*Cork, N.*) to exclude Ireland from the tea duty was negatived by 138 to 69, and one by Mr. Channing to reduce the duty to 4d. was lost by 229 to 137. Clause 2 was then carried, as were Clauses 3 (Customs duties, etc., on tobacco, beer, and spirits) and 4 (Excise duties on beer and spirits), while Clause 5 (additional 1d. stamp on cheques, etc.) was rejected without debate.

Earlier in the same day, with reference to the Irish Land Purchase Bill, Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*), Chief Secretary, who had expressed his readiness to confer with the parties concerned in the Irish Land Bill for the purpose of deciding whether it could be given a non-contentious complexion, said he did not yet know whether there was to be an autumn session, and he would do everything in his power to pass the measure. A meeting of the Nationalist Members during the day denounced the Bill as worthless where it was not mischievous. A grimmer Irish question was briefly brought under the notice of the House of Commons when—June 12—the Speaker read a letter

from Sir A. Rutzen, Chief Magistrate of Bow Street, informing him of the arrest of Mr.—commonly called Colonel—Lynch, the Nationalist Member for Galway city, on a charge of high treason, as having, he being a British subject, fought against the King's forces during the late war.

In the resumed Committee on the Finance Bill (June 11) on Clause 6, the Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed an amendment moved by Mr. Trevelyan (*Elland, W.R. Yorks*) for a slight and limited graduation of the income tax from a 1s. 2d. basis upwards in the case of those with incomes above 5,000*l.* a year. Sir M. Hicks-Beach held that under such a system the yield of the tax would diminish, and he made the interesting and surprising statement that he doubted whether there were more than 10,000 incomes above 5,000*l.* The amendment was withdrawn, as was one moved by Mr. Channing for the raising of the limit of exemption and the extension of abatements. On the consideration of new clauses, Mr. J. Walton (*Barnsley, W.R. Yorks*) moved to substitute 1d. for 1s. as the coal tax after August 1. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said there was no indirect tax with which he was so reluctant to interfere as the coal tax. He quoted figures to show that the export of coal in the first five months of 1902 was greater than in any similar five months before, and contended that the reduction in wages was the result not of the tax but of the fall in the price of coal. The clause was debated for some time, but was at length rejected by 249 to 147. Mr. Channing moved a clause which would make the sugar duty annual, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer said the trade had now settled down under the new conditions, and this proposal would renew and increase any disturbance that had taken place. The debate was continued at the evening sitting, when, in the absence of several Unionist Members, the clause was defeated by 118 to 92—a Government majority of 26 only. Among other new clauses moved was one by Mr. Haldane to exempt from duty spirits used only in art or manufacture where it was proved to the satisfaction of the Inland Revenue that the use of methylated spirits was unsuitable or detrimental. The Chancellor of the Exchequer assented to the clause, which was read a second time.

Three amendments were moved on the first schedule in order to exempt wheat, barley and oats respectively from the corn duty, but were defeated by majorities of 78, 92 and 85. On an amendment, moved by Mr. Flynn, to exempt maize, a long debate took place (June 16). It was energetically supported by many Opposition speakers, both English and Irish, both on the ground that the grain in question was to a large extent the food of the poorest of the Irish people, and because the duty on it would enhance the price of feeding-stuffs to farmers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer refused to give way, stating that the amount to be received from maize was

one-fourth of the total yield of the corn duty, and he was sustained in his refusal by 243 votes to 175. But he intimated his readiness to consider the question of reducing the duty on maize, and on the report stage of the Bill (June 18) announced that, in view of the considerations pressed upon him to the effect above summarised, he would consent to reduce the duty on that grain from 3*d.* to 1½*d.* per cwt., although the loss to the revenue would be 300,000*l.* Mr. J. Redmond (*Waterford*) acknowledged this concession in terms (for an Irish Nationalist leader) of quite exceptional cordiality. Sir M. Hicks-Beach also agreed (June 16) to omit locust beans from the schedule, but was sustained by a majority of 256 to 167 in refusing to omit rice. On grain offals he assented to a reduction of his proposed duty of 3*d.* to 1½*d.* per cwt. in the interest of stock-raising farmers, especially in Ireland; but he refused to reduce the duty on flour from 5*d.* to 4*d.* on the ground that such a change would practically operate as an advantage to the importers of foreign flour. The Bill having passed through Committee June 16, two more sittings were fully occupied before it was finally disposed of. On the report stage (June 18) Mr. Morley (*Montrrose Burghs*) moved the rejection of the corn duty clause in a speech in which he declared that the duty broke down the ramparts of the successful fiscal policy which had made this country what it was. Arguing against the scheme which he saw in the background of inter-imperial preferential duties, Mr. Morley contended that it would be disastrous to play ducks and drakes with our foreign trade for the sake of a relatively small trade with the Colonies. Mr. Seely (*London*) opposed the duty from the Ulster side of the House, but it was defended, among independent Ministerialists, by Mr. Elliot (*London*) on the ground that, as the expenditure of the country was growing, we must have more sources of revenue than were found sufficient at the end of the last century. Mr. Asquith (*Wye*), summarising the elements of the corn duty, said that it was a tax partly upon food and partly upon raw material that it was in some respects at any rate protective in its incidence, and that it would produce relatively only a small amount of revenue. The tax, he maintained, would hamper the Government in their conference with the Colonial delegates, who might even argue that we were overhauling against them in regard to duty. In the course of his reply, Sir M. Hicks-Beach once more emphasised his insistence on the part of the Government the motive and object of which was not a change in the principles upon which the fiscal policy of the country was based. The opposition was endeavouring to get an extraordinary decision as to this matter. The Government had not the slightest idea of encouraging trade with the Colonies by imposing a tariff war with the foreign countries that were our biggest customers; and they had already received demands made in this House for the preferential treatment of the Colonies which would be with-

and sugar. Mr. Morley's motion was negatived by 251 to 178.

Finally, on the third reading Mr. Bryce and Sir William Harcourt reiterated the official Opposition protest against the Bill, while on the other hand Mr. Hope (*Brightside, Sheffield*), speaking not as a Protectionist but as a convinced Retaliationist, opposed it as from his point of view not worth having. Many other Members having spoken on both sides, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a vigorous reply to the double attack made upon him, denied that there was any serious agitation against the duty. Such agitation, he said, had been tried but had failed. (This, indeed, was the fact.) For the third reading a majority of 105 was secured, the numbers being 286 to 181. Anticipating slightly, it may be mentioned here that on the second reading of the Finance Bill (July 3) in the House of Lords—where, almost of course, it passed with very little discussion—while Lord Welby maintained that the corn tax pressed disproportionately upon the poor classes, Lord Goschen, as a former Chancellor of the Exchequer, supported it, on the ground that it broadened our system of taxation, and at the same time was insufficient to be protective on account of its infinitesimal character.

Far more protracted was the contest to be waged at Westminster and in the country against the other most distinctive feature of the Parliamentary programme of the Government. As usual in such cases the attack was very much more conspicuous than the defence. Yet, as has been said, there was a predominance of expert educational opinion in the Bill's favour. An example of this was afforded by the action of the Association of Technical Institutions and the Teachers' Guild, which (May 29 and 31 respectively) passed resolutions expressing general approval of the Education Bill, suggesting certain amendments, but in particular urging that the option proposed to be given to local authorities to decide whether or not they would take charge of elementary schools should be removed. Also—which was of special interest inasmuch as the case of London, while excluded from the present Bill, was avowedly intended by the Government to be dealt with on similar lines in 1903—the London School Board, after long debates, passed (June 12) by 26 votes to 18 a resolution approving of the Bill in regard to its arrangements for Voluntary Schools and asking that the same principle be extended to the Metropolitan area.

It was early evident, however, that the large additions certain to be made in local burdens by the Bill as it stood (if its adoption were made compulsory), in respect of the financing of Voluntary Schools, were causing widespread apprehension. This feeling was illustrated by a resolution unanimously passed by the Council of the Central and Associated Chambers of Agriculture at a meeting (June 3) at which Mr. J. Lowther and Mr. Chaplin were present and spoke. It declared that the

cost of national education ought to be borne by the Imperial Exchequer and not by the rates. The meeting was followed by a deputation (June 13) to Mr. Balfour, who gave its members to understand that, certainly not all, but something would be done in the direction they desired. At a well-attended conference (June 3) of delegates from the local education authorities proposed to be constituted under the Bill a resolution was passed protesting against any educational legislation which failed to provide for substantial additional aid from State funds. During the same period Liberal and Nonconformist protests were strenuously raised, and it was noteworthy that Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Asquith were both present at an Eighty Club dinner (June 11), when the latter statesman spoke of the happily uniting effect on the Liberal party of the Education Bill and the corn duty.

A large and influential deputation of Free Churchmen waited on Mr. Balfour (June 12), when Dr. Fairbairn, the well-known and highly respected Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, declared that Nonconformists objected to the Bill, especially in its relation to elementary education, not in part or in its details, but as a whole. They had come there, not lightly, he said, but under grave moral compulsion due to the feeling that they were face to face with a crisis more serious than any that had arisen in their history since 1662 and the Act of Uniformity. They therefore stated frankly that to legislation which created an ecclesiastical monopoly in the schools of the people they would not submit. In reply, Mr. Balfour said he was convinced that the feeling among the great bodies represented by the deputation was really based more upon the misrepresentations to which the Bill had been subjected than upon an impartial endeavour to understand either its provisions or the motives of those who had introduced it. He proceeded to contend that the grievances of Nonconformists in respect to the training of teachers, the share of Nonconformist parents in the control of education, and also with regard to any abuse of dogmatic teaching in Voluntary Schools, and other matters, would be enormously diminished under the provisions of the Bill. He deprecated denominational jealousies with regard to education: he had introduced the Bill as a great educational reform, and repudiated the suggestion that he desired to bolster up one set of religious opinions and depress and injure another.

By this time, however, it had become tolerably evident that the position of the spokesmen of Nonconformists and that of the Government, as to an educational reform, were entirely irreconcilable. That being so, Ministers, not seeing their way to an abandonment of the general policy of their Bill in respect of elementary education, felt it the more necessary to avoid raising a storm with regard to its probable effect in enhancing rates. It was no matter for surprise, therefore, when—the first clause of the measure having been agreed to by the great

majority of 305 votes to 122 (June 17)—Mr. Balfour (June 23) expounded a new financial scheme by which the operation of the Bill was to be supplemented, and which was to be embodied in a new clause. The present aid-grants to Voluntary Schools and necessitous School Boards amounted, he said, respectively to 640,000*l.* and 220,000*l.* It was proposed that a new grant should be allocated to elementary schools generally of 1,760,000*l.*, or more than double the present amount. In distributing this it was proposed that the amount allowed for any single child should not necessarily exceed 4*s.* The remainder of the grant would be distributed among districts according to their relative want of capacity to bear the burden thrown upon them by the new elementary education scheme. The test of capacity which had been adopted was the amount per child produced by a penny rate in the area of the new education authority. When a penny rate produced less than 10*s.* per child the district would get more from the grant, and the less the rate produced the more would the district get. The minimum grant would thus be 4*s.* a head, while in some cases it might amount to more than twice as much. But the Government held that in no case ought the Exchequer to pay more than three-fourths of the total expenditure on education. The grant was to be applied to elementary education alone; but, as it would go to the authorities that had to deal with secondary education as well as primary, it would enable them indirectly to do more for the higher forms of education.

An inevitable motion to report progress, on the ground that the proposed new clause "transformed" the Bill, having been rejected, Clause 2 was taken up. This proposed to empower the local authority to "supply or to aid the supply of education other than elementary," and for that purpose to "apply the residue under Section 1 of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890," commonly called the "whisky money," and to raise further sums up to the limit of a rate of 2*d.* in the pound, or more if the Local Government Board agreed to fix a higher limit by Provisional Order.

An interesting discussion was raised by an amendment moved by Mr. H. Hobhouse (*Somerset, E.*), from the Unionist benches, with a view to the substitution of "shall" for "may," so making the clause mandatory instead of permissive. The Royal Commission of 1894, he pointed out, had recommended that the duty of seeing that an adequate supply of secondary education was provided should be imposed by statute on each local education authority, and that view was accepted by the various bodies and individuals interested in promoting higher education. Mr. Balfour, while earnestly desiring the development of secondary education, held that it would be better to lead the education authorities than to drive them. Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*) contended that the precedent established by the Elementary Education Act of 1870 ought to be followed, and

that a minimum standard of secondary education ought to be set up, to which every local authority should conform. Mr. Chaplin (*Sheaford, Lincs.*) warned the Government that he would resist to the uttermost any proposal for the compulsory provision of higher education at the cost of the ratepayers. Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*) supported the amendment, observing that the fault of the Bill was the arbitrary distinction which it drew between higher education and elementary education. Sir A. Rollit (*Islington, S.*) urged the First Lord of the Treasury to reconsider his objection to the amendment, which, he declared, was viewed with favour by the borough councils; and eventually Mr. Balfour proposed a compromise which, as elaborated with the aid of Mr. Bryce, had the effect of requiring that the local authorities should consider the needs of education and take such steps as seemed desirable, after consultation with the Board of Education, to supply or aid education other than elementary. This was agreed to, and on the following day (June 24) the clause was further strengthened, as the result of a debate initiated by Mr. Mather (*Rossendale, Lancs.*), who wished to introduce words defining the duties of the new education authorities. He did not achieve quite all he aimed at, but a compromise was ultimately reached under which the objects which the authorities were enjoined to have in view were made to include the promotion of the "general co-ordination of all forms of education." Mr. Mather had another success as the mover of an amendment requiring that all the "whisky money" should be used educationally by the County Councils, any unexpended balances being carried forward.

A few days earlier (June 20), in Committee of Supply on the Navy Estimates, an interesting discussion took place on the Navy, with some references to Imperial defence generally - thanks to an enlarged freedom fortunately permitted to Members by the Chairman (Mr. J. W. Lowther). It was initiated by Lord C. Beresford (*Warrick*), who moved a reduction on the vote of 294,300*l.* for the Admiralty, in order to show that the present system of naval administration was "rotten." He declared that for many years past improvements in the Fleet had only been brought about by agitation. The agitation in 1901, he affirmed, was necessary in order that the Mediterranean Fleet might be put in a position to go into action. He referred to the serious deficiency in the stores of coal at Malta last year, remarking that although he was second in command on the Mediterranean station he had himself some difficulty in obtaining coal. Since then, however, the Government had bought an enormous quantity of coal in order to store it. These results justified the agitation. He complained that under the present system officers had to threaten to resign in order to get things put right. He demurred to the statement of the First Lord of the Admiralty that the fleet was efficient, and he maintained that the number

of our reserves was much too small and that the engine-room department was short by some thousands of the necessary complement. These defects he attributed to the fact that there was nobody directly responsible for efficiency in the Navy. He desired to see at the Admiralty a fighting department, or a War Lord, or a general staff, charged with the duty of putting the requirements of the Navy before the political and financial authorities. The business section of the Admiralty ought to be divorced from the section which dealt with fighting efficiency, and the experts ought to be able to put what was wanted for the services before the political administrators. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) said that his experience at the Admiralty did not confirm Lord Charles's view that the professional advisers of the department had no opportunities of impressing upon their chiefs what they considered to be necessary for the efficiency of the Fleet. The First Sea Lord could certainly make his views known, and he did not believe that they would ever be disregarded by the First Lord of the Admiralty.

Sir C. Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Glouc.*) maintained that, although the First Lord of the Admiralty might not override the recommendations of his advisers, there must be something wrong with a system which allowed of such extraordinary fluctuations of policy as had been seen with regard to Weihai-wei, the creation of a school of naval strategy, and the works at Gibraltar. He went on to say that there was, behind all, the great question of the relations between the two services and the general consideration by the Cabinet of the position of the two services. Unless there was a controlling authority over the heads of both departments, that economy which was so desirable would never be reached. At the present moment the two services competed, and the social influence which came into play sometimes told against the Navy.

Some weighty observations were also made by Sir J. Colomb (*Great Yarmouth*), who said that with regard to the engine-room department he was entirely with Lord C. Beresford. He urged that the First Lord of the Admiralty should be in a position to think, to gather together the various strings of the other departments, and to advise on all questions. The Navy Intelligence Department should be developed and extended and should collect information to put at the disposal of the First Lord. But he would steadfastly oppose the introduction into the Admiralty of a First Sea Lord as Commander-in-Chief, because he believed that system had been fatal to the administration of the Army. In regard to the defence of the Empire, he went on to say, there was waste of money because there was no controlling authority looking at the Empire as a whole. They all agreed that the defence of the Empire must be looked at as a whole, and yet the Government was the only responsible authority whose duty it was to think out this problem and deal with it.

Representatives of the self-governing Colonies were about to meet the Imperial Ministers in circumstances that would never recur, favourable for laying the foundations upon which they could build up real co-operation for the defence and security of the Empire.

Mr. Arnold-Forster (*Belfast, W.*), Secretary to the Admiralty, thought that the suggestions of Lord C. Beresford were shadowy and vague. Everybody was in favour of efficiency, and the Navy was efficient at the present time, although, of course, its efficiency was still capable of development. With regard to the coal question, he said that at the end of the preceding year the attention of the Admiralty was called to the fact that the coal supply would not be sufficient, and an additional supply was sent. The supply in fact had been increased progressively, the means of storing it at Gibraltar and Malta having been extended gradually. There was not the slightest foundation for the charge that the coal was supplied as the result of agitation. Patent fuel had been stored at all our naval stations, and there were thousands of tons at Malta. Nor was the increase of the Mediterranean Fleet due to the agitation. The ships were sent out because they were completed. All our fleets had been strengthened; not only the Mediterranean Fleet. Turning to the question of apportionment of duties in the Admiralty, he said there was no ground for the suggestion that the Senior Naval Lord was largely occupied with trivial matters. The Intelligence Department of the Navy had been strengthened. If the House could not trust the present Board of Admiralty, it should appoint another in its place, but in no circumstances ought the House (as by the appointment of a supervising committee, which had been suggested by Mr. E. Robertson) to take out of the hands of its servants the duties which they were appointed to discharge. He assured the Committee that the present Board of Admiralty was aware of the deficiencies of the Navy, and was making strenuous efforts to remedy them.

With reference to the larger issues that had been touched on by Sir C. Dilke and Sir J. Colomb, Mr. Arnold-Forster reaffirmed the view he had maintained before he took office that there was "a need for some reinforcement of the intellectual equipment which directed, or ought to direct, the enormous forces of our Empire." He adhered to all he had said as to the value, even in their present not wholly developed form, of the Intelligence Departments of our two great services. But he felt that there were questions which were, and must be, outside the purview of either of those bodies acting independently, which could not be dealt with even by the highest officers in either of the services, or even by the highest political intelligences, merely by preliminary or casual examination; and he would be "false to himself if he were to deny that he

believed there was room for a greater amount of preparation in advance with regard to the defence of this Empire."

At the date (June 25), now twice touched by our narrative, the English people had few thoughts to spare either for fiscal or legislative controversies, or even for the state of the Imperial defences. The one paramount and engrossing preoccupation among all classes, and, it may be added, not only in the United Kingdom but throughout the Empire, was the illness of King Edward. No one who was living under the British flag in the last week of June, 1902, can ever forget the sudden plunge of the whole nation from a mood of glad expectancy to one of profoundest gloom and anxiety. The announcement, at the beginning of the month, of the conclusion of the South African war, on terms which won singularly general approval, removed the one hindrance to the celebration of his Majesty's Coronation as a public festival of the highest and happiest significance, and thenceforward the whole life of the nation seemed to set itself towards joyous participation, in one way or another, in the solemnising of the relationship between Monarch and people. For several weeks there had been arriving in England representatives—civil and military, official and unofficial, with skins white, black, and of many intermediate shades—of the inhabitants of all parts of the Empire. The ordinarily somewhat sombre uniformity of the outward aspects of humanity in London was diversified and relieved by the rich hues of Oriental costumes and the variegated uniforms of native soldiers of the King from all quarters of the world. All or most of these picturesque and representative figures were to be included in the Coronation procession; and it was desired that as large a number as possible of the inhabitants of London and of the multitudes assembling there for the occasion might have the opportunity of beholding a spectacle of such extraordinary splendour and profound national significance. It was, therefore, arranged that, besides the Royal progress by short routes between Buckingham Palace and Westminster Abbey on the day of the actual solemnity, their Majesties should on the following day have a State procession, including all the Prime Ministers of the Colonies, the Indian Princes, and the military contingents from all parts of the Empire, from Buckingham Palace to St. Paul's and thence by London Bridge across the river and homewards by the principal thoroughfares on the south bank and across Westminster Bridge.

All the streets included in the processional route for either day were more or less elaborately decorated, the effect in some cases being very attractive. Every front room in every house and almost every roof was arranged for the accommodation of as many spectators as possible, and at many points great wooden erections were put up for the same purpose, either by private speculation, or, where such buildings as hospitals abutted on the line of route, for the sake of replenishing the

funds of those charities. Very high figures were charged for many of the places provided, and great sums had passed to the fortunate possessors, or lessees, from intending spectators, who thought themselves equally fortunate. The heirs, and in some cases the occupants, of almost all the thrones in Europe had assembled in London as the King's guests, to take part in the actual Coronation pageant. There had been, no doubt, some uneasiness as to the King's health. Misgivings were entertained by many people as to whether the "lumbago" which was reported to have attacked his Majesty on Sunday, June 15, as the result of a chill caught the previous evening at a "tattoo" at Aldershot was quite all that was amiss with him. There were those who had noticed signs of pain on his countenance at Court functions before that date, and when the King and Queen came to town from Windsor (June 23) some who saw them pass from Paddington to Buckingham Palace were unable to agree with the newspaper reports on the following morning that his Majesty's appearance indicated complete recovery from his recent indisposition. Yet some alarming rumours, previously circulated, had been positively asserted (June 21) to be entirely devoid of foundation, and when on the morning of Tuesday, the 24th, two days before the day fixed for the Coronation, the King was reported to have held a State banquet on the previous evening for all his Imperial and Royal guests, the public almost universally assumed that his strength was fully equal to all the fatigues of the impending ceremonial.

In every part of the country the preparations for popular rejoicings were receiving their finishing touches, and the streets of London were filled with light-hearted crowds moving to and fro for the inspection of the decorations, when a blow fell which, for the time, seemed almost to suspend the life of the nation. At 11.15 A.M. there was published the following announcement: "The King is suffering from perityphlitis. The condition on Saturday was so satisfactory that it was hoped that, with care, his Majesty would be able to go through the Coronation ceremonies. On Monday evening a recrudescence became manifest, rendering a surgical operation necessary to-day. (Signed) Lister, Thos. Smith, Francis H. Laking, Thos. Barlow, Fredk. Treves." At 2 P.M. another bulletin was issued in these terms: "The operation on his Majesty has been successfully performed. A large abscess has been evacuated. The King has borne the operation well, and is in a satisfactory condition." The operating surgeon was Sir Frederick Treves. Later bulletins on the same day reported that the operation had given the King much relief, that his strength was maintained, and his condition as good as could be expected, but it was quite frankly added that some days must elapse before it would be possible to say that his Majesty was out of danger.

Among the majority of people who thought themselves well-

informed, very little hope was cherished that any such announcement would ever become possible. The great body of the nation did not take so dark a view, but every one felt that, even at the best, for several days the issues of life and death were hanging in the balance, and that for an indefinite time all plans for the great national festival which had been so immediately in contemplation must be altogether put aside. Here again it may fairly be said that the temper of the English people was exhibited in a very favourable light. The amount not only of personal disappointment, but of actual loss and social and business inconvenience, reaching temporarily something like dislocation, was on a scale quite unprecedented. No parallel was adduced from history of a State function of such profound and widespread interest prevented, on its very eve, by the critical illness of the central figure. Yet the amount of discontent expressed in any quarter on selfish grounds was singularly little. The thoughts of his subjects of all classes seemed to be with the King, in his weakness and danger, and in the severe pain, connected with the frequent dressing of the deep wound, which he was well understood to bear with great fortitude. In London and throughout the country services of intercession for the King's recovery were held in places of worship of all denominations, and attended by great numbers of evidently most earnest worshippers.

There was, indeed, much connected with his illness which served to draw towards his Majesty, in an increasing degree, the affectionate regard of his subjects. This effect was strongly promoted, for example, by facts which became known, as to his anxiety to avoid, at whatever cost in fatigue and even peril to himself, the great public disappointment which he knew to be involved in any postponement of the Coronation; and by the desire he expressed, and which was made known almost immediately after he had undergone the operation, that the festivities which had been arranged to be held for the poor on, or within a few days of, June 26 should still be proceeded with. All the deeper therefore were the satisfaction and thankfulness with which, as the days passed by, the eagerly scanned bulletins as to the King's condition were seen to be of an almost invariably favourable tenor until, first, on Saturday, June 28, the period of immediate danger was said to be over, and after a week of steady progress his Majesty was, on July 5, declared to be out of danger.

The satisfactory course of the King's recovery rendered possible the holding, in the first week of July, of reviews by the Queen and the Prince of Wales of the Colonial and Indian troops who had come to England for the Coronation. Both of these ceremonials excited great interest, on account of the singular and most picturesque diversity of the types of humanity represented, in respect of colour, physique and dress, and even more by reason of the high Imperial significance of their collec-

tive presence. This was very specially so in connection with very many of the Colonial troops, who had endured, with the utmost cheerfulness, the fatigues and dangers of the South African War, and won by their conduct the highest eulogies of Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener. The enthusiastic cheers which greeted the Queen on these occasions bore testimony both to the continued affection cherished for her, and to the public delight at the lifting of the cloud of anxiety which had been hanging so heavily over the Royal House. Her Majesty, it was well understood, had been most devoted in her attendance upon the King through the critical phases of his illness. Looking forward a little, it may be recorded here that on July 15, exactly three weeks from the date of the operation, the King had so far advanced towards recovery that he was able to be moved to his yacht in the Solent, and that on July 19 so early a day as the 9th of August was announced as provisionally fixed for the Coronation.

Notwithstanding the postponement of that high solemnity on account of the King's illness, there was published, on the day (June 26) originally fixed for it, a long list of Coronation honours—new Peerages and promotions in the Peerage (including a Viscounty for Lord Milner), Privy Councillorships, Baronetcies, Knighthoods, and promotions in and memberships of the various Orders of Knighthood, and also many military and naval promotions and decorations. There was also announced the institution of a decoration for members of the Civil Service of the Empire, to be conferred after long and meritorious service, and to be known as the Imperial Service Order; and of a new "Order of Merit," evidently designed to be a mark of the highest distinction in all walks of life. The first members appointed to it were twelve in number, *viz.*, Earl Roberts, Viscount Wolseley, Viscount Kitchener, Lord Rayleigh, Lord Kelvin, Lord Lister, Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Keppel, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Lecky, Admiral Sir Edward Seymour, Sir William Huggins, P.R.S., and Mr. G. F. Watts, R.A.

The most considerable legislative enterprise carried to completion before the adjournment in August was the Government Licensing Bill, which, as already recorded, had been referred after its second reading to the Grand Committee on Trade. That body examined it with great care, and returned it to the House of Commons, with no very considerable amendments, at the beginning of June. This measure was generally regarded with favour by temperance reformers, as providing, in several important details, a decided improvement on the existing law. In one or two respects attempts were made to carry reform further, but without success. Thus Mr. Broadhurst (*Leicester*) moved a new clause (June 17) compelling publicans to supply the reasonable demands of travellers for refreshment other than intoxicating liquor, and a lively debate arose thereupon, in which Members related the varying experiences of themselves

or their friends when hungry or thirsty on bicycling expeditions. But the Home Secretary opposed the amendment, observing that the true remedy against a licensed victualler who refused to supply refreshment of a non-intoxicating character was to oppose a renewal of his licence, and it was rejected, but only by the narrow majority of 173 to 154. On the other hand Mr. Ritchie gave great satisfaction to all temperance reformers and won many Opposition cheers by the earnestness and firmness with which he refused to mitigate or limit the burden thrown by clause 4 of the Bill on the publican of proving that he and his servants had taken all reasonable steps for the prevention of drunkenness in any case where it was proved that a person had been drunk on his premises. Mr. Asquith vigorously supported him, and so did the House by 322 to 52. The Home Secretary was equally decided, and with similar results (June 26), in standing by another clause (at first 9, and afterwards 10) of the Bill, which required that henceforward excise licences for the sale of liquors off the premises by tradesmen (particularly grocers) should be granted or withheld at the unqualified discretion of the justices. The special facilities enjoyed by grocers for the "off" sale of intoxicants had been created by Mr. Gladstone in 1872 in the supposed interests of temperance. Mr. Ritchie observed, however, that the clause withdrawing these special facilities was founded on the recommendation of the majority report of the Peel Commission. It had received the adhesion of a large number of County Councils and Standing Joint Committees, while forty towns had approved of the Bill as a whole. During the last twenty years the number of grocers' licences had been doubled, and the mortality among women from intemperance had in the same period risen by 104 per cent., while among men the increase was only at the rate of 43 per cent. Special pains, he also pointed out, had been taken to provide an adequate right of appeal for any grocer whose licence might be taken away without sufficient reason by the local bench. An amendment for the omission of the clause was rejected by 298 votes to 68, but the Home Secretary accepted (June 28) amendments protecting the right of existing holders of grocers' licences to continue holding them, unless guilty of misconduct. A useful point was added on the motion of Lord E. Fitzmaurice (*Cricklade, Wilts*), in the form of a prohibition of the holding of coroner's inquests in licensed premises where other suitable premises had been provided. The clause to which this prohibition was attached already, in the form in which the Bill came from the Grand Committee, forbade the holding of justices' sessions in licensed premises or any room connected therewith.

In regard to the strengthening of the law on the lines generally indicated by the Home Secretary in his exposition of the Bill (see pp. 43-4)—on such points as the suppression of public drunkenness; the protection of a husband or wife,

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by a separation order, from an habitually drunken partner; the prohibition of the sale of liquor to habitual drunkards, by notice given through the police to licensed persons in their neighbourhood; and the regulation of clubs—the Bill met with hardly any opposition in the Commons, and it had a smooth course through the Upper House. No considerable modification was made there, but it was agreed (July 21), on the motion of the Bishop of Winchester, that instead of making a separation order in the case of an habitually drunken wife, the magistrates might, if the wife consented, order her to be detained in an Inebriates' Retreat. To this the Commons raised no objection, and the Bill became law (Aug. 8), with every promise of constituting a really useful contribution to social reform.

Another measure from which good results were widely anticipated to the families of the working classes also became law, not under the auspices, though with the cordial goodwill, of the Home Secretary. This was the Midwives Bill, the general scope of which has been already described (see p. 65). After being referred to the Standing Committee on Law and amended in some details but not in principle by them, it was considered on report in the House of Commons (June 6), when a new clause, moved by Mr. T. P. O'Connor (*Scotland, Liverpool*), was agreed to, providing for the removal from the roll of certified midwives of the name of any woman guilty of serious offence. Dr. Ambrose (*Mayo, W.*) moved an amendment that after January 1, 1905, no woman should be entitled to attend midwifery cases habitually and for gain unless certified under this Act. The Home Secretary, however, while in sympathy with the motive of the amendment, pointed out practical difficulties, and in the end it was accepted, but its operation deferred to 1910. It was also agreed to add to the Central Midwives' Board constituted by the Bill "one person to be appointed by the Royal British Nurses' Association." In the House of Lords (June 20) the Lord Chancellor expressed serious anxiety as to the operation of the Bill among the poorer classes in rural districts. It was, however, read a second time without a division on the motion of the Duke of Northumberland, who mentioned the significant fact that no less than 200 out of 250 coroners in England and Wales had expressed their approval of some such measure. In Committee the Lord Chancellor protested against the penal clause above mentioned, which he said had been introduced at the last minute in the House of Commons without due investigation as to its probable effects. Similar views were expressed by the Earls of Portsmouth and Cork, who feared that the clause in question would seriously hinder the women of the working classes from getting the help they needed in their extremity from experienced if not trained neighbours. Lord Spencer and the Duke of Northumberland, however, contended that Clause 1 of the Bill, which was immediately under consideration, would have no

such effect, but would only, after April 1, 1905, prevent women from calling themselves midwives when they had no proper qualifications to that title, and then, after a further interval of five years, prevent the practice of midwifery for gain by unqualified women. With the purport thus expounded the clause was carried, the first part *nem. con.*, and the second (coming into operation in 1910) by 66 votes to 19. It was also agreed that on the Midwives' Board there should be a representative of the Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses. A roll of certificated midwives was provided for and an appeal to the High Court of Justice given to any woman thinking herself aggrieved by any decision of the Board removing her name from the roll. The Bill became law July 31.

Early in July a question of great social interest and importance was dealt with in the report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Betting. This was a strong body, including, besides the Bishop of Hereford, on whose motion the Committee was formed, the Earls of Durham (chairman), Derby, Harewood and Aberdeen, Viscounts Cobham and Peel, and Lords Newton and Davey. On the evidence before them they held that, whilst the habit of making large bets among owners and breeders of horses had gone much out of fashion, the practice of betting had on the whole increased considerably of late years, especially among the working classes, with very lamentable results. They recommended the prohibition of the publication of bookmakers' circulars and of tipsters' advertisements, and the empowering of magistrates to send to prison without the option of a fine, even for the first offence, bookmakers convicted of betting in the streets with boys or girls. Other street-betting also they would visit with much heavier penalties than at present; on racecourses they would confine bookmakers to definite enclosures, under penalty; and the Postmaster General should be empowered to stop circulars relating to coupon competitions or advertisements of betting commission agents and tipsters. No legislation, it need hardly be said, was attempted in pursuance of these recommendations in the protracted session of 1902.

The very important issues connected with the question of the suspension of the Constitution of the Cape Colony are indicated in a subsequent chapter. It must be said here, however, that, though not without misgivings, public opinion at home distinctly supported Mr. Chamberlain and the Government in their decision for the time at any rate not to accede to the wish in this matter of apparently the great majority of the Cape loyalists, including not a few Dutch, supported, if only unofficially, as it was before the peace, by the great authority of Lord Milner himself. The considerations referred to by the High Commissioner in his letter (published here June 24) in favour of the suspension of the Cape Constitution were re-

cognised as possessing very considerable weight. But Mr. Chamberlain's despatch (July 2) brought home to the public mind at home the fact that the course urged upon the Imperial Government was so entirely contrary to precedent and also to the theory of a democratic Empire that unless the Parliament of the Colony in question flagrantly failed in its duty, alike to that Colony and to the Empire, there was no adequate justification for so high-handed a proceeding as its temporary suppression. It was hardly possible to assume such failure in advance, in view of the fact that the Cape Government, presided over by a Minister, Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, who had always been a prominent loyalist, strenuously opposed the suspension. But besides these points there was the immensely important fact that, as was well understood though not stated in any Parliamentary paper, the feeling of the other great self-governing Colonies which had been supporting the Imperial cause with so much devotion throughout the war would have been emphatically unfavourable to any interference in the existing situation with the Cape Constitution. Speaking (July 7) at a Primrose League banquet, to which with the other eminent colonists then in England he was invited, Sir Edmund Barton, Premier of the Australian Commonwealth, went so far as to say that "there was not a self-governing part of the Empire which had not been in sympathy with Sir Gordon Sprigg in his earnest deprecation of any interference with the political liberties of the Cape Colony." In such circumstances it was generally felt in England that, at any rate unless the situation at the Cape assumed a definitely much graver complexion, the position assumed by his Majesty's Government would remain the only one possible.

The return of Lord Kitchener to England (July 12) was naturally made the occasion of a great demonstration of Royal and public appreciation of the magnitude of his services in South Africa. He was met at Paddington by the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of Cambridge and Connaught, and Lord Roberts and the headquarters staff, was driven through great cheering crowds along a route partly kept by the Indian and Colonial troops in England at the time, and lined, on Constitution Hill, by a brilliant assemblage of ladies, to St. James's Palace. There he was entertained at luncheon by the Heir-Apparent, a most distinguished company meeting him. On behalf of the King, the Prince of Wales proposed Lord Kitchener's health in terms of the highest eulogium, and the famous General, having characteristically accepted the compliments paid him as given to the representative of the army in South Africa, proceeded to Buckingham Palace, and received at the King's hands the Order of Merit. He was, of course, the object of all possible attentions from persons of social distinction and from public bodies during the few months that he remained in England before setting forth once more to take up the Commander-

ship-in-chief of the Indian army. Speaking as the principal guest at the annual South African dinner, at which the Lord Mayor presided (July 31) and presented him with a sword of honour on behalf of the Capetown Corporation, Lord Kitchener expressed the "confident hope" that in South Africa, at any rate, the sword might never again be drawn from its scabbard. He went on to pay an emphatic tribute to Lord Milner, in whom, he said, "we all have confidence."

The first of the many great English houses in which Lord Kitchener stayed after his return from South Africa was Hatfield, but his host was no longer Prime Minister. Two days earlier (July 11) Lord Salisbury had formally resigned the Privy Seal and the office of Prime Minister, which is still unrecognised by the law or the tables of precedence. It had been so long known that he desired to lay down the burdens of State, and that he might be expected to do so shortly after the conclusion of peace, that the announcement of the fact as having actually occurred caused comparatively little excitement. None the less, however, was there a universal feeling that, in the phrase twice employed by Lord Rosebery, in the House of Lords (July 14), a "great figure" had been withdrawn from official life, and that a large debt of gratitude was due to the powerful and high-minded statesman who for nearly half a century had played a conspicuous part in public life, and who for thirteen out of the last sixteen years had been head of the Imperial Government. Without doubt the high distinction of his personality, elevated alike in character and in intellect, even more than by the prestige of a great historic name and station, had very materially facilitated the successful working of our political system under the new conditions obtaining since the Liberal split in 1886. Future historians may differ, as contemporaries differed, as to the measure of success which attended Lord Salisbury's foreign policy; but they will know more than the critics of his own day could know of the true quality and magnitude of the difficulties through which he had to steer the ship of State. It is probable, therefore, that they will recognise as an achievement of no ordinary character, and one largely due to Lord Salisbury's skill and judgment, that, notwithstanding the enormous claims made upon British resources by the South African war of 1899-1902, and despite the prevalence of profound anti-British feeling in very many countries, England reached the Peace for which she had fought without experiencing any attack or grave affront from any other Power. Reflections of this nature had doubtless much to do with the general gratitude, as well as profound respect, which followed Lord Salisbury into his well-earned retirement.

On his recommendation King Edward sent for Mr. Balfour, who after being assured of the hearty co-operation of Mr. Chamberlain, the Duke of Devonshire, and his colleagues generally, undertook (July 12) the succession to his distin-

guished uncle in the Premiership, and also received the Privy Seal. The assurances just mentioned were publicly reiterated with great cordiality, at a meeting of Unionist Members of both Houses (July 14), by the Duke of Devonshire, and by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, on behalf of his father, who was suffering from the effects of a severe cab accident. Mr. Balfour was received with enthusiasm at the party meeting, and was generally cheered on entering the House of Commons the same afternoon, when Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman immediately rose and very gracefully congratulated the new Prime Minister on behalf of the House as a whole, and wished him all success. Mr. Balfour was evidently much touched by this spontaneous kindness and the warmth of the feeling towards himself generally manifested. He returned thanks in a few simple words, and then paid a fitting tribute, which was largely endorsed by the leader of the Opposition, to the great services of the Minister whom he was succeeding. A similar tribute was paid by the Duke of Devonshire, now become leader of the Upper House, in that Chamber, and was echoed with marked warmth by Lord Spencer and Lord Rosebery.

At the party meeting Mr. Balfour had had to announce with great regret the approaching retirement of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who was present, and made it perfectly clear that he entirely welcomed Mr. Balfour's leadership of the party, but desired, like Lord Salisbury, now that the troubles of the war were over, to be released as soon as might be from the burdens of office. About the same period Lord Cadogan, who had been in the Cabinet as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, retired from that position, as also did Lord James of Hereford from the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster. Mr. Balfour was strongly urged in some quarters in the Press, and particularly by the *Spectator*, to effect a considerable reconstruction of the Ministry with a view to diminishing the average age and increasing the average energy and efficiency of the Government as a whole. He acted on that principle to some extent, but the reconstituted Ministry did not appear to be as much strengthened as it might have been. Mr. Ritchie, who had been Home Secretary, became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Akers-Douglas, from First Commissioner of Works, entered the Cabinet as Home Secretary, being succeeded in his former office by Lord Windsor. Mr. Wyndham remained Chief Secretary for Ireland, but entered the Cabinet, as did Mr. Austen Chamberlain, on being promoted from the position of Secretary to the Treasury to that of Postmaster-General. Both these young statesmen were generally held to have shown ample qualifications for Cabinet rank, and to be a distinct accession to the councils of the Crown. The appointment of Lord Percy as Under-Secretary for India was also regarded as an enlistment of clearly established ability of no ordinary kind. The Duke of Devonshire, while remaining President of the Council,

gave up the educational duties which had attached to that office, which in future were to be discharged, in pursuance of the Education Act of 1900, by a President of the Board of Education. Why, however, Lord Londonderry (who had been Postmaster-General) was selected for that most important post somewhat puzzled the public. He had, it was true, once been Chairman of the London School Board, but it was hardly supposed in any quarter that he possessed many of the special qualifications needed for the administration of a department whose sphere of work was being reconstituted by a highly controversial measure, on which the new Prime Minister was staking the whole credit of his Government. The appointment of Sir William Anson, however, as Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education in the place of Sir John Gorst, who now retired from the old office of Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, was generally approved as that of a broad-minded and well-informed educationist.

It is now necessary to return to the consideration of the Education Bill which occupied the greater part of the remainder of the ordinary session from the end of June and almost the whole of the autumn sittings. The Committee was left (p. 170) dealing under Clause 2 with the duties and powers of the new education authorities to make provision for education "other than elementary." For an amendment moved (June 30) by Mr. C. Grant (*Rugby, Warwickshire*) and modified so as to require that there should be no charge on the rates for higher education unless an equal sum had been contributed by the Treasury, there was for the moment convergence of support from different points of view, from educational reformers like Sir W. Mather (*Rossendale, Lancs.*) and Mr. Trevelyan (*Elland, W. R. Yorks.*), and from Members like Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincs.*) and Major Rasch (*Chelmsford, Essex*), whose chief pre-occupation was the economy of county rates. Mr. Balfour, however, opposed the amendment, as calculated to result in an undesirable centralisation of control over secondary education, and it was negatived by 203 votes to 137.

Under Clause 3, as amended on the motion of Mr. H. Hobhouse (*Somerset, E.*) the Council of any non-county borough or urban district was endowed with a concurrent power for raising money for education other than elementary up to a penny rate. It was understood that the County Councils approved of the possession of this measure of concurrent educational authority by the councils of the smaller areas mentioned. It was, however, contended, by no means without plausibility, that the Government were allowing their ideal of a single local educational authority for large areas to drift into a hazy distance. Clause 4 of the Bill was in these terms: "(1) A council, in the application of money under this part of this Act, shall not require that any particular form of religious instruction or worship shall or shall not be taught or practised in any school or college. (2) In a

school or college receiving a grant from, or maintained by, a council under this part of this Act (a) a scholar attending as a day or evening scholar shall not be required, as a condition of being admitted into or remaining in the school or college, to attend or abstain from attending any Sunday school, place of religious worship, religious observance, or instruction in religious subjects in the school or college or elsewhere; and (b) the times for religious worship or for any lesson on a religious subject shall be conveniently arranged for the purpose of allowing the withdrawal of any such scholar therefrom." The second subsection was unaltered in Committee, but the first was considerably expanded and otherwise amended, so that when the clause ultimately stood part of the Bill it ran thus: "(1) A council, in the application of money under this part of this Act, shall not require that any particular form of religious instruction or worship, or any religious catechism or formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination, shall or shall not be taught or practised in any school or college aided, but not provided, by the council, and no pupil shall be excluded from or placed in any inferior position in any school or college provided by the council on the ground of religious belief, and no catechism or formulary distinctive of any particular religious denomination shall be taught in any school, college, or hostel so provided."

The effect of the discussion, it will thus be seen, had been that, on the one hand, it remained open to the councils to aid denominational secondary schools—on this point the Government steadily resisted amendments moved, and obtained large majorities—but that, on the other hand, it was laid down that secondary schools actually provided by the education authority should be undenominational. The amendment securing this was moved by Sir W. Anson (*Oxford Univ.*), accepted by Mr. Balfour, and supported by Sir F. Powell (*Wigan*), one of the most influential Churchmen in the House. It was opposed by Lord H. Cecil (*Greenwich*), Lord Percy (*Kensington, S.*), and Mr. J. F. Hope (*Brightside, Sheffield*), but the minority against it only numbered 29. The case largely in the minds of the Committee during the lengthy discussions of this clause, which was ultimately carried (July 8) by 175 votes to 15, was that of Nonconformists preparing for the teaching profession. Mr. Balfour showed himself anxious to meet their case, and suggested that undenominational hostels might be provided by education authorities where Nonconformists could reside and obtain education, with the protection given by the latter part of the clause, at neighbouring denominational schools or colleges, in places where no undenominational school or college was available. He also intimated that the Government intended that a student in a hostel should be provided for by the State to the same extent as students in training colleges.

The curious fifth clause (the first of Part III. of the Bill) which made it optional with a local education authority whether it should undertake the charge of elementary education as specified in the subsequent clauses, and which was pretty generally understood to have been introduced to facilitate the support of the measure by Liberal Unionists, was next dealt with (July 9). It had been very widely condemned in the Press, and Mr. H. Hobhouse (*Somerset, E.*), himself a Liberal Unionist, moved to make the adoption of Part III. compulsory. Mr. Balfour made a speech generally favourable to the disappearance of the option, but refused to treat it as a Government question. The amendment was resisted by Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Bryce, and others who wished to save the School Boards and to restrict the operation of the Bill, but received the support of Dr. Macnamara and a number of other Liberal friends of education (including Mr. Asquith and Mr. Haldane) and was carried by the decisive majority of 271 to 102. The minority included Mr. A. Chamberlain (the Colonial Secretary was absent in consequence of his accident), Sir F. Flannery, and four or five other Unionists. The clause, having been thus practically negatived, was then struck out.

Clause 6, which had now become 5, ran thus: "The local educational authority shall throughout their area have the powers and duties of a School Board and School Attendance Committee under the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 to 1900, and the control of all secular instruction in public elementary schools, whether provided by them or not, and School Boards and School Attendance Committees shall be abolished in that area." This clause, important as it was in appearance, did but register the necessary consequences of the previous decisions of the House on the Bill. It was not seriously contested, and was added to the Bill (July 16) by 287 votes to 102.

Then, however, battle was joined, and maintained, it may almost be said, without intermission for the rest of the Parliamentary year. The leading controversial issue of the Bill was raised on what was now Clause 6, not indeed in the form in which it was first printed (when it was deferred to Clause 8, now 7), but as it was presented by Mr. Balfour for consideration in Committee. This clause in its main features ran in the following form (from which its terms as placed on the Statute Book did not essentially vary): "(1) All public elementary schools provided by the local education authority shall, where the local education authority are the council of a county, have a body of managers consisting of a number of managers not exceeding four appointed by that council, together with a number not exceeding two appointed by the minor local authority. Where the local education authority are the council of a borough or urban district, they may, if they think fit, appoint for any school provided by them such number of

managers as they may determine. (2) All public elementary schools not provided by the local education authority shall have a body of managers consisting of a number of trust managers not exceeding four appointed as provided by this Act, together with a number of managers not exceeding two appointed : (a) where the local education authority are the council of a county, one by that council and one by the minor local authority; and (b) where the local education authority are the council of a borough or urban district, both by that authority."

It was the second section of this clause, giving a standing majority of two-thirds to the "trust," or, as in the Act they were ultimately described as, the "foundation," managers over the public representatives, in the case of denominational elementary schools, which was, directly and indirectly, the main ground of conflict. It was this, coupled with the provision in a subsequent clause (not dealt with by Parliament until the autumn) for the maintenance of secular education in such schools (but not of their fabrics) by the local authority, which furnished the occasion for a Nonconformist agitation more passionate in its expressions than any which had been witnessed for a generation. It was the same combination of provisions which furnished the Liberal party with the material for protest not merely against the perpetuation—it was even said the enhancement—of a Nonconformist grievance, but against a so-called violation of the old connection between representation and taxation. Much was said and written in the newspapers and elsewhere in the summer as to possibilities of compromise. A few prominent Churchmen, notably the Bishop of Hereford, wrote letters advocating the concession of a clear majority on the boards of management of Voluntary Schools to the representatives of local authorities, while the continuance of the denominational character of the schools, they maintained, might be secured by a reservation of the power to the denominational minority of managers to insist on the appointment of at least the head teacher of their denomination, and to the parish clergyman of the right to give Church teaching to Church children in the schools. More or less similar suggestions were made by Archdeacon Wilson. Dr. Paton, an eminent Congregational minister of Nottingham, said that in his opinion the great majority of Nonconformists would be satisfied with an arrangement such as the Bishop of Hereford sketched. But it was made evident by a great number of declarations of collective Church of England and Roman Catholic opinion that the preponderant view of persons interested in denominational schools was that their essential value would be lost, and they would not be worth carrying on at all if a majority on the managing board, by which the teachers were selected and appointed (subject to the veto of the local authority in any case of educational unfitness), were not reserved to persons connected with their foundation. From their point of view, that is to say,

any such arrangement as the Bishop of Hereford proposed was not compromise, but surrender. Moreover, some at any rate, if not all, of the more militant Nonconformists, such as the Rev. J. Hirst Hollowell, of Rochdale, refused to accept any arrangement which shut out Nonconformists from the head teacherships in Voluntary Schools, and argued that the only sound settlement would be one confining public elementary education to secular subjects. In these circumstances there was no reason for surprise at the failure of a Round Table Conference of leading Church and Nonconformist educationists, which met at Fulham Palace, on the invitation of the Bishop of London, in the second week of July, to formulate any basis of agreement. Either side to the controversy might be in the right, but the material for anything which could fairly be called compromise did not seem to exist.

When (July 21) Clause 6 (formerly 7) was taken up, great pressure was put upon the Government to postpone its consideration till the autumn session, and Sir H. Fowler, in particular, insisted that opportunity should be given to moderate men on both sides to put their heads together with a view to an amicable settlement of the controversy. Mr. Balfour, however, reminded the Opposition that from the first the Government intended that in the case of Voluntary Schools the denominational representatives should be in a majority on the boards of management. There had already been plenty of time for arriving at a compromise; but he regretted to say it had become perfectly clear that the militant Nonconformists would be satisfied with nothing short of what they called the popular control and management of denominational schools. The Government could not adopt their views without violating their principles and pledges and betraying those who had sent them to Parliament. A motion to report progress was negatived by 213 to 93.

Upon an early amendment moved by Mr. H. Roberts (*Denbigh, W.*), with the object of securing the nomination of managers in all elementary schools by the local authority, Mr. Balfour, while opposing the suggestion, stated that the managers of Voluntary Schools would be absolutely under the control of the local authority in respect of secular education. This view of the purport of the Bill, Sir W. Harcourt being doubtful, was confirmed by the Attorney-General. The amendment having been rejected by a great majority, Mr. Balfour a little later argued that the Ministerial proposal embodied an honest endeavour to introduce an elective and local element into the management of the Voluntary Schools, and at the same time to preserve their denominational character. Mr. Bryce, however, declared that even as amended the Bill would rather aggravate than diminish Nonconformist grievances. The Government, he said, were proposing to deprive the denominational schools of that public interest which ought to be their

chief support. It was the civic right of the ratepayers to control these schools in the future, as they would have to support them. Mr. Balfour, in reply, reminded the Opposition that under the Bill secular education would be transferred absolutely to a popularly elected body, and that secular education was, after all, the subject with which the Bill was chiefly concerned. As to religious education, it was to be placed in every denominational school under a board of six members, one of whom might be the parson, it was true; but the other five would be laymen, two of whom would be representatives nominated by a popularly elected body. In these circumstances he maintained that it was ludicrous to say that the Bill left untouched the one-man clerical management of schools of which the Opposition complained so bitterly in the country.

The grievance of Nonconformists in "single-school" districts, said by Mr. Lloyd-George to number 8,000, was raised on an amendment moved by Mr. McKenna to the effect that denominational schools to which parents were obliged to send their children, because there were no alternative schools within a distance of three miles, should be regarded as schools provided by the local authority. Mr. Balfour, while admitting that in a single-school district Nonconformists sometimes suffered hardship, reminded the Committee that members of the Church of England had a correlative grievance in districts where there was only a Board School. At any rate, the Bill did something to mitigate the grievance, for it sanctioned the construction of new schools where that was found to be desirable. The amendment he could not assent to, as its immediate effect would be to undenominationalise a large number of schools. Lord Hugh Cecil, admitting the grievance, was in favour of supplementing the remedy provided by the Bill by allowing different religious teachers to enter the schools and teach the children of their respective denominations. At the time Mr. Lloyd-George was understood to express his readiness to support at a future date an amendment promised by Lord H. Cecil in the sense just indicated, "if it were done all round." Mr. Balfour observed that if a solution of the religious difficulty could be arrived at on the lines in question, he should be satisfied, providing of course that it was applied to Board as well as Voluntary Schools. The Nonconformists, however, he said, had opposed any such principle in the debates on the Education Bill of 1896, and what the Opposition appeared to him now to want was the absolute popular control of the Voluntary Schools. Mr. McKenna's amendment was defeated by 243 votes to 124.

When the question came up once more (July 30), the Opposition were invigorated by the result of the North Leeds election. That constituency since it was formed in 1885 had been held for the Conservatives by Mr. W. L. Jackson (raised to the peerage in June as Lord Allerton), whose majority had

increased at each general election till in 1900 it stood at 2,517. In these circumstances the return of the Liberal candidate, Mr. Rowland Barran, by a majority of 758 over his Conservative opponent, Sir A. Lawson, was clearly not an event which could be explained away by the fact that Sir A. Lawson, while a highly respected local man of business, was an exceptionally poor public speaker. The election was mainly fought on the Education Bill, and there was no escaping the conclusion that, whether correctly or incorrectly understood, that measure was unpopular in what had been an urban Conservative stronghold. In addition to this untoward circumstance, the Irish Nationalist support of the Bill seemed to have become precarious. Mr. Dillon moved (July 30) an amendment excepting single-school districts from the operation of the second sub-section with regard to the boards of management of Voluntary Schools. Mr. Balfour, however, absolutely refused to be a party to taking away from any of the Voluntary Schools by *force majeure* their denominational character. As to the figures used during the debate, he pointed out that the number of single-school parishes was something less than 7,500, from many of which, moreover, the schools of neighbouring parishes were easily accessible. Of these 7,500 schools, some 5,600 were Church Schools. Sir W. Harcourt made a vehement speech, in which he said that the Government seemed determined on an educational civil war. On this amendment the Government majority sank to 41—230 votes to 189—eight Unionists, including Mr. Middlemore, a Birmingham Unionist Churchman who had spoken for the amendment, voting with the Opposition, and several others abstaining.

After this, however, the rank and file of the Ministerialists appeared to have felt a call upon them to present a stronger front, and though a series of subsequent amendments presented in various lights the case for an increase in the representative element on the boards of management of Voluntary Schools, the Government preponderance in the division lobbies was maintained at a very much higher level. It was generally recognised that, whether the position taken up by the Government in defence of the denominational character of the Voluntary Schools was sound or not, the new Prime Minister exhibited a remarkable degree of skill and resource, and admirable temper, in his conduct of protracted debates in which the same kind of issue was constantly reproduced under very slightly varying forms. Perhaps the most impressive of his utterances at this period was made (Aug. 1) in reply to an appeal from Sir M. Foster, the much-respected member for London University, who (speaking from the Ministerial benches) urged that it ought not to be difficult, with the aid of the Government's legal advisers, to devise some scheme acceptable to all parties, which would both secure the public an adequate control over Voluntary Schools and at the same time preserve their denominational

character. The question, Mr. Balfour said in reply, which they really had to settle, was whether the denominational schools were to be left to the denominations or were to be taken away from them. Having dwelt on the absolute control reserved by the Bill to the local authority over the secular education in these schools, where also that authority could veto the appointment of any teacher whom they thought incompetent, and dismiss any teacher who had been shown to be incompetent, he went on to say that apparently nothing would satisfy gentlemen opposite whom it was sought to conciliate, and whom, Heaven knew, he himself wished to conciliate, if it was in his power, but an arrangement that the teacher should be elected by some body that did not represent the denomination. The Committee had got down to that narrow issue. It was vain to hope that all the difficulties incident to a state of things like that could be avoided by a clause drawn up by a competent lawyer. It was quite impossible that they should honestly—he had almost said without profanity—try to work a system under which those who selected the teacher and those who could dismiss the teacher belonged perhaps to no denomination or belonged to a denomination antagonistic to the original owners of the school, and yet had to make the teacher teach denominational religion in the school, and had to superintend his teaching of denominational religion in the school and see that he conducted it effectively. He could not imagine a system more unworkable. He could not imagine a system which would be more repulsive to any man of true religious instincts. Mr. Bryce said that the sincerity with which the right hon. gentleman had expressed his opinion had impressed them all. He believed, however, that a solution could be found, and that only time, thought and good intent were needed to attain it.

Further time having been spent on various amendments directed to the creation of a predominant public representation on the management of Voluntary Schools, all of which were rejected by majorities ranging from 81 to 134, a final debate took place (Aug. 7) on the question that the management clause should stand part of the Bill. It was well maintained but did not present any novel feature. Towards its close Mr. Asquith insisted that the public voice should have a preponderating influence in the management of institutions which were supported out of public funds. He quite admitted that they must maintain the denominational character of the schools, but it was absolutely impossible to sustain the proposition that in order to protect their denominational character one-half or two-thirds of the management had to be given to the denomination. He would be perfectly willing that the appointment of the principal teacher should rest with the denominational managers, but he would never consent to the whole teaching staff being appointed by them, because it would mean the exclusion of Non-conformists from the whole teaching profession. Mr. Balfour

remarked that if Mr. Asquith's holiday meditations led him to a plan which would reconcile the apparently irreconcilable—the preservation of the denominational character of the schools, and the provision of a popular majority on the board of managers—he would indeed be happy, because he would have solved a riddle on which the best brains of the country had been working for years without finding a satisfactory answer. After some concluding observations from Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman the clause was carried by 220 votes to 98; and for the next two months the venue of this controversy was changed to the country.

The incidents of the session up to August 8 which remain to be recorded must be dealt with very briefly. Space will only allow, for example, of the barest mention that in the House of Lords (July 17) the Government accepted, at the instance of Lord Monkswell, a resolution declaring that the earliest possible steps should be taken with a view to remedy the state of things disclosed in the report of the War Office Committee on Military Education. That was indeed a grave state of things, so far as related to the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, where, according to the Committee, lack of supervision led to divided responsibility; no inducement was offered to cadets to work, and the instructors had no inducement to teach. The report seemed to be emphasised by disorders which occurred at Sandhurst during the summer, though Lord Roberts was much criticised, both in Parliament and in the Press, for in the first instance rustivating twenty-nine students who could not prove an *alibi* on the occasion of the last of a series of mysterious fires in the college. With the exception of two, they were, as the result of subsequent inquiry by the Commander-in-chief into their individual cases, exonerated with regard to the fires. A new commandant—Colonel G. C. Kitson, C.M.G., was appointed to the college in August.

Foreign affairs were discussed less frequently than in many recent sessions. In Committee of Supply on the Foreign Office vote (July 4), Sir C. Dilke gave expression to the belief, which naturally caused sorrow and uneasiness where it was entertained, that British diplomacy had somehow succeeded in diminishing the cordiality of the old friendship with Italy, all the more to be regretted in view of a recent obvious drawing together of Italy and France. Mr. Bryce thought the Franco-Italian arrangement would be of no concern to us, unless, indeed, it affected Morocco, whereas he gathered that it only related to Tripoli and Albania. Other speakers were anxious about the Far Eastern situation. In the course of a general reply, Lord Cranborne (Under Foreign Secretary) practically admitted that an understanding arrived at some time previously between this country and France, embracing the hinterland of Tripoli, might have caused some soreness in Italy, but maintained that assurances had been given with the effect of removing any such

feeling from the breast of our old friend. He rapidly proceeded to make an observation which was not uncalculated to cause some soreness on the part of our new friend—Japan. For, replying to a remark of Sir C. Dilke's that we might have secured the Japanese alliance earlier, the Under-Secretary had the misfortune to say, "It is not for us to seek treaties, we grant them." As to the concessions secured or sought by other Powers in China, he did not think that they gave us cause for just uneasiness or resentment. Our own subjects were not always energetic in exploiting the concessions which had been obtained for them; but that was not the fault of the Government, which did its best to encourage British enterprise.

The Prime Minister had to explain (July 7) that the Under-Secretary's unlucky phrase was only used with the intention of combating the idea that the position of England was such as to make it necessary for her to grasp at any alliance which offered; that with Japan, Mr. Balfour conveyed, was of course contracted on terms of absolute equality. A similar explanation was given (July 18) in the House of Lords by Lord Lansdowne during a general statement on foreign affairs. In its course the Foreign Secretary mentioned the interesting fact that, inasmuch as, the Chinese indemnity being payable in gold, the depreciation in silver had practically added some 90,000,000 taels to her obligation, his Majesty's Government had proposed to the other Powers that there should be some abatement of their collective demands, and they hoped to obtain support for this suggestion. Lord Lansdowne went on to deny that there had been any friction between the contingent of British troops at Shanghai and any of the foreign contingents. Negotiations for improving the terms of our commercial intercourse with China were, he said, proceeding between Sir James Mackay and a Commission appointed by the Peking Government, and Sir James Mackay was hopeful that they would lead to satisfactory results. Generally our policy remained what it had been in the past. We were anxious to take no step that might tend towards a partition of China or towards placing her Government under the tutelage of any foreign Power, while we desired to obtain the utmost freedom for the commerce of all nations.

As to Italy, there had never, it was true, been (as some people seemed to think) an alliance with that Power of the same character as our alliance with Japan. But "we, at any rate," Lord Lansdowne said, had "never receded" from the declaration of community in objects between that country and ourselves in respect of the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Mediterranean and the adjoining seas, which we had made on the occasion of an "exchange of views" in 1887. Further, at the present moment our relations with Italy were of a perfectly cordial character, and we were receiving support from the Italian Government in our operations on the coast of Somaliland.

On the Irish Estimates (July 23 and 24) Mr. Wyndham's administration was fiercely attacked. Under the Crimes Act, as put in force by the Government over a large part of the country, Mr. J. Redmond (*Waterford*) said that tribunals corrupt, servile and degraded had superseded the ordinary criminal courts. The Chief Secretary's Land Bill (with which no progress had been made) was a miserable makeshift of a remedy for a state of things admittedly calling for radical reform. Much was made by Mr. Redmond of the fact that the signatures of Lord Clonbrock and Lord Barrymore (Mr. Smith-Barry having lately become Peer with that title) were attached, as those of Lords Commissioners, to a proclamation extending the sphere of operation of the Crimes Act, they being members of the landlords' combination for the defeat of the United Irish League. On this certainly unfortunate circumstance Mr. Morley also dwelt, and it was no sufficient answer to say, as the Chief Secretary did, that, as the Government bore the entire responsibility for the policy of the Crimes Act proclamation, the question who signed it was of very little consequence. On the merits, he maintained, and no doubt with truth, that the Irish Executive had put the Crimes Act more extensively in force in order to defend private liberty. Mr. Dillon was more violent than usual, and Mr. W. O'Brien said that if Prince Henry of Prussia, when he recently steamed into Bantry Bay, had landed an army and 100,000 rifles, every young man worth his salt would have joined the invaders. The minority for the reduction of the vote for the Chief Secretary's office mustered as many as 135 votes, some fifty or sixty Liberals probably holding with Mr. Morley that no sufficient case had been made out for the Crimes Act proclamation, and some being also influenced by the question of the landlord signatures.

More, perhaps, of chivalry than of his usual sound judgment was apparent in Sir Edward Grey's attempt, made entirely on his own responsibility, to secure a rehearing of the case of Sir R. Buller by the House of Commons. He moved (July 17) to reduce the War Office salaries vote in order to call attention to the unfair position in which Sir R. Buller had been placed by the partial and unexplained publication of selected telegrams, instead of the full publicity which he desired. He urged that the gallant general had really rendered great services in Natal; that they had been, in effect, recognised in his appointment to the Aldershot command; and that his enforced retirement after his Westminster speech was a step which ought not to have been taken without giving him a trial. He was supported by Sir J. Kennaway (*Honiton, Devon*). Mr. Brodrick (War Secretary) made a speech in reply, in which he said that it was impossible for him to make any general publication of the telegrams, for that would make confidential military communications impossible in future. But he said that the attack on Colenso was "universally admitted by all military men to have

been ill-conceived and ill-executed," and asked what publication of papers could conceivably lessen Sir R. Buller's responsibility for the abandonment of the guns on that occasion, or do away with the painful feeling caused by his suggestion, heliographed to Sir G. White, that Ladysmith should be surrendered after one ineffectual attempt to relieve it. His attempted vindication of the Government's treatment of Sir R. Buller, however, laid him open to the very plausible remark of Lord H. Cecil's, that the moral of the case seemed to be that a general might with impunity lose battles or abandon garrisons, but that there could be no mercy for him if he made an indiscreet speech after luncheon. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman thought that in the selection of telegrams Sir R. Buller had had hard measure, and hoped the case would come into the general inquiry promised by the Government into the war. Mr. C. Lowther (*Eskdale, Cumberland*) thought that Sir C. Warren, who had been condemned by Sir R. Buller, ought also to have a chance of defending himself. Sir E. Grey ultimately offered to withdraw his motion, but the House refused, and it was rejected by 236 votes to 98, the minority containing some forty Irish Nationalists.

On July 29 Mr. Chamberlain appeared in the House of Commons for the first time since his severe cab accident early in the month, and was received with general cheering and congratulated by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman on his recovery. The Leader of the Opposition proceeded in a spirit friendly to the Colonial Secretary, but distinctly less so to Lord Milner, to ask a number of questions about South Africa. The difference was regretted by Mr. Chamberlain in his reply, in the course of which he touched first, as Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman had done in his interrogatories, on the conference which was still going on with the Colonial Premiers. He could not, he said, as yet make any statement on the subject, but he assured the Committee that all the members of the conference were animated by the desire to draw closer together the different portions of the Empire. While the Government did not wish to go one step beyond what was justified by public opinion in this country and in the Colonies, he did not believe that the conference would be without result. On the contrary, he believed that when it was concluded it would be found that a step had been made towards that entire union to which he looked forward in the future. In regard to South Africa he said, among other things, that there was no idea of "packing" the country with British colonists. The Dutch would probably always outnumber the British in the Orange River Colony and the agricultural districts of the Transvaal. But the potential agricultural wealth of these countries was enormous, and as the number of people upon the land must be increased in order that this wealth might be developed, it would be necessary to import British settlers. There would be no arbitrary expropriation, but Boers who owned vast tracts of land might be willing to part with portions

of their estates in order that they might be cultivated effectively. Mr. Bryce having expressed the hope that the Government would not become a landlord on a vast scale in the new Colonies, Mr. Chamberlain said that the object of the Government would not be to act as landlord permanently, but to convert its tenants into owners.

Supported by Sir E. Grey, who was one of the Royal Commission who reported upon them in 1896, Mr. Chamberlain (July 31) secured a supplementary vote of 250,000*l.* for the West Indian Colonies. Good results, he explained, had in various cases been attained through the adoption by the Government of suggestions made by the Royal Commission, but this grant was wanted to enable the sugar industry to tide over the interval between the present time and the date for the abolition of the sugar bounties, under the terms of the Convention recently concluded at Brussels.

Members specially interested in questions of Imperial defence, like Sir Charles Dilke and Lord Charles Beresford, expressed definite gratification at a statement made by the Prime Minister during the debate on the second reading of the Appropriation Bill (Aug. 6), when, Major Seely (*Isle of Wight*) having complained of what he held to be the lack of co-ordination in our schemes of naval and military defence, Mr. Balfour observed that too much attention could not be paid to the larger problems of strategy, partly military, partly naval, which the defence of this country involved. The problem of Imperial defence, he went on to say, for a dominion so widely spread as ours was one of the most difficult and complicated that any Government could be called upon to face; and his Majesty's Ministers were doing their best to grapple with it. This was indeed an announcement of good omen for the early days of a new Premiership.

CHAPTER V.

The King's Message to His People—The Coronation: Public Feeling; The Solemnity in Westminster Abbey; General Rejoicings and Thanksgivings—The King's Gift to the Nation—The Naval Review—The Royal Yachting Cruise—Arrival of the Boer Generals; Their Correspondence and Interview with Mr. Chamberlain; Their Appeal to the "Civilised World"—The Imperial Conference; Colonial Contributions to the Navy Increased; Resolutions on Commercial Relations and other Subjects—Trade Union Congress in London; Votes against Compulsory Arbitration, and for Legislation as to Rights of Organised Labour—Sevenoaks Election—Agitation against Education Bill; Leeds Meeting; Dissatisfaction among Birmingham Liberal Unionists; Meeting Addressed by Mr. Chamberlain; Rally of Opinion for the Bill; Mr. Balfour's Manchester Speech—The Rhodes Scholarships Scheme—Sir M. Hicks-Beach on Outside Influences at the War Office; Mr. Brodrick's Reply—Re-assembling of Parliament; Irish Scenes—Education Bill Committee; School Maintenance Clause, Kenyon-Slaney and other Amendments—Church Discontent—Committee Continued and ultimately Closed by Compartments—The Bill in the Lords; The Primate's Speech; Illness and Death; Bishop of Manchester's Amendment Carried against Government—Bill in Commons again, and Finally Passed—London Water Bill Passed—Other Measures Passed—Grants to New Colonies—Sugar Convention Approved—Memorandum on Naval Education—Venezuelan Difficulty—Close of the Year.

KING EDWARD'S recovery from his illness proceeded so steadily and rapidly, under the influence of the breezes of the Solent, that the surprisingly early date of August 9—less than seven weeks from his severe operation—found him fully able to sustain the physical fatigues and the great emotional stress of the high solemnity of the Coronation. On August 6 he returned with the Queen to London, and on the 8th there was published the following message, conveying, as was authoritatively stated, the entirely personal and spontaneous expression of his Majesty's feelings:—

"TO MY PEOPLE—On the eve of my Coronation, an event which I look upon as one of the most solemn and important in my life, I am anxious to express to my people at home and in the Colonies and in India my heartfelt appreciation of the deep sympathy which they have manifested towards me during the time that my life was in such imminent danger.

"The postponement of the ceremony owing to my illness caused, I fear, much inconvenience and trouble to all those who intended to celebrate it; but their disappointment was borne by them with admirable patience and temper. The prayers of my people for my recovery were heard; and I now offer up my deepest gratitude to Divine Providence for having preserved my life and given me strength to fulfil the important duties which devolve upon me as the Sovereign of this great Empire.

"EDWARD R. and I.

"Buckingham Palace, August 8, 1902."

The morning of August 9 dawned brightly, but as the hours wore on the skies became grey, and rain fell for a short time after the King and Queen had returned from the Abbey to Buckingham Palace. The absence of bright sunshine, however, or at least of the heat which in August commonly accompanies it, was probably an advantage to the multitudes of spectators who waited for many hours on their feet in the streets, at some points very inconveniently packed. Great as were the numbers of those who lined the route by which their Majesties passed, they were, doubtless, smaller than would have been the case if the Coronation had taken place on the date originally fixed. For, on the one hand, it was inevitable that very many persons who had arranged to come or had actually come to London from the country, and even from the Colonies and foreign countries, especially the United States, for June 26, should find it impossible to be present in August; and, on the other hand, as a spectacle, the procession connected with the Coronation had lost some impressive features, and therefore somewhat of its drawing power, in the absence of the Heirs-Apparent and other near representatives of great European monarchies who had assembled for the original date. The foreign Princes who were present on August 9 were members of minor reigning houses closely connected by ties of blood with the King or Queen. But this circumstance was in happy accord with the whole character of an occasion which, as, with much felicity, Lord Rosebery said, took pre-eminently the aspect of a family festival. The whole British nation had passed, in the shock of the first announcement of the King's illness, and in the keen anxiety as to its issue, through an experience which drew closer its bonds of unity within itself and with him as its head. Thus the merely spectacular element was less, and the sacramental quality of the occasion was distinctly more prominent on August 9 than it would, or could, have been on June 26. There was great joy in the aspect of those who enthusiastically acclaimed the progress of their Majesties to and from the Abbey, but there was a touch of sobriety also, as in those who, having emerged from a great shadow, no longer look only at the surface. And so it might be truly said that they, and as represented through them the whole British nation and Empire, who had sorrowed so genuinely over the King's weakness and suffering, joined with the privileged and brilliant throng who in the sacred building itself participated in one of the most stately and impressive religious services ever held in the history of the world.

As to the supreme interest of that great solemnity there was but one voice from all who had the good fortune of actually witnessing it. From every point of view—spectacular, musical, national and religious—it achieved the profoundest impression. The interior of the historic fabric itself had been treated for the occasion with taste and reverence. The temporary galleries,

concealing the tawdry monuments of later centuries which had filled up the arches, were draped with blue and amber; the floor of the theatre, or great platform on which the Coronation was to take place, and of the nave, was carpeted with deep blue; and the altar was vested in red and adorned with gold plate. Soon after 7 A.M. the privileged spectators began to seek their places, and in an hour or two all the galleries were thronged with an assemblage of a most striking and representative character, including Peers and Peeresses in the robes of their ranks; Members of the House of Commons in Court dress or uniform, with their wives, daughters, or sisters; distinguished foreign visitors, the members of the Diplomatic Body; Cabinet Ministers, the Colonial Prime Ministers, Privy Councillors, Judges, Civil servants, and representatives of municipalities and of various religious denominations. Between 9 and 10 A.M. the Sub-Dean of Westminster, Canon Duckworth (who through the greater part of the service discharged, by the King's permission, the functions which otherwise would have fallen to the aged Dean, Dr. Bradley) and the Prebendaries took the Regalia from the Jerusalem Chamber to the Chapel of Henry VII. There the Bishops of Bath and Wells and of Oxford sang the Litany (which, in order somewhat to curtail the Coronation service, was not included in it, as according to custom it would have been). The Regalia were dedicated, and then borne back to the temporary, and very tastefully constructed, annexe, at the west end of the church, whence they were carried in front of their Majesties up the nave and placed on the altar.

On the appearance, first of the Queen, and then of the King, the Westminster boys in the triforium, according to privileged custom, hailed them with the salutations—"Vivat Regina Alexandra!" and "Vivat Rex Eduardus!" Their Majesties passed up the nave to their respective places in the theatre, in a stately and magnificent procession, including kings of arms, heralds and pursuivants, high Court officials, the Royal Standards of England, Scotland, Ireland and of the Union, all the great officers of State, most of them carrying, by hereditary right, portions of the Regalia or other insignia of Sovereign State, and, immediately before the King, the Bishops of Ely, London and Winchester, bearing, respectively, the Patina, the Bible and the Chalice, while, to the right and left of his Majesty moved the Bishops of Durham and of Bath and Wells. The King was robed in crimson, with the Collar of the Garter, and with the Cap of State on his head, and the Queen in robes of cloth of gold, with a purple train brodered with gold.

The service began with the Recognition. The Archbishop of Canterbury, vested in a rich embroidered cope of cream damask, with, on his right hand, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable, the Earl Marshal, and Deputy Garter King-of-Arms, said in a loud voice—"Sirs,

I here present unto you King Edward, the undoubted King of this Realm; wherefore all you who are come this day to do your homage, are you willing to do the same?" At the same moment the King rose and faced towards the body of the church, whereon there were loud and joyous and repeated cries of "God save King Edward!" together with a flourish of trumpets. The Communion Service was then at once begun, there being included a special prayer for the King, and thanksgiving for his recovery. The sermon being omitted, immediately after the recitation of the Nicene Creed the Coronation Oath was administered to the King by the Primate, his Majesty, whose responses were given in a clear, sonorous voice, solemnly promising to govern the People of the United Kingdom and all its Dominions "according to the statutes in Parliament agreed to and the respective Laws and Customs of the same"; to "cause Law and Justice, in Mercy, to be executed"; and, to the utmost of his power, to "maintain the Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law," and to maintain "the settlement of the Church of England . . . as by law established," and all such rights and privileges of the Bishops and Clergy, and of the Church committed to their charge, "as, by law, do, or shall, appertain to them or any of them."

Having thus entered into solemn contract with the Nation and with the Church, the King was anointed to his Royal Office. For that purpose he laid aside his Cap of State and was disrobed of his outer crimson robes, and in a red tunic reaching to the knees took his seat in the chair of St. Edward, under which was the Stone of Destiny. While four Knights of the Garter, Earl Cadogan, Earl Spencer, the Earl of Rosebery and the Earl of Derby, held a pall of yellow silk over his head, the Sub-Dean stood by with the *ampulla* and spoon brought from the altar, and the Archbishop, having previously said a beautiful and appropriate prayer, anointed the King on the head, the breast and the hands. Meanwhile the choir sang Handel's anthem, "Zadok the Priest," composed for the coronation of George II. Loud and spontaneous invocations of blessings on the anointed Monarch broke from all parts of the Abbey, and the King was then invested, one by one, with all the sacred and symbolic vestments and insignia of his Royal State. The Sub-Dean placed upon his Majesty the *Super-Tunica*. The Lord Great Chamberlain, kneeling, touched the King's heels with the Golden Spurs, brought from and taken back to the altar. Over the "Kingly Sword," lying on the altar, an impressive prayer was said by the Archbishop, who then, assisted by his brother of York and other prelates, delivered it into the King's right hand. It was girt round him by the Lord Great Chamberlain, and after receiving a brief, but noble and impressive, exhortation on the duties which it symbolised, the King ungirded it, and offered it as an offering

“to God and to the altar in token that his strength and power would first come from God and Holy Church.” Then, by a quaint survival from a distant day, the Marquess of Londonderry, who first received the sword after the King had ungirded it, “redeemed” it for the traditional price of a hundred shillings, and drawing it from its scabbard bore it naked before his Majesty for the rest of the ceremonial.

The investiture continued by the vesting of the King by the Sub-Dean with the Armilla, an embroidered band of cloth of gold, and the Imperial Mantle, or Dalmatic—this last gorgeous robe being made of four breadths of cloth of gold, woven with the rose, thistle and shamrock, and wrought with silver eagles. Then to his Majesty, thus splendidly attired, and sitting again in St. Edward’s Chair, were successively delivered by the Archbishop (having been brought from the altar) the Imperial Orb with the Cross, the Ring—“the ensign of Kingly Dignity and of Defence of the Catholic Faith”—and lastly the two Sceptres—the Sceptre with the Cross and the Sceptre with the Dove, symbolising respectively “Kingly Power and Justice” and “Equity and Mercy.”

Only the Crown itself remained to be bestowed. Over it, lying on the altar, a solemn petition was offered for the sanctifying of the King by the Archbishop, who then, accompanied by other Bishops, again approached St. Edward’s Chair. To him the Dean of Westminster, supported by the Sub-Dean, brought the Crown from the altar, and, not without difficulty, the venerable Primate raised and placed it on the King’s head. Thereon shouts of acclamation burst from every quarter, and the electric light suddenly flashed out on a scene of almost unexampled splendour. In every direction were to be seen the most distinguished, by birth and by achievement, of Englishmen and the noblest and most beautiful of Englishwomen, the latter adorned with innumerable flashing jewels, and almost all, men as well as women, clad in richly hued garments which, in very many cases individually beautiful, made up, amid the grey of the ancient Gothic arches, a singularly attractive combination of variegated colour. At the same moment, moreover, the Peers donned the coronets they had previously been carrying in their hands.

When the roar of acclamation had subsided, the Archbishop recited a few words of solemn and inspiring exhortation, and after the chanting of an anthem, “Be strong and play the man,” to music by Sir Walter Parratt, Master of the King’s Music, there came the presentation of the Bible, the copy offered being the gift of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Then, kneeling in his kingly robes, and holding his two sceptres one in either hand, his Majesty was blessed by the Archbishop before the people; and rising sat down on his Throne—theoretically, but not actually, “lifted” there by the prelates—and received the Primate’s exhortation to “hold fast from hence-

forth the Seat and State of Royal and Imperial Dignity." Then followed the rendering of homage, first by the Archbishop and Bishops, then by the Prince of Wales and other Princes of the Blood Royal, and then by the five premier nobles—the Duke of Norfolk, Marquess of Winchester, Earl of Shrewsbury, Viscount Falkland and Lord De Ros—on their own behalf and that of their respective orders in the Peerage, while the Homage Anthem, "Kings shall see and princes also shall worship," set to music by Sir Frederick Bridge, was sung. Two touching incidents occurred during the homage. The aged Archbishop, wearied with the long service, had difficulty in rising from his knees, whereon the King himself took him by the right hand to help to raise him, and afterwards clasped his hand with a gesture of spontaneously cordial regard. Also when the Prince of Wales, having taken the oath as the King's "Liege man of life and limb," kissed his Royal father on the left cheek, touching his Crown the while with his right hand, the King caught the Prince's left hand and affectionately returned the salute.

A scene of singular grace and beauty followed in the anointing of Queen Alexandra by the Archbishop of York, while the canopy, or pall, which had been held over the King at his anointing, was borne above her Majesty by the Duchesses of Portland, Marlborough, Sutherland and Montrose. Then, having received the Ring, the Queen was crowned by the Archbishop of York, and at the same moment all the Peeresses took their coronets from their laps and raised them to their heads. The effect of this simultaneous action was extremely pleasing. The Queen's special part of the ceremonial was then concluded by her investiture by the Northern Primate with the ensigns of queenly dignity—the Sceptre and Ivory Rod, after which her Majesty proceeded to her Throne, making a deep obeisance towards the King as she passed him.

The office of the Holy Communion was then resumed at the offertory sentences, when the King and Queen made their traditional oblations kneeling, crownless, on faldstools in front of the altar and remained there till the Consecrated Elements were administered to them by the Primate and the Dean of Westminster. Thereafter they again received and put on their Crowns, took their Sceptres in their hands, and remained in their chairs till the end of the service.

Such in bare outline was the great solemnity of the Coronation of King Edward the Seventh and Queen Alexandra, carried out in all its details, thanks to careful previous rehearsal, with reverence, dignity and exactitude. Their Majesties approached the Abbey by way of the Mall, the Horse Guards' Parade, Whitehall and Parliament Square, and returned to Buckingham Palace by Parliament Square, Whitehall, Trafalgar Square, Pall Mall, St. James's Street, Piccadilly, Hyde Park Corner, and Constitution Hill. Their procession by these routes was in the highest degree representative of the Forces of the

Crown—Naval and Military, Regular, Auxiliary and Volunteer, Colonial and Indian. The Honorary Indian Aides-de-Camp to his Majesty, who were among the most striking features of this splendid cavalcade, were their Highnesses the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, the Maharaja (Sir Pertab Singh) of Idar and the Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior. Immediately preceding the State Coach conveying their Majesties rode escorts of the Royal Horse Guards, of Indian Cavalry, and of Colonial Cavalry. Along both routes the cheers of the multitudes were in a special manner, and with intense enthusiasm, concentrated upon the King and Queen, but there was also great applause for Lord Kitchener and Lord Roberts and, too, for the Indian Princes. All over the country and throughout the Empire religious services and rejoicings of all kinds marked the Coronation Day, and on the following day (Sunday) services in celebration of the Coronation and in thanksgiving for the recovery of the King were universally held. Never indeed was a national festival kept with more signal evidences of profound participation in its meaning by all classes of the population.

On the Coronation Day the King addressed to the Prime Minister a letter in which having explained that, for various reasons, he felt that he would not be able to make adequate use of Osborne House (which had been left him by Queen Victoria) as a Royal residence, he expressed his gracious wish to offer that estate as a gift to the nation. "As Osborne," his Majesty wrote, "is sacred to the memory of the late Queen, it is the King's wish that, with the exception of those apartments which were in the personal occupation of her Majesty, his people shall always have access to the house which must ever be associated with her beloved name. As regards the rest of the building the King hopes that it may be devoted to national purposes and be converted into a convalescent home for officers of the Navy and Army, whose health has been impaired in rendering service to their country. If, in order to give full legal effect to the King's wishes, it is found that an application to Parliament is necessary, the King trusts that Mr. Balfour will see that the necessary steps are in due course taken." (This was done.) The King received (Aug. 11) the Lord Mayor, Viscount Duncannon, and Sir Savile Crossley, M.P., who presented the Coronation gift of 115,000*l.*, subscribed by all classes of his Majesty's subjects. There were nearly 20,000 donations in pence given by working people. The King, in receiving the gift, expressed the pleasure he took in the fact that the tribute included the offerings of the poorer as well as the richer among his subjects, and his great gratification that in this year such considerable progress had been made towards the attainment of the object he had in view when he originated his Hospital Fund. His Majesty then handed the Coronation gift to the Prince of Wales, to be applied to the augmentation of the fund.

Of the ceremonials ancillary to those of the actual Corona-

tion Day, the most impressive of all was the Naval Review which the King held on August 16. The great fleet which was then assembled in the Solent, consisted of over 100 warships of all classes, manned by more than 30,000 men. Four foreign warships—two Japanese, one Italian, and one Portuguese—were also present, besides a fine fleet of merchantmen. The King's ships were drawn up in four lines, each about three miles long, through which the Royal yacht, the *Victoria and Albert*, steamed, preceded by the Trinity yacht *Irene* and the *Alberta*, and followed by the *Osborne*, *Enchantress* and *Fire Queen*. As the King passed, each vessel gave a Royal salute, the yards were manned, and the crew cheered; when the Royal yacht anchored the whole fleet cheered together, led by the *Royal Sovereign*, which flew the flag of the Commander-in-Chief (Admiral Sir Charles Hotham). A signal was afterwards made for all captains in command of ships to repair on board the *Victoria and Albert*, when the King handed them the Coronation medal. At the close of the review the King signalled his "extreme satisfaction at the appearance of the ships and ships' companies." On August 18 his Majesty inspected the fleet under way, but in consequence of the bad weather it was deemed expedient to abandon the evolutions which were to have been carried out. On August 22 the King and Queen started on a yachting cruise, in the course of which they put in at Weymouth, Milford Haven, the Isle of Man, Arran, Colonsay, Ballachulish and Dunrobin, and were everywhere welcomed with the heartiest manifestations of loyalty. The cruise ended at Invergordon (Sept. 8), whence their Majesties proceeded by rail to Ballater for Balmoral.

Before leaving the Solent the King and Queen had received (Aug. 17), on their yacht, the Boer Generals, Botha, Delarey and De Wet. They had arrived at Southampton on the previous day, where they were met by Lord Kitchener and presented by him to Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Roberts. They declined an invitation to attend the Naval Review, private reasons, as they said, requiring them to proceed immediately to London. There they met with an enthusiastic popular welcome, which was renewed on several other occasions when they appeared in the streets. Having visited their Majesties on the *Victoria and Albert*, they were taken for a trip round the fleet, and then returned to London, whence they proceeded (Aug. 18), first to Brussels to attend the funeral of General Lucas Meyer (which, however, was postponed), and afterwards to see the ex-Presidents Kruger and Steyn. Then ensued a correspondence between them and Mr. Chamberlain, in which the generals practically endeavoured to re-open on various points the Vereeniging Agreement. This was specially so in regard to the question of amnesty for the Cape rebels and to the sums to be granted by the British Government for the benefit of the burghers. In this latter connection, the generals

even went so far, in a letter of August 23, as to propose for consideration "the re-instatement of officials of the late Republics in the service, or their compensation for loss of office," and "compensation for all loss occasioned by British troops by use, removal, burning, destruction, etc., of all private property of the inhabitants of the late Republics." Replying (Aug. 28) to the remarkable series of demands in which those just quoted were included, Mr. Chamberlain first recalled the history of the peace negotiations, and observed, in regard to the terms which had been ultimately accepted by the assembly of burghers at Vereeniging and signed by their authorised leaders including the three generals, that there was "no parallel in history for conditions so generous granted by a victorious belligerent to its opponents." His Majesty's Government, the Colonial Secretary went on to say, firmly intended to fulfil those terms in the spirit as well as in the letter, and on their behalf he was ready to give the fullest consideration to any observations from the generals bearing on their interpretation. But the letter which they had sent him practically suggested an entirely new agreement, and he was therefore bound to tell them that he had no power to re-open any of the points settled in the Vereeniging terms, although he would willingly receive "any suggestions which, as loyal subjects of his Majesty King Edward VII., they might "wish to offer for the future administration of that portion of his dominions." With promptitude the generals, who had meanwhile returned to London, accepted, in a letter of September 1, Mr. Chamberlain's contention that both parties were bound by the Peace Agreement, and assured him that they did not seek the interview for which they had asked, "as parties claiming the right to contract anew or to substitute a modified agreement for the existing one, but only as subjects of his Majesty seeking to obtain a fair hearing and, as we respectfully submit, clemency and justice."

Mr. Chamberlain, however, very naturally felt it necessary to intimate in a reply of the same date, that before arranging for a conference, he must ask for "a formal assurance that you will not raise any subject inconsistent with the settlement arrived at in Pretoria." On September 3 the generals replied that they regretted Mr. Chamberlain's decision, and considered some of the excluded subjects of such importance that they reserved their right to make written representations upon them. For the present, however, they gave the required assurance.

The conference accordingly took place at the Colonial Office on September 5, Lord Kitchener being present with Mr. Chamberlain. On the question of amnesty for Cape and Natal rebels, the generals expressed their disappointment that those men had not been amnestied at the time of the Coronation in view of a "promise given to them by Lord Kitchener" that at that time he would "make a representation to the Government" on the subject. Mr. Chamberlain, however, pointed out that the in-

tention to leave the treatment of the Colonial rebels to the Colonial Governments was made perfectly clear in the statement which was read to the Boer delegates at the time of the conclusion of peace, and not only did Lord Kitchener say that the statement quoted by the Colonial Secretary was the "final" one on the amnesty question and the "only one which was in any way binding on us," but also General Botha, through the interpreter, said that he "admits that statement referred to by Mr. Chamberlain." The Colonial Secretary also pointed out that in a speech at Howick, some time after the signature of the agreement, Mr. Schalk Burger had stated that rebels both in Cape Colony and Natal would be liable to trial.

Some discussion next took place on points connected with the repatriation of the burghers, as to which Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that the operation was being carried out quite as quickly as was possible, having in view difficulties in regard to transport and the provision of food, and also that, of course, the Government must reserve the right of refusing permission to return in the case of persons who had given them reason to believe that they would not be friendly if they returned (though apparently that right had not been, and was not expected to be, exercised in more than a very few cases). As to the recognition by the burghers (under Art. 2 of the Terms of Surrender) of his Majesty as their lawful Sovereign, it was made clear that as far back as July 3 a declaration, instead of an oath, on that subject had been authorised. On the question of possible expropriation of farms for public works, such as irrigation, Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that powers of that kind were in force in Great Britain, and, indeed, in all countries, proper compensation being paid. As to such expropriation with a view to the settlement of new Colonists, respecting a scheme for which General Botha said that uneasiness was felt, Mr. Chamberlain said that similar powers were in force in Great Britain and New Zealand, but that no such scheme would be pressed on the Transvaal and Orange Colony until the inhabitants had had full opportunity of expressing their opinions.

The question of the composition of the Commissions appointed to administer the grant of 3,000,000*l.* was raised, on the complaint of General Botha that the National Scouts (who had fought on the British side), or the men who had surrendered early in the war, had been appointed on these bodies out of proportion to their numbers. This Mr. Chamberlain denied, while intimating that the British Government could certainly not be expected to treat either of the classes just mentioned worse than those who fought against them to the end. At the same time he quite agreed with General Botha that an experienced local farmer ought to be on each Commission, and if he were informed of any case where that was not so it should be dealt with at once. Mr. Chamberlain was unable to accede to the request for the restoration to the Transvaal of the districts annexed to

Natal, but he pointed out that the Boers in that self-governing Colony, being much more numerous than before, would have political influence wherewith to protect their interests. On the subject of martial law the Colonial Secretary stated that it was not likely to be continued much longer. He could not consent to give the benefits of burghership to foreigners who had been naturalised in view of the war, that was to say as an inducement to them to take up arms against England.

General Botha having said that he did not think that the grant of 3,000,000*l.* "would be at all adequate to help the people," and that some provision might be made for the Boer widows and orphans, the Colonial Secretary, in a short concluding speech, drew the generals' attention to the fact that after the American Civil War the victorious side, though showing an exceptionally magnanimous and generous feeling to the conquered, yet made no provision whatever for their relief when fighting stopped, whereas we had "contributed in addition to all our own enormous expenses a very large sum to relieve those who are really destitute in our new Colonies." That, he said, was all that we could afford to do. On the general subject, he reciprocated expressions used by General Botha as to the wish of the Boers henceforward to live in peace with us. There should be forgetting and forgiving on both sides. "All we want," said Mr. Chamberlain, "is to recognise you as fellow-subjects with ourselves, working as we shall work for the prosperity and the liberty of South Africa. How great that liberty is, how soon complete self-government is extended to South Africa, depends entirely upon the rapidity with which the old animosities die out. . . . We shall certainly show trust in you whenever you will show trust in us. We shall be very glad of your co-operation and of the co-operation of men like yourselves, who have loyally accepted the new situation, in securing that your special views and ideas are, at all events, represented in the Government, as well as those of other sections of the population."

The correspondence leading up to the conference, and the report above summarised of its proceedings, were published almost immediately, and Mr. Chamberlain's treatment of the Boer generals, alike in its firmness and in the conciliatory temper which it manifested, commanded general approval here and even on the Continent. That being so, a good deal of annoyance and irritation was not unnaturally caused in England by the tone of an appeal for pecuniary help, signed by the three Boer generals, and said to be addressed to the civilised world, which was published on September 25. This course, on their part, they declared had become necessary in view of their failure to induce the British Government to grant any further assistance to the Boer people, whose need was "indescribably great." They had sacrificed everything for their independence, and now stood "wholly ruined." At least 30,000 houses on the

farms, besides a number of villages, had been burnt or destroyed by the British; orchards had been cut down, and all farming equipment taken away or destroyed. "The small amount which England, according to the terms of surrender, will give," said this document, "even if multiplied tenfold, will be totally inadequate to cover even the war losses. The widows and orphans, the maimed and needy, and our children, for whom alone we make this appeal, will therefore receive little, and in most cases nothing at all."

The prevailing feeling among Englishmen was that if—as might only too probably be the case—the sum, large as it was, which the Government had promised to grant in aid of the destitute Boers should prove insufficient to meet nearly all the distress which the war had left behind it, the wise course on the part of their representatives would have been to appeal to the friendly and generous feeling of the British public, which had been manifested towards the generals personally, and in many other ways, since the conclusion of peace. There was nothing which would have militated against the success of such an appeal in the terms in which, in a letter published, curiously enough, at the same time as the document just summarised, General Botha acknowledged the gift of 20,000*l.* from Mr. Henry Phipps, a wealthy American, for the relief of widows and orphans. Therein the general readily gave the assurance desired by the generous donor that the money would be used "solely and entirely philanthropically," and suggested that with himself and General Delarey there should be associated in the dispensation of the fund one or other of three eminent British officials, whom he named, in South Africa. At the same time, it may be mentioned, Mr. Chamberlain, to whom Mr. Phipps's intention had been conveyed by Mr. Arnold White, who was also the channel of the donor's communication to General Botha, observed that such a fund as that which might be started by Mr. Phipps's gift "would of course appeal more strongly to English sympathy if it were for the joint object of assisting, without distinction of race or politics, all widows and orphans who had suffered in consequence of the war." If, however, it were ultimately decided to confine it to the Boers, the Colonial Secretary "would be ready to render any assistance in his power to secure its proper administration."

During the autumn the Boer generals made a tour on the Continent in support of their appeal, with pecuniary results which were very variously estimated. On November 6 Mr. Chamberlain wrote to General Botha a letter in which he said that the appeal conveyed an incorrect and exaggerated impression of the circumstances to which it referred. The free grant of 3,000,000*l.*, it was true, would not be increased, but it was supplemented, under Art. 10 of the Terms of Surrender, by the promise, which held good, of further assistance by way of loans to be obtained on very easy terms (with no interest charged for

two years). He also referred to the very heavy charge at which the British Government had been, and even still were, in connection with the Concentration Camps, which motives of humanity alone had prevented them from already entirely abolishing, and in the large sums they had spent on the education as well as maintenance of children. He suggested that there must be a substantial balance over from the large sums remitted to Europe from the Transvaal during the war, in the interests of the South African Republic, and that this would be properly available for the relief of the distressed burghers and their families. As to the assistance for that object from foreign sympathisers he understood that it amounted in the Transvaal to under 2,700 bales and packages of clothing and stores, and under 600*l.* of money received and distributed through the Burgher Relief Fund, and it was on much the same scale in the Orange Colony. This, he suggested, provided no ground for unfavourable comparative observations on British liberality. In his reply (Nov. 12) General Botha welcomed the announcement which had been made of Mr. Chamberlain's intention to visit South Africa. He endeavoured to explain the appeal which the generals had made by saying that they thought that the 3,000,000*l.* grant was to be given in partial compensation for war losses and not for the relief of the destitute, whereas Mr. Chamberlain had said that it was his Majesty's Government who had insisted during the peace negotiations that it should be applied to the latter object. In any case, General Botha said that the sum in question would be found not enough to meet what was required as a free gift. As to the large remittances from the Transvaal referred to by Mr. Chamberlain, the general would be surprised to find that any such were made, but if they existed the suggested application of them would be very proper. The foreign aid he said "totalled more than a hundredfold" what the Colonial Secretary had been led to suppose. Holland alone sent 100,000*l.* during the war, and subscribed in October, 1902, over 21,000*l.* to the generals' fund.

Of wide though doubtless of somewhat disappointing Imperial interest were the results of the conference held in London during the summer between the Secretary for the Colonies and the Prime Ministers of the self-governing Colonies, who were present as follows: Sir Wilfrid Laurier (Canada), Sir Edmund Barton (Australia), Mr. Seddon (New Zealand), Sir Gordon Sprigg (Cape Colony), Sir Albert Hime (Natal), and Sir Robert Bond (Newfoundland). Lord Onslow and Sir Montague Ommaney, respectively Parliamentary and Permanent Under-Secretaries for the Colonies, attended and so also did Sir John Forrest, Australian Minister of Defence, and Mr. Paterson, Sir F. W. Borden, Mr. Fielding and Sir W. Mulock, respectively Ministers for Customs, Militia and Defence, Finance, and the Post Office in the Canadian Dominion.

Mr. Brodrick, War Secretary, Lord Selborne, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Mr. G. Balfour, President of the Board of Trade, were also present at the discussion of questions affecting their departments. The conference held ten meetings, of which the first was on June 30 and the last on August 11, and a Blue-book on the subject was published in October. It was, however, a tantalising publication, for it did not give even in outline any account of the more important discussions. Early in the year a good deal of hope had been cherished among those who had long studied the subject of Imperial consolidation that the conference would result in the adoption of some definite steps in that direction, taking the form of the acceptance by the great self-governing Colonies of a considerable share in the burdens and responsibilities of Imperial defence in return for their admission to clearly understood participation in Imperial councils. But even before the first meeting of the conference it had become very doubtful whether Colonial opinion, particularly in Canada, was ripe for any important permanent development in inter-Imperial relations in connection with defence. These doubts were more than confirmed in regard to other Colonies by the tone of the speeches made, for example, by Sir Edmund Barton and Sir Gordon Sprigg at the annual meeting of the British Empire League on July 7, when the Duke of Devonshire, who was in the chair as President of the League, laid stress on the urgency of the question of Imperial defence, which he said, with, for him, remarkable emphasis, "is one which cannot wait. . . . If we wait till it solves itself we may wait till there is no British Empire at all to defend." Nothing could have been more loyal than the spirit of the speeches of the Australian and Cape Premiers. But both of them distinctly deprecated any attempt to forestall by formal agreements the active expression of that spontaneous zeal to assist the Empire which the Colonies had so fully manifested during the late war and might be confidently counted on to manifest again whenever real need arose. The argument plainly was that the strength of the Imperial spirit in the Colonies would be unfavourably affected by any pressure from home for colonial participation in fixed joint arrangements for defence, and that the working of such arrangements might lead to injurious friction.

These opposing points of view were, doubtless, put forward and developed at the conference in discussing Imperial defence. The Home Government had no idea whatever of doing anything to "force events"—to employ a phrase used deprecatingly by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in a speech of loyal eloquence at the Empire Coronation banquet (July 11) at the Guildhall. At the same time the position of the Home Government and of home opinion generally was very clearly, though considerably, indicated in the speech with which the Secretary of State opened the conference. Referring to an expression

used in a speech by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in 1901—though afterwards said by the Canadian Premier to have been not quite correctly understood—"If you want our aid, call us to your councils," Mr. Chamberlain said: "Gentlemen, we do want your aid. We do require your assistance in the administration of the vast Empire which is yours as well as ours. The weary Titan staggers under the too vast orb of its fate. We have borne the burden for many years. We think it is time that our children should assist us to support it, and whenever you make the request to us, be very sure that we shall hasten gladly to call you to our councils. If you are prepared at any time to take any share, any proportionate share, in the burdens of the Empire, we are prepared to meet you with any proposal for giving to you a corresponding voice in the policy of the Empire. And the object, if I may point out to you, may be achieved in various ways. Suggestions have been made that representation should be given to the Colonies in either, or in both, Houses of Parliament. There is no objection in principle to any such proposal. If it comes to us, it is a proposal which his Majesty's Government would certainly feel justified in favourably considering, but I have always felt myself that the most practical form in which we could achieve our object would be the establishment or the creation of a real Council of the Empire, to which all questions of Imperial interest might be referred, and if it were desired to proceed gradually, as probably would be our course—we are all accustomed to the slow ways in which our Constitutions have been worked out—if it be desired to proceed gradually, the Council might in the first instance be merely an advisory council. But, although that would be a preliminary step, it is clear that the object would not be completely secured until there had been conferred upon such a Council executive functions, and perhaps also legislative powers, and it is for you to say, gentlemen, whether you think the time has come when any progress whatever can be made in this direction."

The above passage, it should be said, was preceded by an eloquent acknowledgment on the part of the Colonial Secretary of the loyalty and devotion to Imperial interests spontaneously shown by the Colonies throughout the South African war, and by observations to the effect that any advance towards closer political relations, which would be "enthusiastically welcomed in this country," must come from the Colonies. It was followed by a passage in which Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that while the naval and military charges at home involved a payment of 29s. 3d. per head of the population of the United Kingdom, Colonial expenditure under the same heads appeared to range from 3s. 5d. per head in New South Wales down to 2s. per head in Canada.

The question of naval defence was that which was first taken up at the conference, but it was found that the conditions

of the different Colonies varied so much that better progress would be made by separate discussions between their respective representatives and the First Lord of the Admiralty and some of his principal advisers. The result of those discussions was embodied in the following offers of Colonial assistance towards the naval expenses of the Empire: Contribution of Australia increased to 200,000*l.* a year towards the cost of an improved Australasian Squadron and the establishment of a branch of the Royal Naval Reserve; contribution of New Zealand increased to 40,000*l.* a year towards an improved Australasian Squadron and the establishment of a branch of the Royal Naval Reserve; contribution of Cape Colony increased to 50,000*l.* per annum towards the general maintenance of the Navy; Natal to contribute 35,000*l.* per annum towards the general maintenance of the Navy; Newfoundland to contribute 3,000*l.* per annum (and a capital sum of 1,800*l.* for fitting up and preparing a drill ship) towards the maintenance of a branch of the Royal Naval Reserve of not less than 600 men.

The figures above given represent a practical doubling of the total previously given by the self-governing Colonies towards the cost of the Navy, and in the case of Natal a new contribution which, having regard to the small numbers of its white population, is very substantial. On the other hand, in regard to Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier stated that while the Dominion Government were contemplating the establishment of a local naval force in Canadian waters, as to which they had the strongest desire to act in co-operation with the Imperial authorities, they were not able to make any offer of a direct contribution to the Royal Navy. The net result, as pointed out in a memorandum by Lord Selborne, was that even in view of the offered additions to the Colonial contributions to the Navy the tax-payers of the British Empire would in respect of naval expenditure still be in the following relative positions:—

	Population (White).	Naval Contribution per Caput per Annum.
United Kingdom - - - - -	41,454,621	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i> 15 2
Cape Colony - - - - -	538,000	1 10½
Commonwealth of Australia - - -	3,765,805	1 0½
Dominion of Canada - - - - -	5,338,883	Nil.
Natal - - - - -	64,951	10 9½
Newfoundland - - - - -	210,000	0 3½
New Zealand - - - - -	772,719	1 0½

On the question of military defence no definite decision was reached. Mr. Brodrick expressed a desire that of the permanent forces in the self-governing Colonies—making up about 100,000 in all—a certain proportion, if only 20 or 25 per cent., should be specially trained and held in readiness to be put in

line with British regular troops against those of any European Power which it might be necessary to send a British force to fight with elsewhere than on the Continent of Europe. The men in question would in fact become a part of the Imperial Army Reserve and the Imperial Exchequer might reasonably bear some portion of the charge for them. So much difference of opinion was evoked in the discussion on these proposals that no resolution was passed about them. With regard to commissions in the Army and Navy the following resolution was passed: "That the Prime Ministers of self-governing Colonies suggest that the question of the allotment of the naval and military cadets to the Dominions beyond the seas be taken into consideration by the naval and military authorities, with a view to increasing the number of commissions to be offered; that, consistent with ensuring suitable candidates, as far as practicable, greater facilities than now obtain should be given to enable young colonists to enter the Navy and the Army." In pursuance of this resolution the Admiralty undertook in connection with special naval agreements with Australia and New Zealand and the Cape and Natal that eight cadetships in the Navy should be given annually to the Commonwealth of Australia, two each to New Zealand and Cape Colony and one to Natal.

In regard to the very important subject of commercial relations a series of resolutions was passed. They recognised that in existing circumstances a general system of inter-Imperial Free Trade was not practicable, but that "the principle of preferential trade" within the Empire offered many advantages. That being so it was declared to be "desirable that those Colonies which have not already adopted such a policy should, as far as their circumstances permit, give substantial preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the United Kingdom," and, on the other hand, his Majesty's Government were respectfully urged by the Colonial Premiers to recognise "the expediency of granting in the United Kingdom preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the Colonies either by exemption from, or reduction of, duties now or hereafter imposed." The Colonial representatives expressed themselves prepared to recommend to their respective Parliaments preferential treatment of British goods on the following lines:—

Canada: The existing preference of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., and an additional preference on lists of selected articles: (a) by further reducing the duties in favour of the United Kingdom; (b) by raising the duties against foreign imports; (c) by imposing duties on certain foreign imports now on the free list.

Australia: Preferential treatment not yet defined as to nature or extent. New Zealand: A general preference by 10 per cent. all round reduction of the present duty on British manufactured goods, or an equivalent in respect of lists of

selected articles on the lines proposed by Canada, namely : (a) by further reducing the duties in favour of the United Kingdom ; (b) by raising the duties against foreign imports ; (c) by imposing duties on certain foreign imports now on the free list.

The Cape and Natal : A preference of 25 per cent. or its equivalent on dutiable goods other than specially rated articles to be given by increasing the duties on foreign imports.

In the same spirit it was resolved that in all Government contracts, whether in the case of the Colonial or the Imperial Governments, it was desirable that, as far as practicable, the products of the Empire should be preferred to the products of foreign countries ; and that steps should be taken to secure that the fullest practicable notice should be given within the Empire of the requirements and conditions of tender in the case of all such Government contracts as could not be filled in the country where the supplies were required.

Among the other resolutions passed at the conference were declarations in favour of the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures within the Empire, of the mutual protection of patents, of the reservation of rights of Governmental purchase in the case of future agreements as to cable communications, and of cheap postage within the Empire on all newspapers and periodicals published therein. The conference also resolved that it was desirable that the position of inter-Imperial mail services should be reviewed by the respective Governments, and that in all new contracts provisions should be inserted to prevent excessive freight charges, or any preference to foreigners, and to ensure a lien on suitable steamers for the service of his Majesty's Government in war time ; and further, that the attention of the Imperial and Colonial Governments should be directed to the general subject of the navigation laws and the advisability of refusing the privileges of coastwise trade, including trade from any British port to any other, to countries in which the corresponding trade is confined to ships of their own nationality.

Having regard to the very limited character of the material results of the conference in respect of participation of the Colonies in Imperial defence, no question arose of alteration in their political relations with the Mother Country. Yet even those persons who were the most disappointed that a moment fraught, as it seemed, with such great Imperial possibilities had been allowed to go by with so small a measure of realisation recognised that the augmented payments from most of the Colonies were a valuable recognition of a principle which might well be carried a great deal farther in future years. From the same point of view satisfaction was felt at the fact that in the forefront of the official summary of the results of the conference stood resolutions declaring that it would be "to the advantage of the Empire" if similar conferences "were held, as far as

practicable, at intervals not exceeding four years," for the discussion of questions of common interest, and that "so far as might be consistent with the confidential negotiation of treaties with foreign Powers, the views of the Colonies affected should be obtained in order that they may be in a better position to give adhesion to such treaties." The summary appropriately closed with the record of the substantial sums which the Colonial Premiers were ready to recommend to be voted by their respective Parliaments in aid of the memorial to Queen Victoria, the affectionate reverence for whose character and personality had been so powerful an influence in drawing together the various portions of the Empire over which she ruled. Towards that object the sums mentioned were: Dominion of Canada, 30,000*l.*; Commonwealth of Australia, reply not received in October; New Zealand, not less than 15,000*l.*; Cape Colony, 20,000*l.*; Natal, not exceeding 10,000*l.*; Newfoundland, 2,000*l.*

Reverting to domestic topics, the Trade Union Congress, held in London in the first week of September, calls for some brief notice. There was a certain air of depression pervading its meetings caused by the feeling that both the law, as declared by the House of Lords, in 1901, in the *Taff Vale* case, and also the general attitude of upper and middle class public opinion were unfavourable to the claims of organised labour. The result of this feeling showed itself in the discussion and vote on a resolution for compulsory arbitration in labour disputes. It appeared that among the members of the congress there was an impression that any Arbitration Court that might be set up by law would go against the workman, by reason of the "class," or "political," bias attributed to the judges who would naturally be asked to preside. In the end while the vote "by card"—that is, representing the number of constituents—was only 303,000, as compared with 333,000 for a similar resolution at the congress of 1901, the hostile majority had now risen from 724,000 to 961,000.

At the instance of the Parliamentary Committee, a long resolution was unanimously passed setting forth the general character of the legislation which the congress deemed necessary in order to put organised labour in a fair position for settling its differences with capital on its own account. Briefly, its effect would be to reverse the *Taff Vale* decision in regard to the pecuniary responsibility of unions; definitely to legalise "peaceful picketing and persuading"; to legalise also men's withdrawal of their labour, otherwise than in breach of contract, and the action of unions and their officials in sanctioning and advising such withdrawal; and to define the law of conspiracy clearly, "so that what is legal for one man to do shall not be either a criminal offence or an actionable wrong if done by many in combination."

The congress, however, it was clear, had little if any hope that the existing Parliament could be induced to legislate on

the lines just summarised. Accordingly keener interest than usual was shown in the advancement of direct labour representation, and a resolution was passed in favour of a conference of all *bond fide* labour organisations already engaged in connection with that movement, "to arrange a basis of common action of all labour representatives returned to Parliament, and to issue manifestoes in favour of Parliamentary candidates who are put forward by the aforesaid bodies," and generally to promote their election.

Both the late war and the Education Bill were condemned by the congress, and resolutions were passed urging closer inspection of places where out-work is taken from factories; the extension of the protection of the Factory Acts to servants at hotels, restaurants and public-houses; drastic legislation to secure the proper housing of the people; an extension of the system of workmen's trains, and representation of the workers on any body created for the administration of the Port of London.

Trade Union and other congresses are the normal incidents of Parliamentary recesses. The feature distinguishing the autumn holiday of 1902 from any which had been known for many years was the maintenance throughout its brief duration of a passionate agitation against the principal Government measure of the session. The great Ministerial defeat at North Leeds appeared to illustrate in a striking manner the possibilities early discerned by Mr. Asquith in the Education Bill of healing, at any rate for the time, the dissensions by which the Liberal party had so long been paralysed. Its virtue for that purpose was put to another and equally encouraging test by the election which occurred in another Conservative stronghold, the partly suburban and partly rural Kentish constituency of Sevenoaks. There Mr. H. W. Forster, whose seat had been vacated by his accepting a Lordship of the Treasury, was indeed re-elected, the votes recorded for him being 5,333 against 4,442 received by his Liberal opponent, Mr. Beaumont Morice. But his majority of 891 was less than a fifth of that which he secured at the general election of 1900. And even if the conditions of the 1900 contest were regarded as abnormal, and comparison was made with the next previous contested election in Sevenoaks, that of 1892, the figures from an Opposition point of view were very gratifying; for they showed that the votes for the Liberal candidate were 534 more than on that occasion, while those cast for Mr. Forster were 703 less. The very unlikeness of the two constituencies—North Leeds and Sevenoaks—strengthened the inferences drawn as to the unpopularity in the country at large of the Education Bill, which had been the main topic of controversy at both elections. Naturally enough efforts were made on a considerable scale to realise and utilise an influence so valuable from a party point of view. For several weeks, however, the agitation against the Bill was mainly under the inspiration

of militant Nonconformity. Its protagonists were the Rev. Dr. John Clifford, minister of Westbourne Park Baptist Chapel, and Dr. Robertson Nicol, editor of the *British Weekly*. The former by a series of letters in the *Daily News*, which itself strenuously promoted the agitation, and the latter by constant writing in his paper, sought to arouse Nonconformists throughout the country to action, based on the view that for them no such crisis had arisen since the legislation of the Restoration Parliament. They were careful indeed not to treat the question as one of interest only to Nonconformists, but to claim that the most sacred rights of British citizenship were involved. Dr. Clifford, for example, endeavoured to establish a close parallel between the attempt of Charles I., supported by Archbishop Laud, to obtain ship money without the authority of Parliament and a threatened attempt by Parliament, at the instance of a Government influenced by the Bishops, to charge the maintenance of the Voluntary Schools on the rates, while reserving to the denominations concerned a two-thirds majority on their boards of management. The leaders of the movement, and Dr. Nicol conspicuously, strove resolutely to arrange in advance for an organised refusal on the part of Nonconformists to pay rates levied under the conditions laid down in the Bill for the support, wholly or in part, of Voluntary Schools. All over the country Free Church Councils held meetings to consider the situation; and while in a certain number of cases they declined to commit themselves positively as to the course they would adopt, if the Bill became law practically unaltered, in many others resolutions were adopted pledging those who passed them to refuse payment of the obnoxious rate. In addition to this line of menace an attempt was made to induce County Councils to refuse to administer the Bill, unless it should be materially modified. In Wales three County Councils resolved that they could not accept the responsibility of administering the Bill if it passed in its existing form. No English County Council committed itself to any hypothetical refusal to carry out a law, but the evidences of bitter Nonconformist dislike to the settlement proposed by the Education Bill in regard to Voluntary Schools were not without effect, especially in parts of the country where Nonconformity had special strength. The West Riding Council went so far as to declare that the satisfactory administration of the Bill, as it stood, would be hopeless. Thirty-eight members of the Norfolk County Council, all Churchmen, including Sir W. Ffolkes, the chairman, Lord Cranworth, late chairman, and Mr. T. L. Hare, Conservative M.P. for South-West Norfolk, signed a memorial to the Primate, in which they asked his Grace's intervention with a view to the modification of the Bill, so as to mitigate the feeling of antagonism which in its present form it was producing among Nonconformists. They expressed their wish that a majority of managers of denominational schools

could be elective representatives of the county and parish, proper statutable reservation being made for the rights of the body owning the buildings. Failing that, however, they suggested that, whilst reserving the office of head teacher in Church Schools, where the Church School was the only school available, other posts should be open to all denominations, whatever the trust-deeds might otherwise direct; and that, in addition to Church teaching as at present provided, there should always be an alternative class conducted by one of the teachers on the staff in accordance with the Cowper-Temple Clause. The memorialists added that they were not without hope that if the Church set the example of considering the rights of parents, to whom the Conscience Clause offered only an unacceptable alternative, similar concessions would be accepted by the main body of Nonconformists with regard to other schools for parents who were Churchmen.

The principal popular demonstration in the country in connection with the agitation against the Bill was that held on Woodhouse Moor, Leeds (Sept. 20), on behalf of the Nonconformists and Liberals of the West Riding. Excursion trains were run from various districts into Leeds, and great multitudes assembled. They were addressed from five platforms, and with great unanimity passed a resolution denouncing the Bill for its destruction of School Boards, its abolition of direct popular control of rate- and tax-supported schools, and its proposal to "levy local rates everywhere in support of sectarian dogmas, ecclesiastical tests for teachers and clerical management." The resolution demanded that the Bill should be withdrawn or that Parliament should be dissolved. It was worthy of notice, however, that a few days later the Leeds City Council, by 31 votes to 25, refused to petition the Government for the withdrawal of the Bill. On the other hand the City Council of Nottingham and the Town Council of Leicester at about the same time passed resolutions condemning the provisions of the Bill in regard to Elementary Schools. More disquieting from the Ministerial point of view were indications of dissatisfaction among the Liberal Unionists of Birmingham, which were important enough in the eyes of Mr. Chamberlain to induce him to hold a partly private meeting of the party there (Oct. 9) for the discussion of the Bill. In the course of his opening speech, which was reported, he stated that the Bill would not be withdrawn, and that if it were defeated the Government would resign. (This and a telegram from Mr. Balfour to a like effect disposed of rumours that the Government had been intimidated by the agitation of the recess.) Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that the Government were pledged to give, under the Bill, the most entire popular control of secular instruction. As to the cry about the maintenance of religious tests for teachers in denominational schools when they were maintained out of the rates, he observed that practically there were such tests in the case of Board

Schools, and that it would be "almost repulsive" to allow children to be instructed in religion by teachers who did not believe in it. His own ideal had always been that the teaching provided by the National Schools should be secular only, but the deep-seated feeling of his fellow-countrymen, and of Non-conformists as much as any, rendered this impracticable. In the same connection he remarked that he was for religious equality, of course, but asked was it religious equality when Churchmen, Roman Catholics or Jews had to pay rates to provide a religious instruction (in Board Schools) which they did not approve, but might not have the religious instruction they desired. A private discussion which took place after Mr. Chamberlain's speech resulted, as was reported, in large majorities in favour of "popular control of secular instruction whilst safeguarding the religious instruction in accordance with the views of the founders," and leaving the election of the head teachers in the hands of the managers, with the view of safeguarding the religious instruction. The meeting also pronounced against the abolition of the Cowper-Temple clause, and for the appointment on the educational committees of the County Councils of a majority of members of the Councils. These votes were taken as replies to questions put by Mr. Chamberlain; but a large majority also voted in favour of a proposal that the majority of the management committees of Voluntary Schools, "so far as secular education is concerned," should be popularly elected. On the whole it appeared to be thought that the danger of any serious breach within the Liberal Unionist party on the subject of the Bill had been dispelled by the discussion, though it was tolerably evident that even the majority of them, over whom Mr. Chamberlain's influence was strongest, would prefer to see appreciable modifications of the Elementary School clauses of the Bill.

Nevertheless, it soon became evident that the opponents of the Bill had overshot their mark. But few meetings were held in the early autumn in support of the measure, but when on the eve of the re-assembling of Parliament the Prime Minister, at the annual meeting (Oct. 14) of the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations at Manchester, delivered a resolute fighting speech, its tone was welcomed with unmistakable cordiality, and that sentiment was widely echoed in the country and reflected in the mood in which Ministerial Members returned to Westminster. Two things were keenly resented, not merely among those who were specially interested in Voluntary Schools, but among the rank and file of Unionists, and were also deplored by all moderate Liberals. These were, first, the misrepresentation, amounting frequently to absolute perversion, in Nonconformist speeches and writings, of the plain effects of the Bill, in respect of its bearing on the influence of the clergy in the Elementary Schools; and, secondly, the strenuous attempt made to organise disobedience to the new education

law if it should be passed in the form to which Nonconformists took objection. When, therefore, Mr. Balfour at Manchester appealed to the majority in the House of Commons not to be deterred by "a few loud-mouthed speeches or mendacious pamphleteers" from carrying through a great educational reform, he struck a note which awakened an immediate and resolute response. At the same time Mr. Balfour intimated the readiness of the Government to consider amendments in harmony with the main purpose of the Bill—especially, for example, any directed to making fully effective the control to be exercised by the local authority over the secular teaching in Voluntary Schools. The disposition of the average citizen, moreover, to hold that the case against the Bill, as manifesting subservience to priests and indifference to the interests of education, had been vastly overstated was appreciably enhanced by the fact that so justly respected an educational Liberal as Mr. Haldane, in an article in the October number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*, while acknowledging that in his view the Church received too good terms under the Bill, nevertheless emphatically deprecated the idea of its failure to become law. Mr. Sidney Webb, another ardent educationist and an eminent author on economic and labour questions, with advanced sympathies, wrote in the same review strongly in favour of the Bill as a whole.

Before proceeding to deal with the autumn session, much the greater part of which was occupied with the Education Bill, there are a few incidents of the recess to be noted. An important step was taken by the Rhodes trustees in the selection of Dr. G. R. Parkin, C.M.G., for the duty of drafting a scheme for the establishment of the great group of scholarships at Oxford, from the Colonies and from the United States, for which, as recorded (p. 105), provision was made in Mr. Rhodes's will. Both Dr. Parkin's intimate knowledge of his native Dominion and his ardour for Imperial consolidation, of which for many years he had been one of the most distinguished and influential advocates, were illustrated in his valuable contribution on Canada to the *ANNUAL REGISTER* for 1901. Resigning the headship of the Upper Canada College, at Toronto, which he had held for several years with great success, Dr. Parkin gave himself to the work of conducting all the necessary inquiries and consultations in all the British Colonies and the States, and at Oxford itself, with a view to securing that the intentions of the founder should be carried out in the fullest and most satisfactory manner from every point of view.

In August there was issued a report of an unsensational but by no means unimportant character from the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament which had been appointed to consider the standing orders relating to houses occupied by persons of the labouring class, and the clauses usually inserted in private and local Bills and provisional order

confirmation Bills in pursuance thereof. Certain new forms would give effect to the conclusions of the committee, who were of opinion that in London it was desirable that every case in which houses of the labouring class were proposed to be taken should be notified to the central authority, while outside London it was sufficient that the attention of the central authority should be called to cases in which thirty persons belonging to the labouring class were displaced in one borough, urban district, or rural parish, as the case might be. In settling schemes for providing new houses in place of those demolished, the committee thought it advisable that the central authority should exercise a full discretion. "We recommend," they continued, "that the new houses to be provided be suitable for persons of the working class and not too ambitious in character and design; we attach much importance to these conditions. It will be observed that the area within which the new houses may be provided under a scheme is left by us wholly to the discretion of the central authority. It may be, and, we think, will be, found expedient in some cases to erect the new houses at some considerable distance from the houses demolished and not necessarily within the jurisdiction of the same local authority." The committee also recommended that in London the central authority should be empowered to fix all rents for the new houses.

Much interest was excited by the use to which Sir M. Hicks-Beach, in a speech at Bristol (Sept. 29), thought it his duty to apply his new freedom from Ministerial trammels. Having defended the Education Bill and said that he hoped Parliament and the courts of law would know how to deal with any nonsense like the talk of refusal to pay rates, the ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer deprecated the growth of national expenditure. He did not think that any enhancement in the shipbuilding vote should be required next year, and urged that the principle of short service and a great reserve, which had worked so satisfactorily in the Army, ought to be adopted in the Navy also, which would thus be made less costly in time of peace and equally efficient in time of war. Sir M. Hicks-Beach went on to say that no permanent increase in the strength of the Army seemed to him necessary. What was wanted was a drastic reform of the War Office, a reform of the military rather than of the civil element. We should never, he said, reform the War Office or the Army until we made the great mass of military officers pay more attention to the duties of their profession, and devote their lives to them, as did our naval officers; and until we removed all those outside influences which now interfered in the management of the Army, and with the selection for appointments and promotion—interferences which would never be tolerated in any well-organised department of the Civil Service.

It was naturally assumed that Sir M. Hicks-Beach based

these grave statements on very close knowledge derived from official experience. In any case the War Secretary could not leave such statements from a distinguished ex-colleague without notice, and accordingly, in a speech at Farnham (Oct. 3), he observed, with reference to what had fallen from Sir M. Hicks-Beach as to "outside influences," that he could not call to mind one single officer now serving among the first ten or twelve of the War Office who had not gained his position by field service, and he could answer for this regarding the new Army Corps, that in the appointments made to them they had had not only the counsel of the Commander-in-Chief, but, owing to the excellent understanding which existed between him and Lord Kitchener, they had the joint authority of Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener as to the advisability of appointing each particular man to the office he had got. With reference to some criticisms on the work of the War Office since the conclusion of peace, Mr. Brodrick begged the country to remember that within the last four months they had brought home from South Africa 140,000 men, or more than 1,000 a day. As to the alleged "scandal" of men waiting about for their pay and medals, it was no light task to trace every man belonging to very various units, and to see what was actually due to him and pay him off. He had, however, arranged that every man who could show a good case should receive 80 per cent. at once. As for the Reservists, he did not think that they had been badly treated. A man who had been called out at the beginning would now be going back with about 30*l.* in his pocket, and, during the time he had been up, his wife, if he had one, had been receiving a separation allowance of 10*s.* a week, besides help from private agencies. The War Office had arranged that men suffering from disease from climatic causes or from disease due to service should be treated like the wounded. The Government would take care that no man who had lost his employment through serving his country should starve in consequence. He had issued an order that every man who had been discharged since the end of the war who could not find employment and who desired to come back to the Colours should be allowed up to the end of the year to do so, and, if he was an unmarried man, to complete a ten years' engagement, or, if a married man, serve for a year, after which he might find the labour market less glutted than it might be during the coming winter.

Parliament reassembled on October 16. The Irish Nationalists appeared in a very angry mood, caused in particular by the conviction of certain of their number for offences under the Crimes Act, and generally by the extension by proclamations during the recess of the areas in which some of the principal special powers under that measure were put in force. One or two Irish scenes of exceptional disorder and violence took place, and a good deal of time was taken up, no economy in that respect being attained by the Prime Minister's refusing to give

of the consent of the local authority to the appointment of teachers, but that consent not to be withheld except on educational grounds; (d) the duty laid upon the school managers out of funds provided by them to "keep the school-house in good repair," and make such alterations and improvements in the buildings as might be reasonably required by the local education authority. This was all put in about sixteen lines. In the Act the same clause occupies about eighty-five lines. A good deal which is expressed in the eighty-five lines was implied in the sixteen; but the setting forth of several points in detail was calculated, it might be hoped, to guard against possibilities of misunderstanding and dispute. Thus the Government accepted or introduced amendments making it clear that the local authority would only be bound to maintain the Voluntary Schools so long as the specified conditions were complied with; mentioning as among the directions from the local authority which the managers must follow any relating to the number and educational qualifications of the teachers, and the dismissal of any teacher on educational grounds; prescribing that in the event of failure by the managers to obey any such direction, the local authority should have power to "carry out the direction in question as if they were the managers"; but requiring that "no direction given under this provision shall be such as to interfere with reasonable provision for religious instruction during school hours." Other new or enlarged subsections specified that the buildings of a Voluntary School were to be provided to the local educational authority free of charge for elementary school purposes, except as regarded the teacher's house (if any), for which, if used, a rent might be charged; that the local authority should also enjoy the free use of the same buildings out of school hours for other educational purposes on three days a week; and that the Voluntary School managers and the local authority should be mutually liable to make good any damage caused by out-of-school-hours occupations under their respective auspices, other than from wear and tear—such damage being to the school furniture in the case of use by the managers, to the rooms in case of use by the local authority. Further it was laid down that in Voluntary Schools assistant and pupil teachers might be appointed by the managers, if they thought fit, without reference to creed or denomination, and that competitions in such schools for pupil teachers' places should be determined by the local authority. The fulfilment by the managers of the provisions in this clause binding on them was also expressly made a condition of their obtaining a Parliamentary grant. The discussion of amendments embodying such points as those above recited of course took time, but a large part of the dozen or so sittings which Clause 8 occupied was consumed in debating and dividing on amendments which were directed, in some way or other, against the general scheme of the clause and the Bill. Such,

for example, were proposals giving the local authority the right to select which elementary schools it would maintain (rejected by 198 to 86); the right to appoint and dismiss teachers (rejected by 245 to 123), and the power to refuse assent to the appointment of teachers by the managers on any ground (and not merely on educational grounds)—which last was also defeated by 193 to 102. The idea that any sensible improvement had been introduced into the Bill by the changes above indicated, either individually or collectively, was put aside almost with contempt by the Opposition. Mr. Asquith, who with Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman attended a “United Liberal Demonstration” against the Bill at the Alexandra Palace (Nov. 1), when sympathisers with the object of the meeting estimated that from 15,000 to 18,000 were present, expressly declined to admit that anything like concessions had been made by the Government. The reservation to the Voluntary School managers of the right to charge rent for the houses of teachers was received by the Opposition in the Commons with expressions of indignant surprise, as an unworthily grasping claim on the part of the Church.

Discontent with the action of Ministers was, however, by no means confined, either in the House or in the country, to those who looked at the education question from the Liberal or anti-clerical point of view. On October 31 there was moved by Colonel Kenyon-Slaney (*Newport, Salop*) the following subsection (which was always afterwards known by his name): “Religious instruction shall be given in a school not provided by the local education authority in accordance with the tenour of the provisions of the trust-deed relating thereto, and shall be under the control of the managers.” The object of this provision, as its mover explained, was to place the control of the religious teaching under the whole body of the school managers, and so prevent the abuses which were possible if it were left, as it very commonly had been in the past, under the exclusive control of the parson of the parish. Sir W. Anson (*Oxford University*), Secretary of the Board of Education, accepted the amendment as embodying the policy of the Government, and making it clearer and more explicit. Lord E. Talbot (*Chichester, Sussex*), speaking more especially on behalf of Roman Catholics, protested strongly against the policy of giving laymen, who might not belong to the denomination to which the school was attached, a share in the control of religious instruction. Mr. Balfour did not believe that any friction would arise in practice with regard to Roman Catholic schools. He admitted that in Anglican schools there might be at long intervals cases of collision between the general body of the managers and the clergy. Almost all the difficulties that had arisen in connection with the religious teaching in Church of England schools were due to an abuse by a clergyman of his powers under the trust-deeds. The harm that was done when these abuses had occurred

was not to be measured in words, and the amendment would prevent their repetition. Lord H. Cecil (*Greenwich*) was afraid that outside the House the amendment would excite a feeling of bitterness and pain which it was very difficult for hon. members to appreciate. There were good men who had been doing their work in the schools from the best motives for many years, and who would feel that in this amendment a most unjust slur was cast upon them. The justification advanced for the amendment was what was truly called the unwise and improper use of their position by certain, a very small number, of the clergy, but he could not believe that it passed the wit of Parliament, supposing they were to deal with this question at all, to devise a remedy for the incumbents of, say, twenty parishes which would not upset and annoy and insult the incumbents of 11,000 parishes. The feeling of objection to the Kenyon-Slaney proposal was not altogether confined to Churchmen of a more or less High type. Sir J. Kennaway (*Honiton, Devon*), a representative Low Churchman, deprecated their asking the clergy to enter on the new educational situation to be established by the Bill "with a rope round their necks." Mr. Balfour left his followers free to vote as they pleased, but again indicated his own decided feeling in favour of the amendment, which, he contended, offered no kind of insult to the clergy; and it was carried by the overwhelming majority of 211 to 41.

To a large number of the clergy and of lay Churchmen outside Parliament there can be no doubt that this development of the Education Bill came as a shock, although it might not unfairly be maintained that the principle of the participation of the lay managers in the control of the religious education in Voluntary Schools had always been implied in the text of the Bill, and still more in Ministerial defences of it. For a week or two at the beginning of November there seemed almost a possibility that a gathering of London Churchmen summoned to be held in the Albert Hall on the 14th, in favour of the Bill, might become mainly a demonstration of protest against the form which the measure had now assumed. On November 5 there appeared in the *Times* an emphatic letter from the recently consecrated Bishop of Worcester (Dr. Gore), setting forth that "the introduction of a law by which a body of managers in each parish should have power to oust the clergyman from the religious teaching in a Church School, and to determine the character of the teaching, without any appeal to the Bishop as to whether the clergyman had been ousted on adequate grounds or whether the religious teaching proposed by the managers were teaching proper to the Church of England or no, is simply flat contrary to the principle of an Episcopalian Church. A school governed by such a law," continued Bishop Gore, "can no longer be rightly called a school managed on the principles of the Church of England. Doubtless Colonel Kenyon-Slaney's amendment is intended to dispose of certain unreasonable and

extravagant incumbents. Now I should not despair of being able to suggest a practical method of dealing with this small minority of individuals. But certainly the method suggested by Colonel Kenyon-Slaney and accepted by the Government is not consistent with the root principle of an Episcopalian body such as the Church of England."

The situation for a short time had a serious appearance. It soon became known, however, that the legal effect of the Kenyon-Slaney amendment was not regarded by the Government as correctly interpreted by the Bishop of Worcester, and at the great meeting of Churchmen held at the Albert Hall (Nov. 14) an announcement was made by the Bishop of London, who presided, which, though not expressly so stated, was quite well understood to convey the Government view on this important question. The position, Bishop Ingram said, he had ascertained on reliable authority to be as follows: "The Bill does not diminish the obligation of the managers to provide religious teaching in conformity with the trust-deeds; and if by the trust-deeds an appeal is given to the Bishop to determine in case of dispute whether the teaching is or is not in conformity with the trust-deed that appeal remains undisturbed." In the light of this statement the Bishops of London and Rochester encouraged the meeting to pass, and it did pass with practical unanimity, resolutions approving generally the Education Bill and particularly its treatment of denominational schools, but expressing the opinion, in view of recent occurrences, that "the duty of clergy and ministers to give and superintend religious instruction in the schools of their own respective denominations has not been sufficiently recognised and requires to be definitely safeguarded by the Bill." The resolution on this subject, it may be said, was moved by Lord Hugh Cecil, who had been the principal opponent of the Kenyon-Slaney amendment, but who on this occasion acknowledged that, however open to criticism that provision might be in principle, it "did not in practice menace denominational education in any more than a small number of schools, if any." Under all the circumstances, he maintained, Churchmen "would be foolish indeed if they threw the Bill away." So ended the brief vision of a possible Church agitation outside Parliament against the Bill as modified by the Kenyon-Slaney amendment. In Parliament, however, an endeavour to procure the excision of that provision was made more than once by Lord Hugh Cecil with much earnestness, and by others; but the minorities which they could muster in the House of Commons never exceeded forty-one. In the Lords, as may be mentioned at this point, the Kenyon-Slaney provision was, on the motion of the Lord Chancellor, amended so as to make it clear that an appeal would still lie to the denominational authority from the managing-board of any schools with trust-deeds providing for such an appeal, on the question whether the religious teach-

ing given was in accordance with the doctrines of the denomination concerned. But a further amendment moved by the Duke of Northumberland (Dec. 10) was not successful. This would have prevented the exclusion of an incumbent by the other school managers from the supervision or conduct of religious instruction in a Church school, unless (if the trustee gave an appeal) the express sanction of the Bishop were given to such exclusion. Lord Goschen supported the amendment and so did several Bishops, but it was opposed by the Duke of Devonshire on the ground that the Bishops had given no sufficient guarantee that their authority would be effectively exercised against indiscreet clergy in such cases. The Bishop of Winchester, indeed, did undertake, on behalf of the Episcopal bench, that they would support the lay-managers where they objected to the discharge of school duties by an incumbent who was really unfit for such work. The Duke of Devonshire, however, was not satisfied with this, having regard to the past, and the Duke of Northumberland's amendment was defeated by 96 to 65.

Reverting to the course of the Bill in the House of Commons, Clauses 9 and 10 (afterwards 8 and 9) excited a good deal of opposition. They dealt with the question of the provision of new schools, and their effect was to reserve to the Board of Education the authority to determine, on appeal either from the managers of an existing school, or from the local education authority, or from any ten ratepayers within any area for which it was proposed in any behalf to provide a new school, whether the proposed school was required and whether a school otherwise provided would be better suited to the wants of the district. In exercising this authority the Board of Education was directed "to have regard to the interests of secular instruction, to the wishes of parents as to the education of their children, and to the economy of the rates; but" (it was added) "a school for the time being recognised as a public elementary school shall not be considered unnecessary in which the number of scholars in average attendance, as computed by the Board of Education, is not less than thirty." The general object of these provisions appeared to be to secure that the future development of the elementary school system, in view of the increase of population and the development of new urban districts, should as far as possible be of a denominational or an undenominational character in accordance with the prevailing desire of the inhabitants, and also that there should be facilities for the provision of a new school where an existing school of either type had become so definitely distasteful to any substantial section of the inhabitants as to make an alternative one desirable. These provisions, however, were strenuously resisted by the Opposition, as being calculated to facilitate the multiplication of weak denominational schools. Any such intention was repudiated by the Government, and they were sustained by, for the most part, large majorities.

The strenuous character of the opposition to the Bill was partially remitted, and the discussions assumed a much more recognisably educational type while Clause 12 (afterwards 17), dealing with the constitution and powers of the Education Committees of the local authority, was before the House. The Government had considerably recast, on the whole in a democratic sense, their proposals in this regard. In particular it was made definitely clear that the really responsible local education authority was to be the directly elected County Council itself, and not its Education Committee, whose advice indeed it would be bound to ask but not to follow. The relations between the Council and its Education Committee were ultimately prescribed in the following subsection (2nd of Clause 17 in the Act), which was cordially approved by Lord E. Fitzmaurice (*Cricklade, Wilts*), one of the chief Liberal authorities on local government: "All matters relating to the exercise by the Council of their powers under this Act, except the power of raising a rate or borrowing money, shall stand referred to the Education Committee, and the Council, before exercising any such powers, shall, unless, in their opinion, the matter is urgent, receive and consider the report of the Education Committee with respect to the matter in question. The Council may also delegate to the Education Committee, with or without any restrictions or conditions as they think fit, any of their powers under this Act, except the power of raising a rate or borrowing money." The same clause stated that the Education Committees of local authorities should be constituted "in accordance with a scheme made by the Council and approved by the Board of Education," every such scheme providing: "(a) for the appointment by the Council of at least a majority of the Committee, and the persons so appointed shall be persons who are members of the Council, unless, in the case of a county, the Council shall otherwise determine; (b) for the appointment by the Council, on the nomination or recommendation, where it appears desirable, of other bodies (including associations of Voluntary Schools), of persons of experience in education, and of persons acquainted with the needs of the various kinds of schools in the area for which the Council acts; (c) for the inclusion of women as well as men among the members of the Committee; (d) for the appointment, if desirable, of members of School Boards existing at the time of the passing of the Act as members of the first Committee."

The above is the form in which the subsections quoted ultimately became law, (c) and (d) being accepted by Mr. Balfour during the discussions, and the terms of (a) and (b) being elaborated from the original draft. Later subsections of the same clause authorised the approval of the Board of Education to schemes providing for a separate Education Committee for any area within a county, or for a joint Education Committee for any area formed by a combination of counties, boroughs or urban districts, or parts thereof; and provided that, failing the

making and approval of a scheme for the constitution of an Education Committee within twelve months from the passing of the Bill, the Board of Education might deal with the matter through a provisional order.

By this time November 7 had been reached, and there still being a good many original and new clauses to be dealt with, Mr. Balfour moved (Nov. 11) a resolution for the closing "by compartments" of the remainder of the discussion of the Bill. Apparently, to enable the measure to be got through, and Parliament to rise before Christmas, some such plan was necessary, and the precedents cited showed that it had been resorted to in other cases after a much shorter period of discussion in Committee. There was felt, however, to be a painful truth in the remark of Mr. Healy (*Louth, N.*), who strongly supported the Government in regard to this Bill, that fresh evidence was now afforded of the inability of the House, in the present condition of affairs, to pass a first-class measure with the ordinary rules of debate. The closing resolution was passed by 222 to 103. On November 17 a new clause was moved by Mr. Balfour, embodying a further increase in the State contribution by way of "aid grant" to elementary education, and a corresponding reduction, adjusted so as to take greater effect in the poor districts, in the burden of rates likely to be imposed by the Bill. The new grant, which had been put (p. 169) at about 930,000*l.* a year, he proposed to raise to some 1,360,000*l.* This sum, with the existing aid grants of 860,000*l.*, was to be allotted by paying: (a) a sum equal to 4*s.* per scholar all round; (b) "an additional sum of 1½*d.* per scholar for every complete 2*d.* per scholar by which the amount which would be produced by a penny rate in the area of the authority falls short of 10*s.* a scholar. Provided that in estimating the produce of a penny rate in the area of a local education authority, not being a county borough, the rate shall be calculated on the county rate basis. . . . But if in any year the total amount of the Parliamentary grants payable to a local education authority would make the amount payable out of other sources by that authority on account of their expenses under Part III. of this Act less than the amount which would be produced by a rate of 3*d.* in the pound, the Parliamentary grants shall be decreased and the amounts payable out of other sources shall be increased by a sum equal in each case to half the difference."

Various points requiring regularisation in connection with Voluntary Schools in view of the position assigned them in the general framework of the Bill, as already indicated, were dealt with in further new clauses, touching, for example, the subject of endowments, the method of appointment of the foundation managers for whom a two-thirds majority had been secured on the boards of management after so much conflict, and other details such as the allocation of school fees in the comparatively few cases where they were still paid. In regard to endowments

the effect of the clause moved by the Government, and added to the Bill (Nov. 18) by 212 to 95, was to leave the discretion of trustees where that was already complete, unimpaired, but to lay down that where, under the terms of a trust "or other provisions affecting any endowment," its income was applicable wholly or in part to the maintenance of the work of the school, apart from the maintenance of the fabric, the income should, in the same proportion, be paid to the local authority, to be credited by them in relief of rates to the parish or parishes specially served by the school. In so far as the income was not affected by any such provision, it would remain under the discretion of the managers, and be applicable to such purposes as the repairs of the building, or to structural improvements. In the case of differences between the parties concerned as to the interpretation of the trust-deeds in this connection, the Board of Education would decide, first holding a public inquiry if desired by the local authority (Clause 13 of Act).

On the question of foundation managers, the clause carried by the Government (Nov. 20) prescribed that such managers should be appointed under the provisions of the trust-deeds of the school, but reserved power to the Board of Education to deal with cases in which the provisions of the trust-deeds as to the appointment of managers were in any respect inconsistent with the provisions of the Bill, or otherwise unsuitable, or where there was no trust-deed available. Any such order by the Board of Education might be made on the application of the existing owners, trustees or managers of the school made within a period of three months after the passing of the Act, and after that period on the application of the local education authority or any other person interested in the management of the school (Clause 11 of Act).

With regard to fees the arrangement proposed by the Government was to the effect that while the local authority should have it entirely within its discretion to decide whether fees should still be charged in any elementary school under its jurisdiction, if it authorised the continuance of the charge it should pay to the managers such proportion of the fees as might be agreed upon, or in default of such agreement determined by the Board of Education. The idea that any portion of the fees in such a case should go to the managers was treated by the Opposition as involving an extortionate claim on the part of the Church, and Mr. Middlemore (*Birmingham, N.*), a Unionist, took the same line. Sir W. Anson (*Oxford University*), Secretary to the Board of Education, however, maintained that the proposed arrangement was both convenient and just, and the clause was carried by 207 to 116 (Clause 14 of Act).

At the report stage of the Bill in the House of Commons no change of any importance was introduced. The Opposition raised again several issues previously determined, but with no change in the result. Nor, on the other hand, as already men-

tioned, were the opponents of the Kenyon-Slaney clause any more successful in their endeavour to secure reconsideration of that question. An interesting debate was raised on a clause moved by Lord H. Cecil with a view to securing the object, in itself unquestionably desirable, that children should be educated as far as possible in the religion which their parents desired. It would have directed that arrangements should be made in all schools to facilitate the withdrawal of scholars in order that they might receive religious instruction outside the school, and have enabled the local authority to require the managers to allow special religious instruction to be given inside the school wherever a reasonable number of parents demanded it. Mr. Balfour approved of the proposal in principle, but considered that in practice it would create much friction and controversy, besides which elementary teachers generally were against it. He therefore abstained from voting, and left his followers free to do as they pleased, with the result that the clause was rejected by 243 to 57.

In the nature of the case there could hardly be any feature of novelty in the debate in the House of Commons on the third reading of the Bill, which was carried soon after midnight (Dec. 3) by 246 to 123—exactly two to one. The second reading debate in the House of Lords on the other hand possessed both interest and incident, the latter of a very pathetic character. At the outset the Duke of Devonshire offered a vigorous vindication of the Bill, in the course of which he observed that it did not strengthen but diminished clerical control over elementary education. He appealed to the Peers to support the Bill because it gave effect to three main principles. In the first place it would put education under the control of similar and homogeneous authorities; in the next it gave those authorities the means of securing the efficiency of secular instruction; thirdly, it preserved the existence of those schools in which definite religious doctrine was taught. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Lord Spencer, who maintained that the clauses relating to secondary education were wholly inadequate. He deplored the destruction of the School Board system, and the prospective maintenance of tests for head teachers in Church schools, who would in future be practically State officials. This was a main cause of the Nonconformist uprising against the Bill. The venerable Primate then rose to support the second reading. He agreed in wishing that the Bill could have done something more definite for secondary education, but there was a considerable gain in feeling one's way, and the Bill did very well in the appointment of a body to deal with secondary, in such a manner as to put it into harmony with elementary, education. In regard to its treatment of Voluntary Schools, the Archbishop spoke very earnestly of the severe sacrifices made in their behalf by many of the clergy, and as a measure of relief he thought the Church had reason-

able cause for complaint that the Bill, though doing something, did not go nearly as far as it ought. Taken as a whole, however, it was an "honest and statesmanlike measure." Having uttered these words, Archbishop Temple, who had during his speech shown signs of physical weakness, swayed and fell back into his seat, but quickly recovering himself, he concluded by saying that he hoped the Peers would, in spite of any objections, pass the Bill into law that they might see how it worked. Amid sympathetic cheers his Grace resumed his seat, and was shortly afterwards assisted to leave the House, which he never again entered. The regretful sympathy excited by the scene just mentioned was generally intensified by the communication through the Bishop of Winchester, who spoke in the resumed debate on the following evening, of the Archbishop's desire to have it known that if bodily weakness had not prevented him from finishing his speech, he would have made an earnest appeal to clerical and lay managers alike, and all who were interested in the Voluntary Schools connected with the Church of England, to do their utmost to prevent the infliction of any hardship on Nonconformists. The Primate died, Dec. 23, universally mourned.

Lord Rosebery, who opposed the Bill, disputed the contention of the Government that there was no practical alternative to their scheme. He believed that the Nonconformists and the other opponents of the Bill would infinitely prefer the Scottish system, with its denominational character, to the Ministerial scheme. Or the Government might have adopted the plan in vogue in many of the Colonies, where they had Scripture lessons with facilities for dogmatic instruction at the beginning and end of school hours. The second reading was carried (Dec. 5) by 147 to 37. One Bishop, Dr. Percival of Hereford, was in the minority, and on the motion to go into Committee (Dec. 9) he delivered a speech of strong protest against the Bill as having given great strength to the opposition to the Church in the country, and having tended to destroy its spiritual influence. Still Bishop Percival said that when the Bill was passed he would do his best to administer it in his diocese in all honesty. Lord Rosebery, on the other hand, when receiving a deputation of Nonconformist opponents of the Bill at Spencer House (Dec. 8), used the following language: "I am not going," said his Lordship, "to utter my approval beforehand of any methods you may choose to adopt. I am not myself in favour of the refusal of the payment of rates; but then I am not in your position. I confess that if the Nonconformists of England submit tamely to the enactments of this Bill, I will not say that they would be weakened religiously; but I will say this—that in my judgment politically they will have ceased to exist." These observations of Lord Rosebery's were very unfavourably criticised in the Press and also in the House of Lords, and speaking there (Dec. 9) in support of an amendment by the Bishop of Hereford, which would have put the foundation

managers in a minority on the management of Voluntary Schools—which was defeated by 158 to 27—Lord Rosebery endeavoured to explain himself. His explanation was to the effect that he had only intended to urge the Nonconformists to shake off “insidious sloth,” and throw themselves as of old into active political agitation. It was generally thought, however, that for that limited object his language had been unfortunately chosen.

Two or three amendments of some importance were carried in the House of Lords. In Committee of the Commons on Clause 4 it had been provided on the motion of Sir W. Anson, then a private Member, that any secondary school, college or hostel provided by the local authority should be subject to the Cowper-Temple clause, *viz.*, that “no catechism or formulary distinctive of any particular denomination” should be taught therein. On the motion of Lord Goschen, however, and with the assent of the Government, words were added making an exception of cases where the local education authority at the request of parents or scholars allow any religious instruction to be given in such school, college or hostel otherwise than at the cost of the authority. This exception was objected to by Liberal peers, but carried by 107 to 14. Reference has already been made to the failure of attempts made to modify in its essence the Kenyon-Slaney sub-section. In this case the urgency of the claim pressed upon the Peers to consider the feelings of the clergy did not avail to secure more than 65 against 96 votes. On the other hand, while they thus decidedly refused to restore to the parochial clergy the position of independence which very many of them had enjoyed under school trust-deeds, the lay Lords supported the Bishops in such numbers as to defeat the Government on a question connected with the apportionment of the charges for repairs in Voluntary Schools.

As the Bill left the Commons it had placed upon the managers of Voluntary Schools the obligation of keeping them in good repair, and making such alterations and improvements in the buildings as might be reasonably required by the local education authority. It was represented, however, by the Bishop of London and others that in many cases this proposed charge, for repairs only, apart from any possible alterations or improvements, would involve a serious enhancement of their pecuniary burdens. A number of cases were adduced in which the charge for repairs had been substantially and even very largely in excess of the voluntary subscriptions. The Duke of Devonshire admitted that in certain cases the burden of repairs would be heavy, but deprecated any change in the Bill at this stage, the Government having done their best to make a generally equitable financial arrangement. Nevertheless, on the motion of the Bishop of Manchester, an amendment was carried by 114 to 88, providing that all damage due to the wear and tear connected with the occupation of schoolrooms by children for ele-

mentary school purposes should be made good by the local authority. It was estimated by the Bishop of Manchester that this modification would reduce the charge for repairs to the managers from about 700,000*l.* to about 350,000*l.* Of course the effect of this amendment was to throw a correspondingly increased charge upon local rates. But as the privileges of the House of Commons were understood to preclude the Upper House from directly introducing any provision involving any public financial burden, the Bishop of Manchester's sub-section, before it left the Upper House, was modified, on the motion of the Duke of Norfolk (by 56 to 17), by the addition of the words: "This obligation on the local education authority shall throw no additional charge on any public fund." The sub-section therefore went to the House of Commons in an avowedly meaningless form.

This procedure caused a good deal of irritation in the Commons, and was not much admired outside even by those who thought that the Voluntary School managers had a reasonable case for some such relief as the Bishop of Manchester's amendment aimed at securing for them. Mr. Balfour took a detached line, and left Ministerialists and even Ministers to vote as they liked on the subject, and the results were somewhat curious. By a majority of 194 to 165 an amendment moved by Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon Dist.*) was carried (Dec. 16) against Mr. Balfour's individual opinion. Its effect was to assign to the local authority the determination of the amount which it ought to pay for the fair wear and tear of any schoolroom through its use for elementary school purposes. The meaningless words added by the Duke of Norfolk to the Bishop of Manchester's amendment were struck out by 200 to 104, although Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman thought that they ought to stand "in their naked deformity and original absurdity." In his private capacity Mr. Balfour supported the amended amendment, acknowledging that until lately he had not fully realised the amount of the burdens which the Bill, while on the whole operating financially in favour of the Voluntary Schools, would impose upon some of them in the poorer districts. The Lords' amendment, as amended, was carried by 197 to 159; but the minority included Sir W. Anson, Mr. Arnold-Forster, Mr. A. Chamberlain, the Attorney-General (Sir R. Finlay), and some forty supporters of the Government. It would, moreover, probably have been a majority but for the fact that, under pressure of remonstrances from the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops, a large number of Irish Nationalist Members had returned to Westminster to support what were supposed to be the interests of the Voluntary Schools.

On December 17 Lord Hugh Cecil (*Greenwich*) made a final protest against the limitation placed by the Kenyon-Slaney provision upon the right of an incumbent to give religious instruction in a Church School. His language was very

vehement, and Mr. Balfour, in a dignified and effective reply, reiterated his contention that the general policy of the provision in question was the declared policy of the Bill from the beginning, and maintained that it was a policy which was really implied in the celebrated resolutions of the Joint Committee of the two Convocations in the summer of 1901. The Prime Minister also strongly deprecated the line of action foreshadowed by Lord H. Cecil as calculated to drive deeper the wedge which was unhappily separating certain classes of ecclesiastical opinion from the great body of the religious lay opinion of the country. Thus not without a touch of gloom passed the last day of this protracted legislative controversy. However opinions might differ on the issues involved, it was recognised on all hands that Mr. Balfour's Parliamentary reputation had been much enhanced by the skill, resource and temper with which he had conducted the Education Bill through the House of Commons. No point of disagreement arose between the two Houses, and the Bill received the Royal assent on December 18.

So also did the London Water Bill, as to which it has already been recorded that it was read a second time in the early part of the session in both Houses and referred to a Joint Committee. The Committee at first carried against the Government extensive alterations in the scheme of constitution for the Water Board, to which the Bill assigned the functions of acquiring by purchase and managing and carrying on the undertakings of the metropolitan water companies, and generally of supplying water within their areas. These alterations were, however, reversed at later sittings of the Committee, when equal numbers voted either way, and therefore, by the rules of the House of Lords' Committee, the original form of the Bill stood. The Bill did not come on for further discussion in the House of Commons until December, when it was considered at several sittings, but was very little altered in scope from the measure sketched by Mr. Long in February (see pp. 42-3). The number of Members who voted on Opposition amendments, of which many were moved, was generally under sixty, and often under forty. One or two changes were made which gratified Liberal feeling, *viz.*, the increase of the representatives of the London County Council on the Water Board from ten to fourteen, and the limitation of all metropolitan boroughs (except Westminster, which, as originally proposed, retained two members), to one each. The City and West Ham retained the two each originally proposed. The total of the appointed members was to be sixty-six, and there were to be a chairman and vice-chairman, who might be chosen from outside and salaried. An amendment was made, on the motion of Mr. Long, in Clause 15, providing that the Water Board should not, until Parliament otherwise determined, reduce the rates charged for the supply of water below those in force during the quarter

ended June 24, 1902, unless the Board were satisfied that such reduction would not cause a deficiency in the water fund; but the following direction was also added: "The Water Board shall, within three years after the appointed day, introduce into Parliament a Bill providing for uniform scales of charges applicable throughout the limits of supply." The appointed day for the transfer to the Board of the companies' undertakings was made June 24, 1904. The Board, it may be added, were directed to cause chemical and bacteriological examinations, and experiments as to the condition, of the water supplied by them. The Bill was read a third time by the Commons by 104 to 28 (Dec. 10) and underwent no alteration of importance in the House of Lords.

Another measure which Mr. G. Balfour, President of the Board of Trade, succeeded in passing, and which, with the Education, Licensing, and London Water Acts, received special mention in the King's Speech on the Prorogation (Dec. 18), was the Patents Act. This measure, which was based upon the report of a committee appointed by the Board of Trade, was well received, and after second reading it was examined by the Grand Committee on Trade, and had a smooth course to the Statute-Book. It provided for a limited official inquiry into the anticipation of an invention so far as disclosed by the records of the Patent Office over a period of fifty years, and if it appeared that the invention had been wholly or in part claimed or described in any previous complete specification, the applicant being informed thereof, might within a certain period amend his specification. These provisions, it was recognised, would be of important advantage to poor inventors. If the Comptroller of the Patent Office were ultimately not satisfied that the invention was new, he was empowered to determine whether a reference should be made in the specification to prior specifications by way of notice to the public. The above inquiries would not, however, in any case guarantee the validity of any patent. The Act further enabled any person to petition the Board of Trade, alleging that the reasonable requirements of the public in regard to a patented invention had not been satisfied, and, if the parties could not be brought to an agreement, the Board of Trade was empowered to refer the matter to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which might either order the patentee to grant licences, or even revoke the patent, but not the latter within three years of the date of the patent, or if the patentee could explain his default satisfactorily. An important advantage of these provisions was expected to be the discouragement of the very undesirable practice of some foreigners of taking out patents here with a view to checking the development of a process or industry in this country.

Another measure which became law earlier in the session was the Shop Clubs Bill, which, after second reading (see p. 98), was referred to the Grand Committee on Trade. In its final form it constituted it an offence punishable by fine for an em-

ployer to make it a condition of employment that any workman should discontinue his membership of any friendly society; or should not join any friendly society other than the shop club or thrift fund; or should join such club or fund unless it were registered under the Friendly Societies Act. Before certifying any such club or fund, the Registrar of Friendly Societies was required to ascertain that at least 75 per cent. of the workmen concerned desired its establishment, and to consider any objections they might make to the certification. A narrow majority in the Commons—155 to 142—retained (June 15), on report, a clause inserted in Grand Committee exempting from the operation of the Act compulsory membership of any superannuation fund, insurance, or other society, already existing for the benefit of the persons employed by any railway company, to the funds of which such company contributes. The Act also made provision to prevent pecuniary loss in the case of loss or relinquishment of employment by a workman, who was by the conditions of such employment a member of any shop club.

It should be recorded that, on the motion of Mr. Balfour, the new Sessional Orders, passed in the spring, giving power to the Speaker to adjourn the sitting when grave disorder arises; providing for the allocation of Parliamentary time as between the Government and unofficial members; regulating the procedure for the conduct of business in Supply and of private business, and making counts-out impossible at evening sittings before 10 o'clock, were converted (Dec. 1) into Standing Orders, after several divisions, by a final vote of 155 to 61.

So much space has necessarily been occupied by the treatment of the main business of a most protracted session that little more than mention can be made of other interesting incidents. On November 8 the House of Commons cheerfully voted a grant in aid of 8,000,000*l.* to the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies for expenses consequent upon the termination of the war. Of this large sum 3,000,000*l.* was for free grants to burghers of the late Republics in accordance with the terms of surrender; 2,000,000*l.* grants to other persons (but not companies or large firms) in respect of war losses in the new Colonies; and 3,000,000*l.* for loans to be advanced by the Colonial Governments to supplement the free grants. These advances would be repaid by the Colonies out of the first loan raised by them. In the course of his speech on the subject Mr. Chamberlain explained in regard to the war losses of loyalists in Natal that the Imperial Ministers had undertaken to repay the Government of that Colony the compensation they had given to loyal subjects injured by the invasion, and desired and intended that it should be given on a liberal scale. As to the Cape Colony also they had agreed that a contribution should be given to those loyal subjects who had suffered there through the first invasion. In regard to the second invasion, the Colony itself, they considered, must bear the responsibility. He stated,

amid loud cheers, that he was going to South Africa with the earnest desire to forget all that was controversial and to draw the kindred Boer people, with the British, into one great South African nation under the British Crown.

On November 24 the House of Commons was invited, on the motion of Mr. G. Balfour (*Leeds, Central*), President of the Board of Trade, to express its approval of the policy embodied in the Sugar Bounties Convention, signed at Brussels in March, 1902, and its readiness to adopt the necessary measures to enable his Majesty to carry out its provisions should the requisite ratifications by other Powers be given. The States agreeing to the Convention were, besides Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and Sweden. They undertook to suppress, within their own boundaries, from the date of the Convention's coming into force, all direct or indirect bounties on the production or exportation of sugar and sugar products, and to impose a special duty on the importation into their respective territories of sugars from countries granting bounties either on production or export. Such special duties were not to be less in amount than the bounties to be countervailed; and the contracting countries reserved the right to prohibit altogether the importation of bountied sugars. On the other hand they undertook to admit at the lowest rate sugars of any of the contracting countries (or their Colonies or Possessions) that did not grant bounties. In the final protocol Great Britain declared that during the period of operation of the Convention no bounty would be granted to sugars of the Crown Colonies, and no preference granted in the United Kingdom to Colonial sugars as against those of the contracting States, and that the Convention should be submitted through the British Government to the self-governing Colonies and the Indian Government, so that they might have an opportunity of adhering to it.

Mr. G. Balfour, in moving the resolution already mentioned in relation to the above Convention, saw no reason why, if bounties were abolished, much of West Indian prosperity might not be restored. Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*), in moving an amendment, protested against the proposed shutting, as he called it, of the "open door"; but Mr. Chamberlain, who held that the Government were bound to press for Parliamentary approval of the Convention, as a matter of good faith, asserted that their object was to maintain the natural course of production and exchange. As against Sir W. Harcourt's contention that the abolition of the bounties would cost the British consumer 7,000,000*l.* or 8,000,000*l.*, he argued that only a very small proportion of the cost could fall on the consumer, and that even that would be compensated for by regularity of prices. The amendment was defeated by 213 to 126, and Mr. G. Balfour's motion agreed to. It subsequently appeared, from an answer by Lord Cranborne (Dec. 10), that Russia, who had

held aloof from the Brussels Conference, and who was regarded as having a sugar bounty system in force, had intimated that she would consider an imposition of countervailing duties here upon her sugars as an infringement of the Commercial Treaty between the two Powers, and had suggested arbitration on the question. The British Government had replied that they could not agree that the case was a proper one for an arbitral tribunal, but were willing to denounce the Treaty of Commerce.

The report of the re-appointed Select Committee on the effect on British trade of the subsidies paid by foreign Governments to steamship companies and owners of sailing vessels was an interesting document. Among its leading conclusions were the following: That British steam shipping and trade had suffered to some extent from the cause in question, but had in the main held their own; that a general system of subsidies other than for services rendered is costly, and, for various reasons, inexpedient; but that in view of special Imperial considerations there is much to be said for subsidising a line to East Africa. No subsidy, however, should be granted by the British Government except on condition, (a) of adequate speed in the ships concerned; (b) that the whole or partial sale or hire of such ships cannot take place without permission of the Government; and (c) that the majority of the boards of directors of subsidised companies, and the captains, officers and a definite proportion of the crews of subsidised vessels, should be British subjects. Further, the Committee reported that, with a view to fair competition, Board of Trade regulations should be enforced against foreign equally with British ships, and that, if need be, regulations for the admission of foreign vessels to the home and colonial trade of our Empire should be used with the object of securing reciprocal advantages for British shipowners abroad.

On Christmas Day there was published an important Admiralty memorandum dealing with the subject of the education of officers for the Navy. Its broad effect was that candidates for commissions as executive officers in the Royal Navy, as naval engineer officers, and as officers in the Royal Marine Artillery and Light Infantry, would pass through the same course of training, and would not be assigned to the particular branch of the service to which they were to be afterwards attached until the final examination on the completion of that course. The range of the age of entry, which for naval cadets had been from fourteen and a half to fifteen and a half years, was to be reduced to from twelve to thirteen years. The period of training in the new Naval College was to be four years, after which the cadets would be distributed as midshipmen on board the seagoing men-of-war very much as hitherto. At the end of that time they would proceed to the Royal Naval College at Greenwich for a course of study in mathematics, navigation, etc., and thence they would go to Portsmouth to qualify in gunnery and torpedo work as hitherto. It was at this stage

that their careers would diverge, the choice of the particular branch of the service being left as far as possible to the taste of the individual officer. That the regular supply of officers to the fleet might not be interrupted, there must be a period of overlapping, during which candidates must be entered under both systems. From a pecuniary point of view, the prospects of officers of the executive line were left substantially unaltered, but those of candidates for the engineering branch and the two corps of Royal Marines were very materially improved. The whole idea was to promote a greater unity of spirit between the different commissioned branches of the Navy, while securing that as far as possible each branch should be recruited by those with the greatest aptitude for it. The first reception of Lord Selborne's scheme by public opinion was distinctly favourable.

The last month of the year was a period of considerable and quite unexpected irritation and uneasiness in the domain of foreign affairs. When early in November the German Emperor had paid a visit of some days' duration to King Edward at Sandringham, meeting there several of the principal Ministers of the Crown, a good deal of anxiety had been shown by the Press lest these interviews should be made the means of drawing England into the orbit of German alliances. The Prime Minister, in his speech at the Guildhall banquet on Lord Mayor's Day, not only took a highly optimistic view both of the Imperial and the general foreign outlook, but spoke very scornfully of the "fantastic imaginings" in which newspapers had indulged with regard to the purposes of the German Emperor's visit "to his nearest relative." The particular speculations which the Prime Minister had in view might have been as groundless as he suggested, but his language was the reverse of a preparation of the public mind for the fact to which it woke up early in December that England was involved in an alliance, or at least a pledged co-operation, with Germany for the coercion of Venezuela. On December 7 the British and German Governments handed in to the Government of Venezuela ultimatums which, if their demands were not conceded within forty-eight hours, were to be enforced by combined naval operations. In the Venezuelan section, written by Mr. Whates, of our American chapter information will be found as to the character of the troublesome relations between that half-civilised and wholly revolutionary State and this country. The British public might very possibly have been quite content to take it from their Foreign Office that the provocations committed by Venezuela, particularly in respect of the maltreatment of British ships and sailors, had reached a pitch requiring some forcible action on our part; but what caused profound and almost universal annoyance among Englishmen was the fact that his Majesty's Government had gone into the business of coercing Venezuela in alliance with a country which had shown itself during the South African war thoroughly ill-affected towards ourselves, and

had done so on conditions which apparently made it impossible for us to withdraw until German claims, which seemed to be very doubtfully on all fours with ours, were satisfied. Moreover, there was a general feeling that while, by ourselves, we might very possibly perform the necessary correction of Venezuela without awakening the susceptibility of the United States, there was an appreciable danger that through our association with Germany in so delicate a matter our excellent relations with the States might become unfortunately clouded. The Prime Minister in a speech which he made on a motion for the adjournment by Mr. Schwann (*Manchester, N.*) (Dec. 15), in view of the seizure of the Venezuelan fleet, hardly exhibited a full appreciation of the set of public opinion. He either did not know or could not inform the House what was the nature of the German claims against Venezuela, in addition to those of a financial character. He repudiated with some contempt what he understood to be the suggestion of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman that we might have co-operated with Germany on terms less hampering to our independence of action, and he assumed that in the circumstances co-operation with Germany was desirable and even unavoidable. Mr. Lee (*Fareham, Hants*), an independent Unionist, as the result of a long experience in the United States, expressed the belief that our Government ought to have considered the unfavourable character of United States feeling towards Germany before they appeared as an ally of Germany in enforcing these claims on a South American State. Such was the general opinion. Within the last fortnight of the year, however, there was a relaxation in what had been a very uncomfortable situation. Venezuela having offered to refer the claims upon her to arbitration, Great Britain was understood to be favourable to that proposal with proper safeguards; Germany was said to accept it in principle, though making several minor reservations, and both Powers expressed their desire that the arbitration should be conducted by President Roosevelt, to which President Castro of Venezuela agreed. President Roosevelt's acceptance of the position of arbitrator met, indeed, with so much objection in the States that it was understood to be unlikely that he would see his way to it. But, failing him, the Hague Tribunal, which he had suggested, was available; and the year closed with a general impression that in that way the Venezuelan difficulty would be arranged.

Before concluding this record of the events of 1902 it may be observed that the anxiety felt in the spring and early summer with regard to the Atlantic Shipping Combination had considerably subsided in the latter part of the year. That result had been, on the whole, promoted by the arrangements announced at Sheffield (Sept. 30) by Mr. G. Balfour, President of the Board of Trade, as having been made by the Government with the Cunard Company on the one hand and the Combination on the other. The Cunard Company, he said, pledged themselves to

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remain in every respect a British company, managed by British directors—the shares not to be transferred to any but British subjects. Their ships were to be officered by British officers. They also engaged to construct two vessels of twenty-four to twenty-five knots which, as well as the entire Cunard fleet, the Admiralty would have the right to charter or purchase at any time on terms fixed in the agreement. The money for the construction of the fast steamers would be advanced to the company at the rate of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest, while in lieu of the present Admiralty subvention—28,000*l.* a year for the contingent use of three ships—the company would receive 150,000*l.* a year. With Mr. Pierpont Morgan, the head of the Shipping Combination, who had shown the utmost readiness to meet the wishes of his Majesty's Government, it had been agreed that the British companies in the Combination should remain British, not merely in name but in reality. The majority of their directors were to be British subjects. All their ships now flying the British flag were to continue to fly it, and at least one-half of those hereafter to be built for the Combination would likewise fly British colours, be commanded by British officers, and manned in reasonable proportion by British sailors. On the other hand, the combined companies would continue to be treated, as heretofore, on a footing of equality with other British companies in respect of any services, whether postal, or military, or naval, which his Majesty's Government might require from the British mercantile marine. It had been further stipulated that in the event of the Combination pursuing a policy hostile to our mercantile marine or to British trade, the King's Government should have the right to terminate the agreement. The agreements both with the Cunard Company and with the Combination were for a period of twenty years (with the Cunard Company for twenty years from the completion of the second fast vessel). With the Combination the agreement could be prolonged with a notice of five years on either side.

On the whole it might reasonably be held that the Coronation year, which had seen the establishment of peace in all South Africa under the British flag, the conference with the Colonial Premiers, the Japanese Alliance, and the conclusion of a Commercial Treaty with China—all of which features of its course were recorded with suitable expressions of satisfaction in the King's Speech on the Prorogation (Dec. 18)—left the British Empire in a position of enhanced advantage for purposes of defence, consolidation and trade development.

CHAPTER VI.

SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

I. SCOTLAND.

THE accentuation of differences among Liberal leaders, which issued in Lord Rosebery's letter to the *Times* in February announcing, or accepting, a "definite separation" between himself and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, was, perhaps, taken more seriously by the rank and file of the party concerned in North than in South Britain. It was in Glasgow that Lord Rosebery addressed his first important meeting after that declaration, and expounded the objects of the Liberal League formed to permeate the Liberal party, from within, with the views and temper of a sane Imperialism; and in the same city there was early formed a branch of the new organisation. Another sprang up in Edinburgh, and the members of both bodies evolved an amount of activity fully equalling, if not surpassing, the subsequent desires of the Liberal Imperialist leaders. Towards the neutralisation of the influences brought to bear by the Liberal Leaguers, and the maintenance of the party on more purely Gladstonian lines, the efforts of a society calling themselves the Young Scots were directed. No opinion could with much confidence be hazarded as to the comparative success of these competing propagandas, but there could be no doubt that that of the Liberal League was more in harmony than its rivals' with the temper which the Scottish people had for years shown on Imperial questions. Neither of them appeared to come up to the political standards of the majority of those really young Scots who, with or without the aid furnished by Mr. Carnegie's benefaction, were receiving the highest academic training. For while in England, whether in consequence of discontent at the Education Bill, or the corn duty, or out of mere desire for a change, or the hope that another set of Ministers would be more efficient, the electors in several constituencies exhibited a decided growth of anti-Ministerial feeling, at the Scottish universities there was a distinctly Unionist demonstration. At Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Wyndham and Sir Robert Finlay were elected Lord Rectors against Mr. Asquith, Mr. Morley and Sir Edward Grey respectively. To set against these moral and prospective gains, however, the Ministerial party lost one actual Scottish seat—that for Orkney and Shetland. For these island groups Mr. J. C. Wason was returned in 1900 as a Liberal Unionist. In the summer of 1900 he went into Opposition with reference to the Education Bill and other matters, and after a certain interval resigned his seat and offered himself again to the constituency as an Independent Liberal. He was returned in October by a much

increased majority, the votes recorded for him being 2,412 as against 2,001 for Mr. McKinnon Wood, the official Liberal candidate, and 740 for Mr. T. W. S. Angier (C.).

In commerce and manufactures the year was on the whole a good one for Scotland, the shipbuilding, iron and steel, and mining industries all having been prosperous, and happily free from serious labour disputes. The trade outlook, however, was not considered generally promising for 1903. In Glasgow the year was marked by an active agitation conducted by a body calling itself the Citizens' Union, against the policy of municipal socialism, particularly as embodied in a great housing scheme on the part of the Corporation, which was to involve the purchase of fifty acres within or without the city, and power to expend three quarters of a million. The results of the municipal elections at the beginning of November were not altogether decisive, as, while the candidates favourable to municipalisation on a large scale were on the whole victorious, the most influential exponent of that policy, Lord Provost Chisholm, was beaten by over 1,000 votes by Mr. Scott Gibson, in the Woodside Ward. A few days later, however, the housing project of the Corporation received for the time, at any rate, a fatal blow by the decision of the Parliamentary Commissioners who, under the Scottish Private Bill Procedure Regulations, had inquired into the Provisional Order promoted by the Corporation. The Commissioners found the preamble, so far as concerned the acquisition of land, not proved, and only authorised the raising of 150,000*l.* (instead of 750,000*l.*) with a view to completing certain housing schemes connected with the Act obtained by the Corporation in 1897.

The fourth report of the Scottish Congested Districts Board for the year ending March 31, 1902, bore testimony to the continued prosecution of much beneficent work in the Highlands and Islands. This included the enlargement of crofters' holdings, and the creation of new holdings, on the mainland and in the islands, the distribution of potato seed and seed oats, the conduct of potato-spraying experiments, advantageous in regard alike to yield and to protection from blight, in the outer Hebrides, the encouragement of a beginning in the cultivation of turnips and other vegetables in Lewis, additions to the number of rams, bulls and stallions available for use in the congested districts, and grants for boatslips, pier additions, beacons, guiding lights, and other marine works at various places on the wild Northern coasts. The income of the Board for the year (including a balance of 61,867*l.* at April 1, 1901) was 115,242*l.*, and the expenditure 43,484*l.* (of which 11,883*l.*, being loans, would be repaid to the Board), leaving a balance of 71,758*l.*

A further attempt on the part of the small dissentient minority of the Free Church to secure the funds and property held by the Free Church before its union with the United Presbyterian Church was defeated by the Second Division of

the Court of Session, which decided (July 4) that the regularity of the proceedings on the part of the majority of the Free Church Assembly leading up to the formation of the United Free Church could not be impugned. The peace of the United Church was much disturbed by an attempt to "libel" for heresy, in connection with Higher Criticism of the Old Testament, Dr. George Adam Smith, a highly esteemed professor in the Church's theological seminary at Glasgow. The proceedings with that object failed, both in the college committee, which supervises the United Free Church seminaries, and afterwards in the General Assembly, where by a large majority a motion endorsing the finding of the college committee, while mildly suggesting a little more prudence to Professor Smith in future, was carried against a resolution for further investigation. It was observed with concern, however, that the Sustentation Fund of the United Free Church was on a down grade.

II. IRELAND.

At its close it seemed conceivable that the year 1902 would be reckoned one of exceptional importance in Irish history, as having furnished a turning-point whence a start had become really possible towards a social and economic development happier than Ireland had hitherto known. But much of its course was gloomy and menacing in a high degree. Several Members of Parliament had been prosecuted before resident magistrates in December, 1901, for taking part in unlawful assemblies in connection with the agrarian agitation of the United Irish League, and sentenced to short terms of imprisonment. It did not lessen the difficulties of the Government, in attempting to deal with the agitation under the ordinary law, that when some of these cases came before the Irish High Court on appeal in February, while the convictions were indeed confirmed, Chief Baron Palles, a judge highly respected for his independence and learning, dissented, and pronounced it as his opinion that the proceedings were illegal and void. Only a few days later, at the Spring Assizes at Sligo, Carrick-on-Shannon, Nenagh and Longford, attention was directed by the judges (Justices Andrews, Kenny, Madden and Lord Justice Fitz-Gibbon), in addressing the Grand Juries, to the increasing prevalence of boycotting and combinations interfering with personal liberty. There was no doubt that the strength of the United Irish League organisation was growing and its spirit becoming increasingly defiant. According to its own published statements (April 2) as many as sixty new branches were formed in the first three months of the year and hundreds of those established had contributed to a special fund for the defence of persons who might be prosecuted under the Crimes Act. At the annual meeting in Dublin (April 10) of the Irish Unionist Alliance very strong observations were made, in the report of

the Executive Committee and by well-known speakers like Professor Dowden and Mr. Macartney, M.P., as to the urgent necessity for an employment by the Government of the powers in their possession for the protection of loyal and law-abiding citizens.

No surprise indeed was felt in any quarter when the Lord-Lieutenant issued proclamations (April 16) putting into force several of the leading provisions of the Crimes Act of 1887, relating to special juries, change of venue, and summary jurisdiction in cases of intimidation and illegal conspiracy, over extensive areas. They included, with some variation as to the powers called into requisition in different places, the counties of Cavan, Clare, Cork, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon, Sligo, Tipperary and Waterford, and the cities of Cork and Waterford. This step on the part of the Government was received with speeches of more than usual violence on the part of Nationalist politicians. Shortly before it was taken the announcement had been made that, acting on the advice of his Ministers, the King had decided not to visit Ireland (as he had contemplated doing) during the year. Doubts were felt among British Unionists on the question of, as it might be thought, punishing Ireland socially for the display of discourtesy and even brutality on the part of a group of politicians on the occasion of the announcement of Lord Methuen's disaster (see p. 86); but when the Irish situation as a whole was considered, it appeared very possible that the advice given to his Majesty was, in truth, most in accord with his comfort and the fitness of things.

The situation did not improve during the summer; indeed, it appeared in some respects to become increasingly strained. A number of evictions took place on the Frenchpark Estate of Lord De Freyne in County Sligo. It was hardly alleged that the De Freyne tenantry could not pay their rents as reduced by the Land Courts, but only that it was intolerable that they should see near neighbours paying at rates, either in rent or in purchase instalments, still further reduced as compared with their own burdens, through the action of the Congested Districts Board, who had bought the adjoining estate from Lord Dillon.

In connection with this dispute, evidence was afforded of efforts towards a concentration of forces on the landlords' side with a view to more aggressive action against the United League. Lord De Freyne, it was announced, would seek injunctions in the High Court against Mr. Redmond and other Parliamentary members of the League to restrain them from interfering with his tenants and inciting them to resist lawful demands, and it was understood that this step was taken in pursuance of the policy of a new Landlords' Trust, formed (with the hope of securing a capital of 100,000*l.*) for the purpose of defending the rights of all law-abiding people against organised intimidation. Mr. Redmond and his friends replied with notices of legal proceedings against the chief members of the

Landlords' Trust. At the same time the campaign of the League was vigorously prosecuted in the country, and was powerfully aided by the publication in newspapers of notices of boycotting sentences directed against individuals who failed to obey the injunctions of the local branches of the organisation. It was with the special object of checking this practice, as pursued in particular by Mr. William O'Brien's paper, the *Irish People*, that in a proclamation (Sept. 1) further extending the operation of the Crimes Act, and making the total area so dealt with more than half of Ireland, the city of Dublin was included. At a great demonstration in the Phoenix Park this action on the part of the Executive was denounced as a flagrant insult to an exceptionally orderly and crimeless community; and Mr. Wyndham, the Chief Secretary, who had lately become a member of the Cabinet, which did not include Lord Dudley, who had been appointed to succeed Lord Cadogan as Viceroy, was held up as the principal object of public reprobation. The action taken, however, under the Crimes Act proclamations, for the prevention of the newspaper publication of boycotting notices from Dublin as well as other centres, and the general pressure exercised by summary prosecutions and sentences, not very severe but very inconvenient and disagreeable, against the local organisers of intimidation up and down the country, unquestionably exercised a very considerable effect in checking the agrarian agitation.

Meanwhile, however, there had appeared indications, at first mainly on the landlords' side, and, as it seemed, in not very influential quarters, of a desire to seek a termination of the age-long dispute between themselves and their tenants, if that could be done on other conditions than those of financial ruin to themselves. In August Captain Shawe-Taylor, of Castle Taylor, County Galway, addressed a letter to a number of landlords and to Mr. Redmond and other professed exponents of the tenants' point of view, proposing that a conference should be held between a few selected representatives of both sides with a view to a settlement. The published replies which he received from leading men on either side appeared by no means encouraging. He was not to be discouraged, however, and about the same time some landlords in the South-West, including Mr. Talbot-Crosbie, of Ardfert Abbey, and Mr. S. H. Butcher, met together and passed resolutions in favour of a conference with representatives of the tenants as to the terms on which the latter might fairly become proprietors. The movement thus started went forward, despite the frowns of great proprietors, and even the scornful suggestion made by Mr. Redmond, speaking at Waterford (Sept. 11), that it was a "white flag" held out by a section of landlords. It was encouraged rather than otherwise by the terms of a brief statement on the subject issued a few days earlier by the Chief Secretary. "No Government," he said, "could settle the Irish land question, it must be 'settled' by

the parties interested. The extent of useful action on the part of any Government was limited to providing facilities so far as that might be possible for giving effect to any 'settlement' arrived at by those parties. . . . Any conference was a step in the right direction, if it brought the prospect of a settlement between the parties nearer, and in so far as it enlarged the prospect of the probable scope of operations under such a settlement." The movement advanced, supported on the popular side by the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. T. C. Harrington), by Mr. Healy and by Mr. T. W. Russell; and on the landlords' side by an increasing number of adherents, not a few of them with well-known names. Thus Lord Monteagle wrote at the end of September that the *non-possumus* attitude of the Convention landlords, such as the Duke of Abercorn, Lord Barrymore, and Colonel Saunderson, did not, he was convinced, represent the feeling general among Munster landlords. And at a large meeting of the Landowners' Convention (Oct. 10) it was Lord Mayo who moved a resolution in favour of a conference. By 77 to 14 an amendment was carried declaring that, as the Convention had just set forth in a series of resolutions the nature of the settlement which, as they believed, the majority of landlords would accept, they could not see that any good would result from a conference. At the same time, in another resolution, passed almost unanimously, the Convention declared that they would welcome a statement on behalf of the tenants as to the solution of existing difficulties. Their own statement pronounced, among other things, that land purchase ought to be carried through, on the one hand, "without expense and additional loss" to the landlords, and on the other hand that "to make this possible, on terms acceptable to the tenants, the amount of the purchase instalment should be reduced from 4 per cent. to $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., or to such rate as would secure the maintenance of an annuity decreasing by fixed amounts at fixed periods."

On November 12 a verdict was given in the Tallow conspiracy case, which opened up a prospect of successful resistance, under the ordinary law, to intimidating combinations such as had never before been realised. One O'Keeffe, a tradesman in the small town of Tallow, County Waterford, after more than one abortive action, obtained against ten defendants, from a County Dublin special jury, a verdict of 5,500*l.* damages for the ruin of his business through a boycotting conspiracy. The case was rendered the more impressive by two facts: first, that the jury were charged very strongly against the defendants by Chief Baron Palles, whose impartiality could not conceivably be impugned; and, secondly, that an article in the *Freeman's Journal*, complaining that that eminent judge made an "abstract fetish" of the law, and that no great social or administrative reform could be achieved without injury to any individual or class, was condemned as "simply deplorable" by the Roman Catholic Archbishop (Walsh) of Dublin.

Without doubt this whole incident was a serious blow to the prospect of maintaining agitations largely dependent on intimidation, and may therefore be supposed to have exercised an influence on the minds of the Nationalist leaders in the direction of seeking a pacific settlement. Circulars issued by the landlord promoters of a conference afforded a distinct presumption that the preponderance of proprietorial opinion was in favour of that course. Out of 4,000 of the considerable landlords to whom circulars were sent, 1,704 replied, and of these 1,128 pronounced for the conference proposed. A committee formed to promote the conference had as its head Lord Dunraven, and included the Earls of Meath, Mayo and Donoughmore, Viscount Powerscourt, Lords Rossmore, Mont-eagle and Castletown of Upper Ossory, as well as a number of untitled landlords, and they proceeded to make the necessary arrangements in disregard of unfavourable criticism from the rigid executive of the Landlords' Convention. Voting papers were issued to the Irish landlords, with the result that the Earls of Dunraven and Mayo, Colonel Hutchinson Poe and Colonel Nugent Everard were nominated as their representatives. On the tenants' side the Nationalist members acquiesced in Mr. J. Redmond's proposal that he, Mr. W. O'Brien, the Lord Mayor (Mr. T. C. Harrington) of Dublin and Mr. T. W. Russell should act as representatives. The conference met for the first time on December 20, and elected Lord Dunraven as its chairman, and Captain Shawe-Taylor, one of its chief pioneers, as hon. secretary. The proceedings were private, and had not been completed by the end of the year; but it was understood that there had been a unanimous agreement on the principle of the total abolition of dual ownership in land. The steps proposed towards that object will form part of the next year's story.

From an economic point of view, the year was, on the whole, though with considerable exceptions, a good one for Ireland. The principal crops were all decidedly good except the potatoes, which were from 20 to 30 per cent. below the average, and unfortunately suffered from blight in some of the poor Western districts, with a certain amount of resulting distress. The exports of cattle, largely through a much improved demand for store cattle from Great Britain, rose from rather under 600,000 in the first eleven months of 1901 to little short of 900,000 in the same months of 1902, and the exports of sheep and swine rose by 206,057 and 37,933 respectively. Agricultural co-operation continued to make progress, so as in one way or another to include not far from all the farmers of Ireland, and the dairy, poultry farming and other industries thus aided had a successful year. On the other hand, the recent satisfactory progress in the acreage under flax was not maintained. The brown power-loom linen trade experienced a substantial increase in volume and some improvement in prices, and the year closed with a hopeful outlook for this branch of Belfast's old-established industry.

The white linen manufacture continued to exhibit dimensions sadly shrunken from its former estate, and, with a decline in its exports, showed no signs of revival, though there was some hope of an improved home demand. On the other hand, the shipbuilding industry of Belfast had a year of great activity, resulting in the very remarkable fact that not only was Messrs. Harland & Wolff's total output in tonnage again at the head of the shipbuilding of the world, but the second place was secured by the other Belfast firm, Messrs. Workman & Clark. At the other end of Ireland, the marked success of the Cork Exhibition gave most satisfactory evidence of the organising gifts of Irishmen when they can co-operate without party divisions, and illustrated the excellent results of the stimulus given in recent years by Mr. Horace Plunkett, and by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction over which he presides, to the development of the various industrial capacities of the Irish people.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

FINANCE AND TRADE.

THE South African war has had so momentous an influence on the finances of the United Kingdom that the year in which that long struggle came to an end will always be memorable. A war which lasts for two years and a half and costs 223,000,000*l.*, without counting the very large expenses of repairing its ravages, is a financial, as well as a political, event of the first magnitude. The United Kingdom has stood the strain upon its resources and credit better than was expected by many good judges, better than probably any other country in the world would have done, but it will not be in a position again to meet so exhausting a drain for many years to come. Even the richest country in the world cannot see 150,000,000*l.* added to its debt in the course of thirty-one months without misgivings as to what would happen if it were shortly called upon to raise as much more.

The price of the principal British security—the 2½ per cent. Consols—is usually taken as a financial measure or barometer in any year, but this security has not been a trustworthy guide lately. The rate of interest will be automatically scaled down to 2½ per cent. in April, 1903, and much of the fall which has taken place since 1899 must be set down to the realisation by investors that the income yielded by Consols was shortly to be reduced by about 9 per cent. In 1899 the highest price reached was 111½ and the lowest point yet touched has been 91 in July, 1901. After making the most liberal allowance for the prospective decline in the rate of interest it will be seen that the war with its borrowings was responsible for a reduction of at least 10 per cent. in the value of Consols. At the beginning

of 1902 the price was $91\frac{1}{4}$ and though the quotation rose to $97\frac{1}{8}$ soon after the surrender of the Boers on May 31, yet the impetus was soon lost, and at the close of the year stock changed hands at $93\frac{5}{8}$. The steadiness of the price during the last half of the year was a striking feature and there was little movement either above or below an average of 93. Peace, from which so much was expected, brought in fact very little. So far from a "boom" in the Stock Exchange following the conclusion of war, there was, if anything, rather more stagnation after it than when it was going on. The British Government's borrowings and the heavy taxation had drawn so much money from the ordinary investment and speculative channels that they had run almost dry and we have still to wait for a flood. The latest addition to the Government's fixed borrowings was made in April, when 32,000,000*l.* of Consols were issued at $93\frac{1}{2}$. One half was allotted to large financial houses in England and America and the other half offered to the public. The loan was readily taken up. The price of issue was 1*l.* lower than that at which the 60,000,000*l.* issue in 1901 was placed.

I have no space at my disposal to go through the features of all the Stock Markets, but as the war so materially affected the South African mines it is necessary to make some reference to them. The expectation that great activity would take place as soon as peace was signalled has been entirely falsified. At the close of 1902 the prices of the principal shares were lower than at the beginning of the year and lower than at the time when peace was announced. The reasons for this rather striking fact are simple. As soon as the mines recommenced crushing it became apparent that the difficulties of obtaining native labour in large quantities—always serious—was to become almost insuperable. The native labour supply in South Africa is limited and the new Governments in the conquered Colonies had so much need of labour themselves and paid such high prices for it that the Kaffirs were unwilling to go underground. Added to this was the extraordinary folly of the mine managers in reducing the rate of wages as compared with the scale paid before the war. It is alleged in many quarters that the wages were reduced in order that labour might not be forthcoming and that the mine owners might plead their inability to work the mines when called upon to pay something towards the cost of the war. It is true that they had reason to fear a strong demand from the British taxpayer, a demand which has since expressed itself in the concrete form of 30,000,000*l.*, but they could hardly have supposed that anyone would have been deceived by such a childish ruse as the deliberate choking off of the labour supply. I venture to think that, as has often happened before, they miscalculated the extent to which other fields of labour would develop and really believed that after the war they would get the natives cheaply. It is already plain that the labour difficulty is a most serious one

and that the future of South Africa must depend largely on how it is solved. White unskilled labour has been tried and pronounced to be too expensive and a futile demand for Chinese coolies is being raised. Until the problem is solved the public in the United Kingdom will not put more money into South African mining shares.

The market in home railway stocks has been unusually interesting. The vitality of the internal trade of the country has been seen in large increases in the gross earnings of nearly all the principal railways. But the increase in expenditure has to some extent counteracted the growth in the receipts, so that the net earnings, though a good deal better than in 1901, were a disappointment to the majority of stockholders. The final results were not so unfavourable as was anticipated in the autumn, when a great deal of selling went on, and the management of the companies came in for much adverse criticism. There are already signs that this criticism has had good effects, and railway directors display a greater readiness to encourage co-operation between the companies, instead of blind competition, and to take the public more fully into their confidence. Since the year closed the goodwill of the investing classes has been partially restored, and the market for railway stocks has much strengthened. American activity in this department is shown by the interest taken in underground lines in London. The Metropolitan District Company is now working in harmony with the projectors of a vast system of underground "tubes"—controlled by Messrs. Speyer Brothers—and the same firm of financiers has acquired a controlling interest in the system of electric tramways which is spreading fast over Middlesex. The firm of Morgan, so prominent in other directions, has for the time been ousted by its rivals from a control of London's traffic, and though American control remains, British interests are more strongly represented in the Speyer-Yerkes system than they would have been had Messrs. Morgan obtained their way. There does not appear to be any objection to London obtaining the benefits of American experience, provided that it is not merely turned into a sort of cockpit for the fights of American financiers.

The foreign trade during 1902 has been much more prosperous than many people would have ventured to prophesy a year ago. In spite of three "Coronation" holidays and the disturbance to trade caused by the postponement of the ceremony in June, the total volume of foreign trade was 878,210,948*l.*, as compared with 870,584,718*l.* in 1901 and 877,448,917*l.* in 1900. The total figures for 1902 establish a "record," a position which was previously held by the figures for 1900. The imports were 528,860,284*l.*, or 1·3 per cent. higher than those for the previous year; and the exports of 283,539,980*l.* showed an increase of 1·2 per cent. The re-exports of colonial and foreign produce were rather lower, at 65,810,684*l.* against 67,846,843*l.* The average

prices of food and materials were slightly lower last year than in 1901 and about 7 per cent. lower than in 1900, so that the actual quantities imported and exported in 1902 compare very favourably with both the two preceding years.

The continued expansion in the oversea trade of the country is the more remarkable when one remembers that the special war demand had fallen off during the last half of the year, and that untold millions of money had been withdrawn from ordinary trade channels to support our South African operations. This is not a controversial article, but it is difficult to look back over the last three years without expressing satisfaction at the working of our free trade system. The ordinary articles of consumption were forced up in price during 1900 owing to the war demand, but they fell again to the pre-war level during 1901 and 1902, and the material pinch of war has not been very seriously felt by the poorer classes. Even the tax on corn and meal which was imposed in April was so small that the natural fall in prices counteracted it. What would have happened during the past three years had the necessaries of life been highly taxed is not pleasant to contemplate.

The most depressed industry during 1902 was that of shipping, owing to the excess of tonnage over the cargoes to be carried; but this depression has only been partially felt in the shipbuilding yards. The decline in shipping freights, except to South Africa, which has been so notable a feature of the year, has benefited the oversea trade by reducing the cost of carriage, but it has led to much distress in the principal ports. The depression is the natural result of the war, which, by taking up large numbers of steamers for transport work, induced a considerable amount of new construction. Now that the transports have been nearly all released from service and put into trade competition, there are more vessels than the country's trade, large as it is, really requires. The exception to the general rule has been in the South African shipping industry, which is controlled by a "Conference" of lines. This conference is a working agreement in regard to freights, and the members of it—the Union-Castle, Clan, Bucknall, and other companies—run vessels from the United Kingdom and from the United States. A competitive service was started in July to South Africa, both from America and from this country, and a "war" has been going on ever since between the "Conference" and the intruders. A curious feature of the fight was the different methods adopted on the two sides of the Atlantic. The freight rates from New York were cut to about 10s. a ton, but freights were maintained here, and shippers were kept tied to the "Conference" by a penal system of deferred rebates on freight charges. The result has been that American manufacturers have had an advantage of from 10s. to 25s. a ton in competition with British manufacturers on exports to South Africa, and this handicap has caused the gravest dissatisfaction. There are indications that

the pressure of private shippers and of the British Government will lead to a fairer state of things.

The feature of the year in the shipping world was the formation by Mr. J. P. Morgan of the Atlantic Shipping Combination, by means of which control was obtained over a large amount of British shipping. The International Mercantile Marine Company, as it was called, was registered in New Jersey with a capital of \$120,000,000 divided into \$80,000,000 cumulative 6 per cent. preferred shares, and \$40,000,000 ordinary shares. There were besides \$50,000,000 in 4 per cent. gold bonds redeemable between 1907 and 1922. This company acquired the White Star, American, Leyland, Atlantic, Peninsular and Dominion Lines at greatly inflated values and the purchase was completed on December 1 last. The total purchase purchased was £1,34,884. The British vessels in the Combination remain under our flag, but the control is American. As several of the vessels were in receipt of American subsidies an agreement was arrived at under which the British nationality of the subsidised vessels was retained, and the British Government arranged with the American Government the purchase of two subsidised steamers for the same service. These vessels will steam at twenty-five knots and the Government will grant an annual subvention of £10,000. It is not a bad deal if a part of the necessary capital at 4 per cent. interest. It is difficult to see how the Atlantic Shipping Combination can ever control the Atlantic trade or even to a considerable extent. The bulk of the carrying trade of the world is done not by liners, but by tramps, and the Atlantic is no exception. It would see a swarm of steam tramps on the less remunerative trades and thrust the liners out of business. The formation of the Combination caused a wave of panic among cool-headed quarters, but it is now a thing of the past. The net result is that a certain number of British owners have sold their vessels to Americans at a high price.

Another enterprise, which has bulked so largely in late years, is the tobacco war, rather discredited, and in one case an American company has been most handsomely beaten by the British de-
 monopoly. The Imperial Tobacco Company, which was formed by the American Tobacco Trust, won, after a few months' fighting, and took over the British business of the Trust. The result was a new Anglo-American alliance for operations in the United Kingdom. The tobacco war and the subsequent formation of the combination. A "trust" in the American sense is not lawful on British soil because there is no ring law in England which enables it to keep up the price at home, but it is not so in the United States where the conditions more nearly approximate to those in America than in almost any other industry. The duty on tobacco is so high and the amount of capital invested in

bonded stores is so great that a huge company enjoys exceptional powers of starving out its smaller competitors.

No review of 1902 would be complete without reference to the great fall in the price of silver. On January 1, 1902, the price was $25\frac{3}{4}d.$ per ounce, and during the next few days the quotation rose to $26\frac{1}{8}d.$, but since then there has been an almost continuous decline. There were heavy shipments from China to India, and China was not only not able to buy silver but had to sell large quantities in order to meet the indemnity for the recent outrages on foreigners. The price at the beginning of November had reached $23\frac{1}{4}d.$ per ounce, or considerably lower than the record low level of $23\frac{3}{4}d.$ in 1897. During November there was a great "slump" owing to the arrival of large quantities of Mexican dollars and to the reports that Mexico and the Straits Settlements were about to adopt a gold standard. The lowest point touched was $21\frac{1}{8}d.$ on November 26-7. The fall in silver is of great importance, since a large number of investments, such as Mexican railways, receive their earnings in silver and have to remit their dividends home in sterling. Fortunately for us the Indian currency is now practically on a gold basis at an exchange of $1s. 4d.$ per rupee. But for this the fall in silver would have caused great confusion in the Indian finances. The effect of the fall will, no doubt, be to stimulate the desire of the few silver countries which remain to adopt a gold standard.

F. HARCOURT KITCHIN.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

I. FRANCE.

THE great work of the reconstitution of parties in France, which affected so deeply the alliances and programmes of political men, was greatly accelerated by the attitude taken up by the Government with regard to the congregations. The seriousness of the struggle became more and more evident, and inevitably other questions were given a secondary place. No problem of all those which the now imminent elections presented to the electorate was so imperative, and for the first time since the decisive triumph of the Republic in 1877, the consolidation of two hostile camps was clearly seen under severe discipline.

The session opened on the day appointed by the Constitution, the second Tuesday in January. M. Fallières in the Senate and M. Deschanel in the Chamber were re-elected Presidents without competitors; and on the 17th the contest began on the Quai d'Orsay by a question put by the Bonapartist Deputy, Cuneo d'Ornano, to General André, on the modifications which had been made in the regulations recently in force for the promotion of officers. For some years the generals commanding army corps had had the sole right of making out the list of officers to be promoted. The Minister had been by degrees dispossessed of this prerogative. Thus the French Army had come under an oligarchic system of rule, the Minister having only responsibility without power. This abdication was the work of civilian Ministers, M. de Freycinet among others. General Gallifet initiated reform; General André took a further step, and caused a decree to be signed, which gave the prerogative of nomination into the hands of the real head of the Army. Moreover, he immediately used his right to repair some crying injustices. These measures raised incredible protests. But the Chamber voted an *ordre du jour* of confidence in the Government, and, at the instance of MM. Berteaux and Dubief, added

to this a motion requesting the Minister to bring in a bill for the regulation of promotion.

Meanwhile the Budget remained neglected, and in consequence of the delay in its consideration the Chamber was forced to hasten its work and multiply its sittings, all the more because the Opposition refused to forego its right of questioning the Cabinet on its action in home and foreign policy. On January 20, M. Georges Berry attacked the Minister of Finance on the subject of the Concentration Camps in South Africa, and reproached him vehemently for not having imposed the arbitration of the Court of the Hague on the belligerents. M. Léon Bourgeois intervened in the discussion, to show that such action would have been entirely useless, and after a statement from M. Delcassé, the Chamber voted the pure and simple *ordre du jour*. The chief of French diplomacy followed up this success the next day (Jan. 21) by securing a vote for the maintenance of the embassy at the Vatican almost without debate; and the day after, with no more difficulty, obtained a vote for French schools in the East.

The examination of the Estimates for Public Works gave rise to very interesting discussions on the system of railways and on work in the mines. In spite of the efforts of the Government and of the Commission on the Budget, the Chamber, led by the Socialist deputy Bourrat, voted (Jan. 23) the purchase of the railways of the West and the South by a majority of twelve. This decision, however, constituted, in truth, merely a declaration of principle, for the Senate did not adopt it. Some days later the Northern Socialist deputies sustained a reverse in their attempt to obtain a vote from the Chamber to the effect that the miners should not work more than eight hours a day, from the arrival of the labourer at the mouth of the pit till his return. This measure, it was felt, would have been too much a leap in the dark, and the Chamber held back from it. This legislative check was all the more felt, because it followed closely on a notable defeat inflicted on the Collectivist party by a town which was reputed to be consecrated to that ideal. On January 19 municipal elections took place at Roubaix to replace twenty-three councillors who had resigned in consequence of the refusal of the Chamber to authorise the new taxes proposed in the place of the *octroi*. The inhabitants of Roubaix, having adequately estimated the advantages of municipal Socialism, gave the majority of votes to the candidates belonging to the *Union Sociale*, under the patronage of M. Motte, the Republican deputy of Roubaix who had defeated M. Jules Guesde himself at the preceding elections. Roubaix thus followed the example set by Saint-Denis a little while before, and this vote was interpreted as a defeat inflicted on M. Millerand.

On the other hand, the purely Radical element in the Ministry obtained some signal advantages. M. Baudin,
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Minister of Public Works, secured the passage of a great programme dealing with canal works, the improvement of maritime ports and the making of new canals, and involving an outlay of 600,000,000 francs. M. Georges Leygues, Minister of Fine Arts and Public Instruction, was censured by MM. Pastre and Zevaes for the dismissal of certain professors for their want of discipline. The enemies of the Minister affected to maintain that the University was infested by Clericalism; and that there was urgent need to free it, not from a few Socialists, but from the innumerable partisans of the Jesuits who swarmed there. This improbable accusation gave opportunity to the Minister to make a caustic and witty speech, which brought the scoffers over to his side (Jan. 31). A vote of confidence was passed, approving his declaration, by an immense majority.

It was at this moment, when the Commission of Education had ended its great inquiry, begun three years before, on Secondary Education, and its President, M. Ribot, had summed up its work in a judicial report, that the Ministry endeavoured to appropriate to itself the merit of the projected innovations; and made known by a letter to the President of the Commission its intention of enforcing the reforms from the beginning of the next school year, that is to say, in the following October. This haste could not but appear suspicious to M. Ribot, who had flattered himself that he would be called upon to put in force the work which he had so assiduously elaborated. A rapid and brilliant conflict took place on this subject in the discussion on the Estimates for Public Instruction. The phlegmatic deputy of the Pas-de-Calais, M. Ribot, himself, and the fiery Corsican, M. Viviani, deputy of the *Quartier Latin*, took part in the debate; and the energetic Gascon, M. G. Leygues, defended the proposed reform, by the assurance that it would strengthen, instead of weakening, classical studies in France. But another and wider question was suddenly raised—that of liberty of instruction. A motion was brought forward by M. Henri Brisson for the suppression of the Falloux law which in 1850 had given the right of teaching to religious congregations. Instead of being educational and social, the debate at once became political. M. Waldeck-Rousseau interposed with the declaration that the Government would not oppose the voting of the motion. M. Aynard, deputy of Lyons, declaimed vehemently against this new violation of liberty, but the Chamber none the less adopted M. Brisson's proposal by a majority of twenty-four. The great defect in these declarations of principle was the fact that they were entirely academic. But with the approach of the elections too many politicians were seized with the desire to flatter the electorate, and with a disposition to outbid the proposals of demagogues. Thus, with regard to the Budget of War, the Chamber passed a motion for the reduction of military service to two years. This was entirely

useless and also incorrect, for the Senate had entered upon the discussion in its Committee of the proposal of M. Rolland, which pointed to the same result. Again, soon afterwards, by a still more serious innovation, the Chamber practically pronounced for the abolition of the period of instruction of thirteen days required of the soldiers of the territorial army, by simply suppressing the supplies voted for that object, and reduced by a quarter the twenty-eight days training demanded from the reservists.

The complaisance shown by the Government, and particularly by General André, to efforts of this kind could not fail to be turned to account by the Opposition; and the Nationalist party made energetic use of these matters in the campaign undertaken with a view to the elections. "For liberty and country" was the watchword adopted by the committee of direction of the so-called *Patrie Française*. MM. Jules Lemaitre and Godefroy Cavaignac undertook a propagandist campaign, which recalled, though at a long distance, those of Lafayette in 1827 and of Gladstone in Midlothian. In imitation of the Primrose League, the ladies of France, represented by some dowagers of the Faubourg Saint-Germain, planned to combine for the purpose of collecting a war fund; and their first care was to decide that right-minded persons should boycott the tradesmen who were disloyal to the good cause, and, by reducing their expenses, cause the inconveniences of the Republic to be felt. By degrees the movement was limited to an anti-Ministerial campaign, which was not calculated to enlist universal suffrage on its side, for the Cabinet of Republican Defence haughtily announced its intention of retiring directly after the elections, all the more if these should prove favourable. Some rather serious mistakes were made by the *état-major* of the Nationalists. In the district of Rémiremont M. Méline was opposed by an advocate, M. Flayelle, who was supported not only by the Nationalists, but by all the upholders of the old monarchical *régime*. The personal question almost everywhere predominated over that of principles or of mere election tactics. Neither the subtle ability of M. Jules Lemaitre nor the tenacious determination of M. Godefroy Cavaignac sufficed to create a new current of popular feeling.

The Budget, finally voted by the Chamber on March 9, was submitted to the Senate, which insisted on making a rigid examination of the innumerable items of receipt and expenditure, and did not return them to the Chamber till the 28th, considerably modified. Thus the Senate suppressed a certain number of items voted, especially those passed to obtain popularity, or, as M. Poincaré said in a vigorous speech delivered at Rouen, as electioneering bids. The Upper House cut out, for example, amendments allotting a sum of 4,000,000 francs to enable soldiers to drink wine and to enable merchants to sell it, and 5,000,000 to increase the ration of meat and encourage

cattle-rearing in France ; but, on the other hand, re-established the training periods of thirteen and of twenty-eight days conformably to the military law.

The Chamber of Deputies did not show to much advantage during the last days of its existence. It made vain, if creditable, efforts to set on foot a law against electoral corruption and placards. It rejected a bill re-establishing the *scrutin de liste* for Parliamentary elections, with provision for proportional representation. On another day it voted, almost without discussion, a measure prolonging the four years' tenure of the Deputies by two years. The Senate scornfully refused to consent to this innovation. The debates on the amnesty, which occupied the sitting of the Chamber on the 21st, were still less dignified. At the instance of M. René Viviani, an amnesty was voted for strikes and incidents connected with them, in spite of Ministerial protests ; but after various absurd additions had been made to the categories of objects of clemency, the Chamber recovered its sense of prudence and propriety and rejected the whole motion. After two days of promenade to and fro between the Palais Bourbon and the Luxembourg, the Budget was finally voted at five o'clock in the morning of Easter Day, after a tumultuous and painful debate.

The expiring Assembly, to which its President, M. Deschanel, addressed some gloomy and unflattering valedictory remarks, had certainly had its faults. But it had been original enough to support a Ministry which had surpassed in length of life, if not in talent, all the Ministries of the three Republics. Finally, its faults were largely due to its origin and were explained by the circumstances under which it had been elected. Undoubtedly, the political situation in 1902 was infinitely less troublous than in 1898, and a new arrangement of parties seemed about to take place, thanks to the loyalty shown by the Chamber to the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry. The one point on which all critics were agreed, despite the ingenious calculations of the Minister of Finance, M. Caillaux, was uneasiness at the financial situation, the deficit in the Budget, and the business crisis. The total revenue amounted, on paper, to 3,602,465,468 francs ; the expenditure was rated at 3,602,333,244 francs, which appeared to promise the sufficiently exiguous surplus of 132,228 francs ; but unhappily the expenditure was certain, but the receipts less assuredly so ; and it was an open secret that the estimates had been systematically reduced or swollen with a view to balancing the account and edifying the electors. Thus the duty on beverages was valued at 435,000,000 francs. But this figure was reached on the hypothesis that the consumption of alcohol and spirituous liquors continued to increase at the rate of several preceding years, in spite of the reduced duty on wines, beers, etc. This calculation must be found absolutely erroneous, because it had been necessary to surcharge alcohol in order to reduce the duty on wine ;

and the consumption of wine had largely increased without any profit to the Treasury, while that of alcohol had been checked through the efforts of temperance societies which were organised all over the country.

The principal items of the revenue were: indirect taxation, 2,073,000,000 francs; direct taxation, 531,000,000 francs; monopolies, 747,000,000 francs, including 459,000,000 from tobacco, matches and gunpowder. On the side of expenditure, the National Debt absorbed a third, 1,245,000,000 francs; War amounted to 715,000,000 francs; Navy to 306,000,000 francs; Public Works to 245,000,000 francs, and Public Instruction and Fine Arts to 223,000,000 francs.

Thus, in spite of the promises made to the electors in 1898, the deputies had increased the public burden by about 200,000,000 francs, and this in a time of peace, without any serious crisis. This represented the State Budget alone. But the Departments and the communes, for the most part, followed this example, and created new employment necessitating new expenditure. Thus the justice of Jules Ferry's saying was proved, "The Republic is not a cheap Government." The increase in taxation furnished such a terrible handle to the Opposition that the Minister of Finance tried to deprive it of its force in the hands of his enemies. A table of the financial work of the Legislature was drawn up with subtle skill. This set forth that the four Budgets, 1898 to 1902, showed a definite and considerable surplus of revenue, if those four financial years were taken together, and that even in the time of Léon Say or of Carnot, the situation had never been so satisfactory. The Chamber, enchanted, voted the placarding of this attractive table, but it was not certain that the electors would take it seriously.

The electoral campaign of 1902 was not characterised by the ardour of 1877 and 1889. The enemies of the Government had neither the temperament of Gambetta nor the popularity of Boulanger; their programme lacked the definiteness necessary to strike the imagination, and it was strange to hear the opponents of all liberty claiming liberty. In Paris, and in a few large towns where men are lost in the multitude, these tactics might succeed. In the country they deceived no one. Instinctively the peasant became defiant when he heard the squire, the *curé*, the reactionary ironmaster accuse the Government of tyranny, and invoke the rights of the fathers of families. There was no lack of programmes, for each Parliamentary group published its own, but neither the Left of the Senate, nor the Progressist Union, nor the Right of that Assembly found the tone or the happy phrase which sums up the situation, and is received as a word of command by a whole party. Instead of great currents of thought, petty manœuvres were chiefly observable. The Nationalists, well provided with money, undertook again that system of enrolment of candidates which, in 1889 and 1893, had so little profited the conspirators of those periods. They

even exacted from politicians who had recourse to their support, especially their pecuniary support, the signature of formal engagements, including blank forms of resignation. The inconveniences of the existing system of voting, that is to say, in constituencies of the restricted *arrondissement* size, were felt on all hands; coarse invective, quibbling manœuvres, promises outbidding each other, unsupported calumnies—such were the methods of war. The leaders of the *Patrie Française* tried to oppose the Republicans who constituted the bulk of the Ministerial party, or that of Republican Defence, by an anti-Ministerial party; but many Republicans, enemies of the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry, for some reason or other refused to join, and it was noteworthy that M. Barthou, in a great speech at Oloron, declared himself in favour of concentration, but not to the Right. In the Pas-de-Calais M. Jonnart separated himself from the old Mélinist party. Finally, M. Doumer returned from his pro-consulate in Indo-China in time to enter as candidate for the department of l'Aisne at Laon, and also declared himself a Ministerial Republican.

The issues of the electoral contest of April 27 were thus much confused; and among the 2,575 candidates who disputed the 591 seats in the Chamber, very few honestly made known their programme. For example, *La Correspondance Nationale*, the organ of the Duc d'Orléans, authorised the Monarchical candidates to offer themselves simply as Conservatives, or even as Liberal Republicans. On the other side, the official manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Republican-Radical and Radical-Socialist party, published on the eve of the ballot, did not contain amongst its articles either the separation of Church and State or progressive taxation, or the monopoly of education. Candidates, in a word, were classified as allies or enemies of the Ministry, and the Ministry proudly announced its intention of retiring directly after the ballot. On April 27 the first ballot produced 413 definite results. The most significant were the defeats of MM. Mesureur, André Berthelot, Jules Guesde, Poubelle, Drumont, Piou and Paul de Cassagnac, and the election of MM. Doumer, Jaurès, Flourens, Syveton, Charles Benoist and Bonvalot; with the exception of the two first, these successful ones were notable recruits of the anti-Ministerial coalition. As usual, both parties pretended to have won the victory, but the contrast was none the less striking between the previous boasts of the Nationalist party and the meagreness of its advantages. Moreover, of the 178 second ballots, the majority were evidently to the advantage of the Ministerials. Obviously, after so great an effort made by writers, women of the world, and Churchmen had ended not in the gain but in the loss of six votes, "it had not paid," as the *Temps* said.

Among those defeated in the first ballot M. Henri Brisson was recorded in the first rank; he was in the second ballot, but had very few votes, in the tenth district of Paris. His

defeat was certain there in the second ballot, and a remarkable competition arose among many electoral colleges, to retain a Parliamentary seat for this tried combatant. After some days of negotiation and hesitation, M. Brisson agreed to transfer his candidature to Marseilles, replacing M. Chevillon, who retired to make way for him. The Nationalists mocked bitterly at this; but the incident was none the less to the credit of the party concerned in it. In the interval between the two ballots, M. Jules Lemaître, now the only leader of a disorganised party, thought it possible to destroy the chances of his adversaries by a manœuvre, irresistible at the eleventh hour. Everywhere where there was a ballot of Nationalists a manifesto was freely issued signed by the President of the *Patrie Française*, in which the most formidable argument used was that the heroine of a colossal fraud, Mme Humbert, whose knavery had been discovered on May 9, had been ruined because she had been obliged to provide increased subsidies for the secret funds of the police. But it was found that it was precisely M. Waldeck-Rousseau who had been the first, in his office of advocate, to point out the strangeness of this affair. The accusation convinced no one, and the elections gave the Ministry a large majority.

The two Ministers, MM. Millerand and Leygues, who were left over to the second ballots, were elected in spite of the bitterness of the opposition organised against their candidature. It was remarked that only eleven Departments out of ninety, including Algeria, retained the same representatives as before the elections. The number of the supporters of the Ministry was estimated at 339, and its opponents at 251, but it was only after the first sittings that the real strength of parties could be gauged. The result of the elections was no sooner announced by the *Commission de Recensement* than the President of the Republic left Paris for Russia. At a banquet given in his honour by the municipality of Brest he made a great speech, in the course of which, after rendering an eloquent tribute to M. Waldeck-Rousseau, he distinctly urged peace and union between parties. This advice was not welcomed except by those to whom it was not addressed. The Republican Radicals declared that peace was impossible among irreconcilable adversaries. M. de Mun, deputy of Finistère, refused to appear in his official rank in the President's procession, in order to avoid M. Waldeck-Rousseau, who had passed the law of Associations, and M. de Lanessan, Minister of the Navy, who had forbidden in the Navy the wearing of mourning on Good Friday.

M. Loubet's stay in Russia did not produce as much effect as that of President Faure in 1897. It was much remarked that the President stopped at Copenhagen and was there received by the King of Denmark. The public wondered why M. Waldeck-Rousseau had chosen the day on which the *Mont-calm* arrived at Cronstadt to announce that he had decided to

leave the Ministry. In truth the Russian alliance had become much less popular in France.

The new Chamber was summoned for June 1. Some days before various efforts had been made to organise the groups. The Socialists set to work to preserve that influence over the majority which they had had at the end of the last Parliament. Defeat had dislocated the Nationalist party and still more the group who acknowledged M. Méline as their leader. Pressure was put upon M. Waldeck-Rousseau to remain in office, and at the same time, with the ingratitude characteristic of political life, the Radicals pressed M. Brisson to resign his accustomed candidature for the Presidency of the Chamber and to retire in favour of M. Léon Bourgeois. The latter was elected on a second ballot by 303 against 267 votes given for the popular ex-President, M. Deschanel, to whom the Right gave their support. On the following day, the *Journal Officiel* published the resignation of M. Waldeck-Rousseau. He declared that his task was done and that a majority, stronger and not less united than before, would assure not only the maintenance but the development of Republican institutions. This tone of pride and complacency was justifiable, because for the first time since the proclamation of the Republic a Ministry had had a duration of three years, and also for the first time since M. Dufaure a Ministry had voluntarily resigned with a majority in both Chambers. The time occupied by the negotiations with regard to the formation of the new Government was comparatively short. M. Léon Bourgeois and M. Brisson, summoned successively to the Elysée, declined the invitation of the President. M. Loubet then summoned Senator Emile Combes, who on June 7 announced the names of his colleagues. M. Combes, in addition to the Presidency of the Council, took the portfolios of the Interior and of Worship. He retained M. Delcassé for Foreign Affairs and General André as War Minister, from the former Cabinet. M. Pelletan was summoned to the Navy, M. Trouillot to Commerce, and M. Doumergues to the Colonies. M. Mougeot, formerly Under-Secretary of State for Commerce, became Minister of Agriculture; M. Maruéjols became Minister of Public Works and M. Rouvier, of Finance. With the exception of General André all the Ministers were Deputies. The Senate contributed to the combination MM. Vallé, Keeper of the Seals, and Chaumié, Minister of Public Instruction and of Fine Arts.

While the Cabinet was being formed, the Chamber proceeded with its accustomed rapidity to the verification of the election of its members. In spite of the heat of the electoral contests only a small number of results were annulled or submitted to a scrutiny, and on June 6 the work was far enough advanced to allow of the formation of a permanent committee. On the 6th M. Bourgeois was confirmed in the position of President without a contest, M. Deschanel not standing against him. On

June 10 the Chamber listened to the Ministerial declaration. Every one was surprised by its moderation and its diplomatic reserve. There was hardly any allusion in it to those points which had hitherto been considered essential to the Radical programme: separation of Church and State, income-tax, purchase of the railways. The Government did not undertake to solve these problems, but only to consider them. It was rewarded for this moderation by a somewhat considerable success in the debate (June 12) on the question of *Politique Générale*. M. Jaurés created a brilliant impression on resuming his leadership of the Socialist group in Parliament, M. Millerand imitating the diplomatic retirement of the President of the Council. M. Ribot tried in vain to gather round him a discontented majority. He had the mortification of seeing himself abandoned by the younger and more energetic of his former lieutenants, MM. Barthou, Delombre, and others. The revolutionary Socialists held aloof. To sum up, 312 members declared in favour of the Government, 116 against, and 149 remained neutral.

Immediately the new majority gave a proof of their initiative and goodwill by their efforts towards their own organisation. The groups of the Left confided to a consultative commission the task of determining the modifications necessary to make their work more efficacious and their voting more disciplined. This commission proceeded at once to suggest a most important change in Parliamentary procedure. This was the institution of Grand Committees, which should examine all motions and bills affecting the various offices, and which should be no longer nominated by Deputies chosen by lot in their eleven committees, but by the whole Chamber in a *scrutin de liste*. The proposal aroused a storm of protest in the ranks of the minority. The Republicans were not less decided in its support. The summer session was very short, and chiefly occupied by the scrutiny of doubtful elections. The Government had only to reply to a few interpellations, such as that of MM. Sembat and de Pressensé (June 20) on the prohibition imposed on Spanish Republicans to hold a meeting in France hostile to Alfonso XIII. The Chamber approved the Ministerial declarations. Subsequently it postponed the income-tax question with practical unanimity; voted all that M. Rouvier desired, i.e., the four customary and time-honoured taxes and the conversion of 3½ per cent. *Rentes* into 3 per cent.; applauded M. Combes, who defined the task before him as the complete subjection of the monastic orders to the secular State; and rose on July 12 after an exceptionally tumultuous sitting. Meanwhile the Senate had opened a debate on the bill for reducing military service from three years to two. The Minister for War, General André, accepted the principle, and the opposition of Generals Billot and Mercier seemed to be inspired rather by political than by military reasons. The Senate passed Article

2, which contained the essential part of the bill, forbidding all dispensations hitherto allowed either to holders of university diplomas or to breadwinners of families.

A Parliamentary recess has seldom been more agitated than that of 1902. In the end of June the Minister of the Interior defined, in a circular addressed to the Prefects, the procedure to be followed in closing the establishments of those Orders whose superiors had neglected to apply in time for legislative authorisation. The agents commissioned to fulfil these instructions met with serious resistance, and in order to carry them through M. Combes submitted a signed decree to the President of the Republic, which gave a list of the religious houses in each Department whose period of delay had expired. This was met by vehement protests. Everywhere where the Municipal Council was chiefly composed of Conservatives or Nationalists petitions and resolutions were passed against the action of the Government. The Ministers made known their resolution to enforce the law: M. Combes at an agricultural meeting in Charente-Inférieure, M. Pelletan at the unveiling of a statue to Hoche at Quiberon, denounced the danger of Clericalism. Scenes of tumult took place even in Paris, where several ladies of society tried in vain to transform the demonstrations into a popular revolt. Deputations went to the Elysée and demanded to see Mme Loubet, who refused to see them.

In Brittany the resistance was of the most remarkable kind. In most of the Communes there were Congregationist schools for girls. The nuns who taught in these schools would willingly have asked for authorisation, but they were imprudent enough to ask advice from the most prominent members of the Conservative party, and to follow that advice. They therefore neglected the opportunity of obtaining authorisation, and when the time allowed for delay had expired they found themselves under sentence of immediate expulsion. By way, however, of causing division amongst its enemies, the Government at the outset left entirely on one side those establishments which had formerly received a decree of protection from the Monarchical *régimes*, and postponed the treatment of those Congregations whose object it was to assist the sick, the orphans or the old. The houses of education only were dealt with. It was specially in Finistère that the enforcement of the decrees gave rise to strange incidents. The Prefect of this Department, M. Collignon, a magistrate of rare prudence, endeavoured to gain the ends of the Government by diplomacy and temporising. The Bretons took advantage of this to mobilise all the reactionary forces, and as the police, assisted by the gendarmes, were unable to open the barricaded gates it was necessary to employ the soldiery. But denials of obedience occurred in two regiments, the most serious being that of Lieutenant-Colonel de Saint-Remy, commander of the 2nd Chasseurs à Cheval, who refused to put himself at the head of his regiment when ordered to close the school of

the little village of Lesneven. A tumult, with bloodshed and civil war, seemed at one time possible. Those expelled were beside themselves; Deputies, Senators, general Councillors and Mayors were constrained to interpose between the representatives of the Government and the passionately agitated multitude. Leagues were formed in Paris for liberty of education; M. Goblet and M. Gabriel Monod, veteran soldiers of liberty, declared themselves against the Government. In every case power remained with the law, without bloodshed indeed, but after scenes either painful or grotesque.

The session of the Councils-General opened in the midst of all this. The Ministry had given definite orders to the Prefects. Wherever the majority seemed disposed to pass votes in favour of the Ministerial policy the Prefect should raise no objection, and the vote would be legal. On the other hand, wherever the cause of liberty of instruction was in the majority, the "previous question" should be moved, the Prefect should invite the departmental Council to abstain from entering upon political ground, and if he were not attended to should leave the Council Chamber. Of eighty-six Councils-General, only forty-two approved the measures taken by the Cabinet, and demanded the vigorous enforcement of the law. Ten protested or rejected the resolutions moved by the Radicals. The rest held prudently aloof. If the attitude of the Councils-General did not correspond with the wishes, more or less open, of the Government, that of the magistrates was still less encouraging. In many Departments the seals affixed by the police to the doors of the property of condemned Congregations were broken either by the owners of the property, by priests, by ladies, or by retired officers. Prosecutions were undertaken, but the authors of these misdemeanours were acquitted by the tribunals or condemned to insignificant penalties. The magistrates opposed the Government. Encouraged by this indulgence the enemies of the law redoubled their audacity. In many places, notably at Landerneau, the sisters surreptitiously returned to the schools which they had evacuated with so much disturbance, and renewed expulsion became necessary.

Difficulties among the members of the Government were added to this confusion. M. Pelletan, Naval Minister, thought it advisable to devote a part of September to visiting Corsica and Tunis. He spent his time in an unlimited number of meetings, where his speeches were more startling than circumspect. This oratorical prowess did not precisely coincide with the efforts made by M. Delcassé or M. Combes to remain on good terms with the world at large. The President of the Council also thought fit to make the voice of the Government heard after that of the journalist, as yet little accustomed to the serious responsibilities of power. In a great speech delivered at an agricultural meeting at Matha, near Saint-Jean-d'Angely, he set down to the "communicative warmth of banquets" M.

Pelletan's flights of language. The phrase became famous, but it was questioned whether the orator called to order or the Premier who censured him most compromised the authority of the Government. Some kind of crisis was anticipated. It was rumoured that General André and M. Pelletan would be dismissed, but the necessity of maintaining the unity of the Ministry silenced all scruples. It was only too obvious that the least rift would allow the adversaries of the law with regard to Associations to ruin the work so painfully achieved.

No change was therefore made in the composition of the Cabinet; but as the re-opening of the Chambers drew near, a spirit of emulation showed itself among the Ministers. In the Education department, M. Chaumié removed M. O. Gréard from his post of Vice-Rector of the Academy of Paris, which he had held for twenty-three years, and replaced him by the philosopher M. L. Liard, Director of Higher Education in the office of Public Instruction. This was the occasion of a considerable change in the office of the Rue de Grenelle. M. Gasquet was summoned from Nancy to take the direction of the Primary Education Department, which the expulsion of Congregations was about to task to the utmost. In the Lycées and Colleges a real revolution took place at the beginning of October through the application of the new programmes. In the War Office, General André changed at one blow five commanders of Army Corps and gave the district of Rouen over to General Servièrre, who had never passed through any military school. M. Pelletan, to the great scandal of right-minded people, forbade the celebration of the Mass of the Holy Ghost, which had been customary at *Borda* on the day of the re-assembling of the pupils; and lastly M. Delcassé published the articles of the Convention with Siam which he had signed, and which was to replace that of 1893. The stir occasioned in the Colonial party in the Chamber, by some of the conditions of this agreement, gave rise to such violent polemics in the Press, that the Government judged it best to defer the presentation of this diplomatic document to the Deputies. An effort was made to divide the enemies of the Convention by proving that M. Doumer, formerly Governor-General in French Indo-China, who apparently inspired its most ardent opponents, had himself at one time suggested the policy which he was now attacking. This diversion had an effect on the Radical-Republican Congress at Lyons, which opened October 9. One section formally demanded that M. Doumer should be excluded from the Radical party on account of having failed in his duty by accepting the post of Governor-General from M. Méline. The millionaire Socialist, M. Berteaux, defended the accused, who further ably pleaded his own cause, and was allowed to take part in the labours of the Congress, when the policy to be pursued in the winter session was discussed. The Chambers were summoned for October 14. The situation was not satisfactory. On the

desk of every deputy, the Budget brought forward by M. Rouvier bore witness to serious financial embarrassment. To cover the deficit, which no one any longer took the trouble to dissemble, the Minister of Finance had the courage to demand, if not the suppression, at least the strict limitation of the privilege of distillers of raw spirits; he estimated at 50,000,000 francs the product of this new tax, and the immense clamour on all sides attested to the importance and extreme urgency of the reform. These distillers of raw spirits were the landowners who transformed into brandy their products of apples, pears, plums, and fruit of all kinds. The law exempted brandy destined for family consumption from the tax on alcohol; but serious abuses supervened thereon. Enormous frauds remained unpunished. It was not only that a great quantity of liquor escaped the duty and gained illicit profit for unscrupulous dealers, but in many provinces, especially in Normandy and Brittany, the landowners began to pay their workpeople partly in money and partly in alcohol. The public health suffered, therefore, as well as the national treasury. Those who had profited by this immunity since 1837 did not intend to renounce it. On the other hand, the very powerful syndicates of wholesale merchants of alcohol found the suppression supremely to their interest, and they alleged that the frauds facilitated by the present law caused a loss of 150,000,000 to 200,000,000 francs to the State. Deputies, Senators, Prefects of the regions of the East and the South warned the Government that the suppression of the privilege would destroy the Republic by alienating irremediably the agricultural population. The North declared that the Republic was lost if the frauds continued with impunity. These conflicting interests seemed equally imperative, and no one could predict which would be victorious.

The Ministry stood successfully the first trials of the session. It was besieged with questions. It was decided to discuss first the closing of the Congregationist Schools and the events that followed. For three days the Opposition sent to the Tribune a succession of its most famous orators; M. Combes replied to them all at the sitting of October 17, and announced that he would go through with his work. An *ordre du jour* brought forward by MM. Maujan, Sarrien, Codet and Gouzy was adopted by 329 against 233. The Chamber declared itself resolved to enforce energetically the law concerning Associations, and approved the attitude and the acts of the Government. Immediately after this, the President of the Council brought in a Bill intended to stop the opening of Congregationist Schools without authorisation. The penalty of imprisonment might be inflicted.

The vote just mentioned may be taken as indicative of the strength and respective positions of political parties after the elections. The Monarchists did not in reality exist any longer

as an organised party in the State. There do, indeed, exist families in which the tradition of fidelity to the Royal Family is the badge of race; but except in Brittany and Anjou the influence of these great landowners on their own farmers, still more on the whole population, is very limited. They are very often obliged to stoop to humiliating alliances, and in most cases they are dominated by the Clerical party. The thorough Catholics, more clerical than the Pope, whom they accuse of weakness, are grouped round M. de Mun, Deputy of Finistère. Indifferent to forms of government, they would submit to the Republic itself, on condition of holding mastery in it; would accept compulsory education on condition that they gave it, and military service on condition of their educating and marrying the officers. French Catholics are no longer Gallicans, they consider Bossuet a heretic and M. Loubet a Diocletian; unfortunately their views are odious to the majority of Frenchmen, and the Government of *Curés*, much more that of monks, is profoundly unpopular. In spite of their zeal, riches and wise organisation, they are obliged to disguise their real programme, and invoke liberty in order to slip the principle of authority into power.

It is not easy to trace the limits of the group known under the name of "Ralliés." The Republican "Ralliés" are really shamefaced Bonapartists or Orleanists who cannot bring themselves to accept alliance with Legitimists. They formerly formed the chief part of the Boulangist army, and in electoral contests invariably allied themselves with the Catholics. On their left are the Nationalists. This heterogeneous group proclaims that it is before all things composed of patriots. It acclaims the Army, although most of its supporters seek for every means of escaping military service. Its moving passion is anti-Semitism. It attacks Parliamentary government with vehemence, but while Déroulède demands a plebiscitary Republic Jules Lemaitre repudiates the plebiscite from the side of the Liberal Republic, without deciding on a complete alliance with it. The Liberal Republicans are in truth the inheritors of the School of Nancy. They fill the academies and the learned bodies; but like the doctrinaires in former times, with whom they have many points of resemblance, they are not popular, and make a virtue of their unpopularity. They are divided between the supporters of free trade and protection. If they have not all become Clericals, they vote under all serious circumstances with the rest of the Right. The same is true of the Progressists. This group claims the memory of Gambetta. But that great tribune who founded the scientific Republican party did not adopt a haughty attitude apart, and never renounced the name of Radical; his party has had time to forget his counsels; it is a law of history. Little by little the conquerors wishing to conciliate the conquered allowed themselves to be absorbed into the latter; but the cause which they deserted found other defenders and the famous formula of

Gambetta: "Clericalism, that is the enemy," became the watch-word of the new majority.

The Right of this majority, composed in its mass of Radicals and Radical Socialists, consists of Progressists, who with MM. Barthou and Jonnart have separated from the Mélinists, while its Left, led by M. Jaurés and M. Millerand, may be called Socialists of Government or Parliamentary Socialists. It is true that serious differences separated men like M. Caillaux and M. Paschal Grousset; but common danger, clearly seen, is the best school of discipline, and it was this which gathered round M. Combes men who for three years had no longer been surprised at finding themselves allied, and gave the Government energetic and faithful support. Thanks to this firm adherence the Ministry were able to surmount other serious obstacles, without too much difficulty. In the first frosts the miners of the Pas-de-Calais went out again on strike as in the preceding year, and in a few days work was stopped in almost all collieries. A man was killed at Terrenoire, and as English and German coal was imported in large quantity, an effort was made to extend the strike to the dock labourers. Dunkirk was the scene of a tumult; it was necessary to employ military force for several hours. The report ran that the town was in a state of siege (Oct. 23). The Government interposed between capital and labour, and the nightmare of a general strike was this time again averted. But it was necessary to promise to submit to the Chambers various Bills, containing measures taken, or to be taken, in favour of the workmen. M. Pelletan did still more; he set to work and by a vote of October 20 he ordered provisionally, and as it were as an experiment, an eight hours' day for the workmen in the docks and arsenals belonging to the Navy. This measure made the Ministry extremely popular, and enabled it to brave the attacks and insults of its many rivals and enemies.

If the Clericals vigorously assailed M. Pelletan, the higher clergy did not spare M. Combes. A petition of archbishops and bishops to the Deputies and Senators, was drawn up and signed by all the prelates except seven. This movement was very serious. It was absolutely contrary to the oldest rules; the Concordat forbade it and no Monarchical Government would have tolerated it. M. Combes incarcerated no one; he contented himself with suppressing the salaries of Cardinal Perraud, Bishop of Autun, and of the originators of the letter. The document was submitted to the Council of State, which, after a learned discussion, declared gravely that it constituted an abuse.

The troublous month of October ended as it had begun, with debates on the Doumer question. On the 30th the committees had proceeded with the election of members of the Commission on the Budget. Those elected who were members of the majority met, under the presidency of M. Lockroy, to agree on the subject of the constitution of the commission. As M.

Doumer was the only candidate for the presidency he was accepted ; but a few moments afterwards, M. Jaurés came forward energetically against this acceptance. "Blind," he cried, "you formerly made Boulanger and Cavaignac, go and make Doumer also." His was a voice in the desert. M. Doumer was elected by 26 out of 32. The leading chairmen were MM. Maujan for War, Bepmale for Education, Sembat for the Post-Office, Thomson for Finance, Dubief for the Navy.

Many weeks were required to prepare the reports of each office. The session was necessarily much shortened, because, by virtue of the Constitution, it was necessary to proceed with the partial renewal of the Senate, and the Conscript fathers about to submit to re-election wished to devote the last weeks of December to the care of their candidature ; and a growing number of Deputies desired to leave the Palais Bourbon for the Luxembourg. There was increasing disagreement on the method of procedure to be followed in submitting to Parliament the demands for authorisation of the Congregations in accordance with the law. It was necessary for the Council of State to modify the rules of administration promulgated the year before. The Chamber occupied its leisure by completing the verification of the powers of those Deputies whose election was contested. On December 4 it passed a Bill ratifying the Convention of Brussels in regard to sugar bounties, and expressed its confidence in M. Pelletan with regard to the reasons for which he had postponed the execution of orders given by his predecessor, M. de Lanessan. Another serious subject for debate was the reform of the method of work of the Parliamentary Commission, which every one concurred in thinking defective. It was finally agreed that fifteen or sixteen permanent Grand Commissions should be nominated, and that each Deputy should be a member of at least one Commission, and one only. On December 6 the Chamber held two sittings to grant the Government the two provisional "twelfths" which it demanded, and to discuss the question of M. Gauthier de Clagny on the result of the measures taken by the Keeper of the Seals for the arrest of the Humberts. This question gave rise to scenes of extraordinary violence. It was not only necessary to expel *manu militari* the Deputies Coustant and Syveton, but the hemicycle was the scene of a general *mêlée*, in which the representatives of the people attacked each other like men excited by wine. Three times the sitting was suspended. Finally, after a confused debate, the order of the day, drawn up by M. Etienne and accepted by the Government, was voted by the usual majority (336 against 136). The session closed immediately afterwards.

The Government remained in the hands of the *bloc* ; and the Radical-Socialist party was free to proceed with the enforcement of the law with regard to the Congregations, and to prepare for the Senatorial elections. General André, in a speech at Nancy, proclaimed the new ideas which should prevail in the

matter of discipline. The great transformation in military institutions which replaced the old seven years' enrolment by the three years which the young soldier was, at the most, obliged to spend with the colours had as its necessary corollary a complete modification of the conception of the part played by the young officer. Almost at the same time, the Rector of the Paris Academy, M. L. Liard, in a much-talked-of circular, explained to members of teaching bodies, to the families of those educated in State schools, and to the public, what should be the spirit of the new programme of education. A strong effort was made to direct the democracy towards the logical application of the principles which it proclaimed. The strike of seamen came to demonstrate brusquely the difficulty of establishing this harmony. It is well known that since the seventeenth century the military marine of France has been recruited by a simple system which puts at the disposition of the State all the sailors of the merchant service. In compensation for this form of servitude, the men included in the official registers have certain advantages and receive a pension in old age. They are, therefore, considered as always bound by discipline, and their contracts with ship-owners and companies who employ them are under the supervision of public authority. But, like most French workmen, they have formed themselves into a trade union, and the discipline imposed on them by the union is more strict than that of the admirals. At Marseilles a conflict of interests produced a strike of the most serious character. At the first command issued in the name of the union, the crews of the merchant ships left them. The ordinary course of maritime affairs was interrupted, and, encouraged by this startling success, the strikers tried to disorganise the services of Havre, of Nantes and of Bordeaux. But this sudden deadlock harassed not only the owners of transports, but a multitude of private persons, who protested loudly. Bastia, Algiers, Oran, encumbered with early fruits destined for Paris or London, calculated the cost to them of this strife. The Government felt obliged to intervene; and, without going so far as Italy in a strike of this kind, sent crews of the military marine to serve on board mail-steamers. The Prefect of Marseilles, M. G. Mastier, with as much resolution as skill, caused the arrest of two ringleaders, whose schemes were strongly suspected, and guaranteed the liberty of labour. Not only was no general strike proclaimed, but at the end of ten days the agitation ended, and on Dec. 16 the port of Marseilles returned to its usual state. While the campaign for the election of the Senate proceeded with almost Olympian calm, suitable to the aged, attention was divided between the incidents of the trial at Montpellier, where the Arabs arrested after the insurrection of Margueritte appeared before the jury, and the details of the arrest of the Humberts, discovered at Madrid, taken into custody on December 20, and extradited a few days later.

II. ITALY.

A few incidents of interest marked the somewhat prolonged Parliamentary recess at the beginning of the year. While the works at the Simplon were being vigorously pushed forward the Government decided to form fortifications at the mouth of the tunnel on the Italian side. The Minister of Public Works summoned a conference of delegates from the workmen on the railways and from the companies in order to prevent a strike which had been threatened for February 10. The Mayor of Rome, Prince Prospero Colonna, resigned, and Sgr. Nasi, Minister of Public Education, kept order with considerable sternness in the student riots, going so far as to send Carabinieri to enter the university precincts. The presence of the King at Naples to welcome the fleet on its return from China gave occasion for imposing demonstrations, which expressed the complete harmony established between the young Sovereign and his people. The year promised well on the financial side. But it seemed for a moment that the peaceful outlook which had allowed this improvement might be disturbed. The squadron at Spezzia received orders (Feb. 7) to start for Tripoli, while Sgr. Prinetti had a long interview with the Turkish Ambassador. But the troubles reported among the Mussulmans in that region were not sufficiently serious to warrant Italian intervention, and no occupation was effected. Peace was also maintained at home, in spite of uneasiness caused by the strike of railway employes, who stated that they were cruelly oppressed by the companies, particularly by that of the *Méditerranée*. Trade Union Committees were formed among the *ferrovieri*, and with the help of the Socialist propaganda the movement spread to the large depôts of Milan, Bologna and Naples. Negotiations were opened between the strike committees of the railway workmen and those of other bodies of men. It seemed as if social life, with the carriage of goods and passengers, would be roughly upset. This serious possibility looked imminent, and the Government summoned the representatives of the three companies most gravely threatened, and under the presidency of the Minister of Public Works, Sgr. Giusso, new regulations were prepared to reduce the work of the engineers and servants of the railways. Instead of checking the strike, however, these concessions only encouraged the malcontents. The postal and telegraph employes began an agitation in their turn, but the Minister of that department, Sgr. Galimberti, maintained firm discipline, and the Government resolved to have recourse, if necessary, to the strong hand to settle the dispute. The coincidence of the troubles at Barcelona (see "Spain") with the strike movement in Italy gave the victory to counsels of firm rule; Sgr. [unclear] offered his resignation and the President of the Cor [unclear] office of Public Works.

Th [unclear] session was to open on February 20.

Complete agreement had not been arrived at among the Ministers as to the particulars of the programme to be announced in the King's speech. The question of divorce was the chief stumbling-block. Not only the Clericals and Catholics were opposed to it; a Liberal lay committee had been formed which was fighting it in the South. It was decided at the last moment to leave the question on one side provisionally, and the speech from the Throne was made up merely of conventional phrases as to the benefits of peace, and somewhat vague allusions to the numerous proposals which would be brought before the Chambers, to the great works which would have to be undertaken, and to the urgency of judicial reform. The next day, when a President had to be chosen, the Ministerial candidate, Sgr. Villa, only obtained 135 votes against 142 blank votes and 42 spread over different names. This result was hardly announced before the Ministry resigned. The moment was singularly inopportune for a change of rule; the industrial agitation was increasing in Rome and Turin; a general vote on the strike was to be taken at Rome (Feb. 22); very few votes were recorded, but they were nearly all in favour of a strike, and in Italy, more than anywhere else, abstention is considered a form of submission. The King immediately sent for Sgr. Zanardelli, and refused to accept his resignation. Sgr. Giolitti talked of retiring, but was easily convinced that he could not desert his post at the moment of action; it was therefore arranged that the whole Ministry should reappear before Parliament. The railway strike was stopped by a decree placing the employes on the footing of mobilized reservists. Sgr. Sonnino came to an agreement with the Government that Sgr. B. Biancheri should be nominated President of the Chamber, and this agreement was ratified by the Chamber (March 10). The accord thus arranged was of short duration. The Government had turned their back on the Socialists in order to get out of a difficulty; now the crisis was over they made a change of attitude. A subsidy of 15,000,000 lire, payable in three years, was promised to the Provident Funds of the *ferrovieri*, and the railway companies were to add 9,000,000 lire. The strong hand was replaced, or at least supplemented, by the gentle. The President of the Cabinet announced to the Chamber that the King had not accepted their resignation, and that therefore the Ministry of February 14, 1901, remained in office.

It was not to be without buffets. The first was on the nomination of the Budget Commission, when those candidates who were most prominent on the Ministerial side were defeated. The Government had only nineteen supporters against seventeen opponents on this important Commission. Encouraged by this measure of success, the opponents of the Cabinet, with Sgr. Sonnino at their head, made an interpellation on general politics. The debate ended in favour of the Government, who received a vote of confidence, on the motion of Sgr. Govio, by

250 to 158. The Republicans abstained from voting, and the Socialists voted for the Government. Before adjourning (March 23) for the Easter recess, the Chamber of Deputies found time to pass a law as to the work of women and children in factories similar to that in force in France.

The deputies had hardly dispersed before the Minister of Foreign Affairs arrived, as if by chance, in Venice, where he met the German Chancellor, Count von Bülow, with whom he held long interviews on the renewal of the Triple Alliance. Her relations with France had doubtless been sensibly improved, but still Italy remained in alliance with the two Empires of Central Europe. So much this interview made clear. Italy's diplomacy seemed in better condition than her Army, for serious troubles disturbed military discipline at Piacenza, Como, Milan, Verceil and Tortone, where certain Reservists protested against being kept under arms though their regulation time of service was over. In these mutinous acts, which, however, were quickly suppressed, the enemies of the house of Savoy sought a proof of the unpopularity of the monarchical *régime*, and the Vatican seized this occasion to once more forbid Catholics to take any part in the elections. More immediately embarrassing for the Cabinet was the inopportune conflict which sprang up with Switzerland. A Swiss newspaper which was willing to insert articles communicated by Anarchists had published an apology for the regicide Breschi, assassin of King Humbert. The Italian Minister, Sgr. Silvestrelli, brought this article to the notice of the Federal Government, but they refused to take proceedings unless a formal complaint were laid before them. Signor Silvestrelli having replied by a severe letter, the Swiss Government demanded his recall, and when the Chambers re-assembled on the appointed day the Cabinet sent to each Deputy a Green-book relating, with documents in support, the origin and course of this matter. Public opinion was less ready than the Government had hoped to take the side of the Italian diplomat. It was thought that Sgr. Silvestrelli had been right in his action but wrong in the manner of it, and had behaved clumsily; the head of Italian diplomacy was less clumsy in the debate in the Chamber to which this incident gave rise. The Socialists, careless of diplomatic conventions, entirely supported Dr. Zemp, who had conducted the affair, and Sgr. Cabrini even asked why Italy did not display the same energy against Austria, who was cruelly persecuting Italians at Trieste and in the Tyrol. Nevertheless the Chamber endorsed without difficulty the declarations of the Government. It received with equal complaisance the explanations of General Ponza di San Martino as to the incidents of the Reservists, and to please everybody set itself to the discussion of the Bill relating to the conversion of consol securities into 3 per cents.

The Senate was less amenable. During a heated debate lasting through the sittings of March 24 and 25 the Ministers

of the Interior, of Justice and of War had been cross-questioned in turn. Sgr. Vitelleschi, Miceli, Negri and Guarneri had attacked the policy of the Cabinet, reproaching them particularly for their want of authority. General L. Pelloux ended by affirming that the decree militarising the railway employes had been illegal, to which Sgr. Giolitti replied that that officer was inciting the soldiers to disobey. As an outcome of this debate the Cabinet asked for a vote of confidence, but Sgr. Guerrieri proposed the order of the day pure and simple, and the voting took place on this motion, which was rejected by 81 votes to 76. The majority in favour of the Government only amounted to 2, as the three Senator Ministers had taken part in the vote. Thereupon the Ministerial journals stated that Senator Pelloux should resign his post as head of an army corps, but he paid no attention to these suggestions, and it was General Ponza di San Martino who retired. He was replaced by the head of the fourth army corps at Genoa, General Ottolenghi, who had previously shown at Palermo rare qualities of *sang-froid* and energy. This choice was well received even by the Opposition. The new Minister was a Jew, and his appointment showed that Italy, in this respect happier than Germany or Austria, knew nothing of anti-Semitism.

On the other hand she had her own troubles, specially that of agrarian poverty, an endless source of emigration and brigandage in the southern provinces. The debate on the Budget gave occasion to the teachers of social science from Monte Citorio to suggest their remedies for these evils. Sgr. Prinetti had to state the new character of the Triple Alliance, and to explain the policy of Italy in the East, particularly in Albania and Tripoli. He asserted that each of the allied Powers was free to make alliances or agreements with a third party, and repudiated all intention of conquest. After this declaration the Budget was passed without reduction. The debates on the reorganisation of the Colony of Erythrea were less satisfactory. Such violent words were exchanged that Sgr. Prinetti sent his seconds to two of the members of the Parliamentary Commission chosen to consider the plan. The seconds were, nevertheless, wise enough to arrange the affair without a duel.

The rest of June was taken up by the discussion of the Budget in the Senate, and Sgr. Giolitti triumphed there. He had obtained, after the incidents mentioned above, the creation of twenty new Senators. This addition had profoundly modified the spirit of the higher Chamber, where there were only sixteen Opposition votes.

The renewal of the Triple Alliance for a fresh period of five years was signed (June 28) at Berlin by Count von Bülow, Count Lanza, and the Austro-Hungarian Minister, M. de Szögyény; while, as if to assert still more clearly at the same time his liberty of action, King Victor Emmanuel started for St. Petersburg (July 9), after the closing of Parliament, with-

out stopping in either Germany or Austria. This was the first visit paid by an Italian Sovereign to the Tsar in his own country. Whilst the official rejoicings presented to the world the usual spectacle of reviews, banquets and galas, the two Foreign Ministers discussed the serious political and economic questions in which the two nations were interested. Albania, for one; the necessity of finding an outlet for Russian and Italian products threatened by the demands of German agrarianism; and, no doubt, also the Chinese question, were the principal subjects of discussion. The King of Italy returned to his country on July 19, the day after that on which the new tendencies of Italian diplomacy had been referred to, in re-assuring terms, in the English House of Lords.

Over against this change, if not of direction and character, at least of appearance, in the foreign policy of the House of Savoy was to be set a new aspect of the papal Curia. The state of things might be described as critical. In France, in Poland, in the Philippines, in Spain, a tendency appeared to oppose the encroachments of the monks. The checks received by the Church, particularly outside Europe, were attributed to the want of skill of Cardinal Ledochowski, and the Pope requested from this prelate his resignation of his office as Prefect of the Propaganda. A little while after, the celebrated opponent of Bismarck in the struggles of the *Kulturkampf* died suddenly from an attack of apoplexy, and Leo XIII. appointed as his successor Cardinal Gotti, formerly President of the Congregation of the Holy Relics. This appointment implied a considerable modification in the relations of the Holy See with foreign Powers, and particularly a still more irreconcilable attitude towards Italy, Cardinal Gotti being one of the Roman prelates to whom the Government had most firmly refused the *exequatur* in the different posts to which he had been successively appointed. At the same time the much more correct behaviour of the pilgrims was noticed, who, according to custom, were being sent by thousands by the clergy of France *ad limina Apostolorum*. It had been announced that vigorous protests would be made against the policy both of the Republic and of Italy, but no such thing happened; this caution showed to all the world the consideration which the Zanardelli Cabinet evoked.

A happy end was put to the diplomatic struggle with Switzerland. King Victor Emmanuel had accepted the Kaiser's invitation to spend a few days at Berlin, and his journey thither would involve his crossing Switzerland. The President of the Federal Council, M. Zemp, announced his intention of greeting the Italian monarch on his arrival on Swiss territory. This step implied the presence of an Italian Minister accredited to the Federation and of a Swiss diplomat with the King of Italy. The following arrangement was adopted: Duke Averna was appointed to Berne, while M. Pioda replaced M. Carlin at the Quirinal; only in consideration of the circumstances Duke

Averna proceeded first to present his letters of introduction, and this shade of difference was supposed to give the necessary solution to the difficulty. It is not necessary to dwell on the details of the visit of the King of Italy to Berlin, Potsdam and neighbouring places; friendly expressions were exchanged between the allied Sovereigns in conformity with the protocol drawn up by the Emperor, and Sgr. Prinetti tried behind the scenes to warn the Chancellor von Bülow against the dangers of agrarian protection, though it was beyond his power to suggest any effective remedy for the difficulties which were paralysing him.

The recess was fairly quiet in Italy. Sicily, indeed, got up an agitation by way of protest against the verdict pronounced after an interminable trial by the jury of Bologna on Palizzolo; the anniversary of the death of Crispi was celebrated with *éclat* at Palermo, but the excitement was only superficial: at Florence an attempt at a general strike failed pitifully; at Imola the most important Socialist congress hitherto held in Italy assembled on September 6. More than a thousand delegates appeared there, representing the leagues of the peninsula, yet the moderate party, led by Sgr. Turati, dominated entirely the advanced section, which had Sgr. Ferri as spokesman. The lovers of scandal hoped that the failure of a bank would compromise politicians and renew the excitements of the days of Crispi; but none were concerned, or rather the principal victims of this abortive *Pananimo* were two obscure Italian deputies and two French politicians to whom this was by no means their first misfortune. The general prosperity of the kingdom was attested by the success of the tour undertaken by the President of the Council in the southern provinces of Italy. It was striking to see the head of the Government escorted by the two most intimate friends of Sgr. Sonnino, the head of the Opposition. So tranquil and satisfactory, despite a few slight and purely local troubles, was the general situation that the President of the Chamber agreed with Sgr. Zanardelli that there was no reason against the prolongation of the Parliamentary recess till November 25. It ended in pride at the vigorous repression of piracy in the Red Sea by the Italian fleet and joy at the birth of the Princess Mafalda.

On the re-opening of the Chambers two important Bills were introduced, one by the Government authorising divorce and one by the Opposition to reorganise the southern provinces. Sgr. Giolitti declared in the name of the Government that they were ready to consider the latter scheme, but reserved their opinion as to its provisions. The Chamber passed his remarkably bold scheme for the municipalisation of public works, hitherto left to private initiative, such as transport, lighting, water supply and others. On being questioned as to some peasant riots at Candela, Sgr. Giolitti asked for and received a vote of confidence, after declaring that freedom to work was as sacred

as freedom to strike and that the mission of the Government was to prevent the exercise of violence by the partisans of either side. The Chamber voted without difficulty the supplementary loans for the expedition to China; applauded Sgr. Prinetti for his announcement that the commercial treaties with Germany and Austria were on the eve of being renewed; applauded Sgr. Balenzano, Minister of Public Works, for his statement of the plans for new lines between Piedmont and Nice; applauded the Minister for War, and granted him the funds necessary for calling out the Reservists of 1878; and if it did not applaud Sgr. de Broglio, Minister of Finance, it was only because he could not appear in person to read his financial statement, but it decided that this should be taken as read and approved and should be published. In fact the really successful man at the end of the year was the indefatigable worker who had brought the national finances to a state of prosperity long unknown. The Budget of 1901-2 had ended with a surplus of 32,500,000 lire after having provided for 17,000,000 lire of unexpected costs for the making of railways and 10,000,000 lire for the expedition to China. The corrected Budget of 1902-3 gave reason to expect a surplus of 16,000,000 on a total *summa* of 1,812,000,000 lire. A large part of the credit was due to the young King, whose simplicity of life, scorn of pomp and firm will had encouraged and supported the fellow-workers of the Nestor of Italian politics, Sgr. Zanardelli, to whom fate had given the good fortune of presiding at the peaceful triumph of the democratic monarchy and the Liberal party of which he was the veteran.

CHAPTER II.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

I. GERMANY.

THE year 1902 was not of good augury either for the policy of the German Government or for the political reputation of its Chancellor. On the great question of the Tariff Bill, Count Bülow, "declaring he would ne'er consent, consented"; he drew a well-deserved retort from Mr. Chamberlain for his insolent and uncalled-for remarks on the comparison made by the latter between the conduct of Continental armies in recent wars and that of the British army in South Africa; his futile intrigue for alienating the United States from England by suggesting that she had started a European coalition to prevent the war with Spain was an utter failure, and his attempt to justify the imprisonment of Polish students and the flogging of Polish children (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 279), by saying that these measures were necessary for the security of the German Empire, was too obviously transparent a device for catching votes among

the more ignorant and prejudiced sections of the German people. He dealt with what was only a matter of Prussian administrative policy as a great international question affecting not only the whole of Germany, but also the neighbouring Powers. This was a tactical blunder which might have had serious results in view of the sympathy expressed for the Poles on the occasion all over Europe, and even in Austria and Russia; and the demonstrations at Lemberg against the Russian Government and at Warsaw against that of Germany were a sufficient proof that there was no such organised movement among the Poles in the three Empires as Count Bülow had described. There could be no more severe condemnation of his own policy and that of his predecessors than the declaration which he made *urbi et orbi* that among the subjects of Prussia there are two or three millions of traitors of the Polish nationality who are only looking for an opportunity of destroying the Prussian State—thereby admitting that after a hundred years Prussia has not been able to convert the Poles into loyal subjects, although Austria has done so with conspicuous success.

In the debate which took place on the subject in the Prussian Parliament on January 13 Count Bülow admitted that "the administration of corporal punishment was out of place in religious instruction," but added that "other means would be found of dealing with refractory children." He pleaded that the Government had to deal with "an organised Polish agitation," that "Polish lawyers, Polish doctors, Polish contractors, were united in the attempt to thrust the German element into the background," that "German property was steadily passing into Polish hands," and that "German artisans and labourers were systematically boycotted." The Polish question was, therefore, "the most important concern of Prussian politics at the present time." In order to strengthen the position of the Germans as landed proprietors, and "to establish a strong German middle class," even larger sums of money than before would be advanced, and troops would be introduced to strengthen the garrisons. The chief burgomaster of Posen, a Prussian official, confirmed the statements of the Chancellor, adding that the main factor in the Polish problem was the rise of a vigorous Polish middle class, that the east of Prussia was gradually becoming Polish—a process "which showed the strength of a law of nature"—and that the Polish movement had ceased to be aristocratic and had become Radical and democratic. But he said that he could not agree in the unfortunate comparison made by the Chancellor, in a conversation with the correspondent of the *Figaro*, of the Germans to hares and the Poles to rabbits*; the growth of national feeling among the latter was, much more

* His words were: "If in this park I were to put ten hares and five rabbits, next year I should have fifteen hares and a hundred rabbits. It is against such a phenomenon that we mean to defend German national unity in the Polish provinces."

than that of population, the cause of their industrial and political progress in Posen. The Poles had also settled in considerable numbers in other parts of the Empire. According to the census of 1900 there were 18,500 Poles in Berlin alone; in Pomerania there were 14,200, in Brandenburg 24,300, in Saxony 24,700, in Hanover 10,600, in Westphalia 91,500, and in Rhenish Prussia 25,500. All these Poles were intensely patriotic, having their own newspapers and clubs, and generally holding aloof from the Germans among whom they lived. Ten per cent. of the whole population of Prussia was Polish.

In March some forty Russian and Polish students, most of whom attended the lectures in the Technical College at Charlottenburg, were expelled from Prussia on the charge of political agitation, and in April the Government issued a decree with the object of checking the immigration of Poles into Prussian territory. Under this decree emigrants from Russian Poland were not to be admitted into Prussia unless they were provided with a fully attested passport and a sum of 400 marks in ready money. In May a Bill was laid before the Prussian Parliament for carrying out the policy with regard to the Poles foreshadowed in the Chancellor's speech of January 13. The memorandum accompanying the Bill pointed out that of the 200,000,000 marks voted for the purpose of settling German colonists in Posen in 1886 and 1898 only 56,000,000 marks remained unspent, and that this balance would probably be exhausted in the course of the next four years. In spite of the activity of the Settlement Commission, the Poles had since the Commission was first started purchased 31,000 hectares (76,611 acres) more land in Posen than the Germans, and both more money and a more effective system of settlement were therefore urgently required. It was accordingly proposed by the Bill to devote 250,000,000 marks more for this purpose. In many cases German immigrants who had bought their land through the instrumentality of the Commission had afterwards sold it to Poles, and steps were to be taken to prevent this in future. 100,000,000 marks of the 250,000,000 were to be employed for the creation of large Government domains to serve as models for the German peasant proprietors, and for afforesting certain districts where the land is too poor for agriculture. This Bill met with much hostile criticism in the German Press, especially in the organs of the Clerical party, which has always supported its Polish co-religionists in Prussia. The Radical *Frankfurter Zeitung*, too, which is far from friendly to the Poles, objected to the measure on the ground that the policy of expropriation had in its actual operation strengthened instead of weakened the Polish element. The only possible way, it maintained, to make the Poles good Prussian citizens was to win them over by giving them the same rights as the Germans. Notwithstanding these criticisms the Bill passed both Houses of the Prussian Parliament, the Poles, the Clericals, and the Radicals voting against it.

That the Poles were becoming an increasingly important element of the population in Prussia was acknowledged by all parties, and the wiser minds of Germany considered that this only strengthened the argument for conciliating them, especially as they formed the majority of the inhabitants of the districts on the open frontier on the side of Russia, where they might become a real danger to Prussia in the event of a war. But the aristocratic and middle classes who, under the very restricted suffrage of Prussia, elected the majority of the Members of the Prussian Parliament (the German Parliament only being elected by universal suffrage) were blinded by national arrogance, and the Emperor, who in past years had been favourably disposed towards the Poles, seemed to share the general infatuation. On June 5 he made a speech at Marienburg, in which he proclaimed in their crudest form the doctrines of German Chauvinism. Marienburg was the seat of the Teutonic Knights, who in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries converted the Slavonic population, who were the aboriginal inhabitants of Prussia, to Catholicism by fire and sword, but conspicuously failed to subdue the inhabitants of the adjoining districts of Lithuania. Speaking at the dedication of a restored chapel of the Teutonic Knights in the Castle of Marienburg, the Emperor described that fortress as "the starting point of the civilisation of the countries east of the Vistula" and the "symbol of Germany's mission." He added that "Polish aggressiveness is resolved to encroach upon Germanism," and that he must now summon his people "to preserve its national possessions." These words were deeply resented, not only in Poland, but even in Russia.

In September, however, the Emperor made in some sort an *amende honorable* to the Poles for his offensive speech at Marienburg. He proceeded to Posen to unveil a monument to the Emperor Frederick, and the Polish inhabitants marked their resentment at that speech by absenting themselves from all the festivities which were got up by the Germans in his honour. In replying to the address of welcome delivered by the Burgo-master, the Emperor announced that the military regulation under which houses could not be built within a certain distance from the fortifications would be abolished, and that steps would be taken for erecting dwellings for working men. As the latter are nearly all Poles, this was a substantial benefit to the Polish element. He further stated that no difficulties would be placed in the way of the Poles as regards their religious belief or their historical and national traditions; but he made no mention of their language, which was the chief point on which they were persecuted, the use of the Polish language being forbidden not only in the schools, but at public meetings, which were always attended by a commissary of police who dissolved the meeting whenever any one attempted to speak Polish.

Count Bülow's management of the Tariff Bill (see ANNUAL

REGISTER, 1901, pp. 267-70) was not more effective than his speeches on the Polish question. His attempts at reconciliation were regarded on all sides as evidences of weakness, and he was equally unfortunate in his adoption of more vigorous tactics. His brusque declarations in the Prussian and German Parliaments, after a series of vacillations between the views of the agrarians and those of the manufacturers, that the Government would not accept any changes whatever in its Bill, only stiffened the opposition to it, even among those who had hitherto been reckoned as the strongest of the Government supporters.

The labours of the Parliamentary Committee on the Tariff Bill proved to be so onerous and protracted that the Government brought in a Bill for paying the members of the Committee while the Reichstag was not sitting. Under this Bill, which was passed on May 2, each Member of the Committee was granted 2,400 marks (120*l.*). This measure, which was nicknamed the Pocket-Money Bill, was regarded, even in quarters which had been friendly to the Government, as amounting to a confession of weakness on their part, and as exhibiting the Reichstag in a very unfavourable light. It was observed in a National Liberal organ that: "a sitting of the whole House had almost become a thing of the past, a quorum was a rare exception. The Committees at least had hitherto done their duty, but they too were now breaking down. . . . Even the Tariff Bill Committee must now be induced by a dole of pocket-money to prolong its labours beyond those of the House." The difficulty of obtaining a quorum in the Reichstag was mainly caused by the fact that the Members who live at a long distance from Berlin could not afford to reside there during the whole of the Parliamentary session unless they happened to be also Members of the Prussian Parliament, where they were paid for their attendance. The only method of ensuring a constant attendance of the majority of the Imperial Parliament or Reichstag would have been to pay Members there also, and a resolution for this purpose, after having been passed annually for several years, was accepted in 1901 by the Federal Council; but the Government did not give effect to it (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 273).

On May 12 a meeting of 700 representatives of the leading cities and towns of the German Empire was held at Berlin to protest against the Tariff Bill. Seventy-seven municipal communities were represented, including the capitals of all the German States and of all the Prussian provinces. The principal speakers stated that in Wurtemberg, Baden and Bavaria even agriculture would not benefit from the proposed increase in the corn duties, and that on German industry and commerce generally the effect of the passing of the Bill would be disastrous, as it would increase the price of materials, send down wages, and drive German capital abroad. It would, moreover, render the renewal of the commercial treaties impossible. The existence

of one-fifth of the whole population of Germany was dependent upon the export trade, and if the treaties were not renewed, Germany would be excluded from the markets of the world. The meeting passed a resolution declaring that the municipal bodies of Germany were strongly opposed "to any increase of the duties on the necessities of life."

The Tariff Bill Committee concluded its labours on October 2. In direct opposition to the policy of the Government it raised the minimum duties * on foreign grain. It also set up minimum duties on cattle. The duty per double hundredweight on wheat was raised from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 marks; on rye from 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ marks; on barley from 3 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ marks; on oats from 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ marks. The committee also abolished the duty on herrings, which elicited a protest from the official organ of the Ministry of the Interior on the ground that it was necessary to foster the German deep sea fisheries, so that they may give further employment to the maritime population and provide for the Navy "a supply of men trained to the life of the sea." Even the existing duty was not sufficient to protect the German herring fisheries, as, although since 1892 the proportion of herrings supplied by them to the home market had risen very considerably, the number of barrels imported from abroad for home consumption in 1891 was 1,361,548, while that supplied by the German fisheries was 164,036 only.

The Bill, which contained 946 clauses, now came before Parliament for a second reading. As was to be expected, very little progress was made with it; the Conservative and Clerical majority followed the lead of the committee in increasing the duties on corn laid down in the Bill, and the National Liberals, Radicals and Socialists did their utmost to delay its progress by obstructive tactics such as insisting on the names on each side being read at each division.

In order to defeat these tactics of the Socialists, the Conservatives and Clericals proposed alterations of the rules of procedure so as to substitute voting papers for the taking of names at divisions and restrict speeches on points of order to a period of five minutes. These alterations were passed, but had little effect in accelerating the progress of the Bill, and it soon became evident that in face of the continued obstruction, the Socialists bringing forward dilatory amendments on each clause and exhausting the patience of the House by long speeches on each amendment, there was no chance of the Bill becoming law before the next general election, in which the Socialists were pretty sure of obtaining a considerable increase of strength. Under these circumstances, the Conservatives and Clericals determined to vote upon the whole tariff *en bloc* instead of clause by clause, and the National Liberals, though they had hitherto voted with the Socialists against the tariff, now joined the

* For an explanation of this term see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 268.

Conservatives in order to put down the obstruction which was becoming a public scandal. The Socialists grew so abusive and disorderly as to produce scenes unprecedented in the whole history of the Reichstag. A motion for bringing the whole tariff at once to the vote was, however, proposed and passed by a majority of 183 to 130, but this decision of the House produced a storm of indignation in the country. The National Liberals repudiated the action of their representatives in the Reichstag, who were branded as the accomplices in a violation of the liberty of Parliament, and the veteran historian, Professor Mommsen, issued a passionate manifesto on the subject, in which he declared that "the Social Democracy is the only great party in Germany which has any claim to political respect."

Meanwhile the Government, which had taken no part whatever in the debates, had arrived—as the result of prolonged private conferences with its sectional leaders—at an arrangement with the majority in regard to the tariff. Count Bülow, after having repeatedly declared that the increased duties proposed by the Parliamentary Committee could not possibly be accepted by the Government, and that no alteration would be admitted in any of the rates fixed by the Government tariff, now not only agreed to raise the minimum rate of duty for barley to be employed for brewing purposes from thirty to forty marks per ton and to reduce the duties on agricultural implements, but accepted the increases proposed by the committee in other respects. This extraordinary *volte-face* became still more singular when it appeared from a speech made by Herr Spahn, the Clerical leader, that the tariff scheme was not "intended ever to come into operation," but was merely "to be a weapon in the hands of the Government for their negotiations with foreign Powers," and "must, as a matter of course, be modified in the new treaties of commerce"—as if foreign Governments were likely to accept as a basis of negotiation a tariff which they knew was never to be carried into effect. Count Bülow's action in the matter was, in fact, a complete surrender to the Conservatives, for he not only swallowed his own professions, and made to the prejudice of the industrial and labouring class the very concessions which he had declared he would never make, but conspired with the Conservative party in producing a Parliamentary *coup d'état* which it hoped would be the first step to the restriction of the suffrage; and all this because he feared the loss of prestige to the Government which would have been involved in the withdrawal of the Bill. The Emperor, however, expressed his satisfaction at the result by conferring upon the Count the chain of the Royal Order of the House of Hohenzollern, which is the highest mark of Imperial favour in Germany. But in the country no class was satisfied—not even the Agrarians, who protested against the Bill on the third reading on the ground that it did not give

sufficient protection to agriculture, and seceded from the Conservative party in evidence of their opposition to the compromise it had effected with the Government.

During the debates in the German Parliament on the Tariff Bill an interesting discussion took place on a proposal made by the Social Democrats that the Federal Council should be empowered to remit duties on commodities imported from abroad in cases where similar commodities were sold abroad by German trusts at a lower price than that charged in Germany. The trust system was on this occasion generally approved by all the speakers in the debate, though its present operation in Germany was strongly objected to. The economy in production introduced by trusts was held to have helped to ward off an economic crisis in the country, and the Free Conservative Deputy, Herr Gamp, declared that the trust system had benefited agriculture and industry by obviating the necessity for middlemen and by thus rendering the conditions of sale more stable. To hamper the work of the trusts by remitting Customs duties would be a serious blow to German producers, he thought. The trusts doubtless sold cheaper abroad than at home, but in Portugal, for example, it was quite impossible to obtain the same prices as in Germany. The English sent rails to that country at 85 marks, and the German manufacturer must therefore be content with that price. It was true that trusts might abuse their position, but he and his friends would gladly do their best to devise a remedy for this.

The Socialist leader, Herr Bebel, declared that he and his colleagues were not opposed in principle to trusts, which they regarded as a step towards the nationalisation of industry. But under present economic conditions large commercial combinations injured the consumer by raising prices.

In the course of the debate the Prussian Minister of Commerce, Herr Möller, announced that an inquiry which was being conducted by the Department of the Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior would shortly clear up the question of trusts. They had not in any way intensified the economic crisis; and Herr Möller considered that their operations tended to relieve over-production, where it existed, by facilitating export.

In March an arrangement was made of the nature of an offensive and defensive alliance between the great German Atlantic shipping companies (the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg-American) and the Morgan Shipping Combination for the regulation of international competition in the carrying trade, and for mutual support against the "encroachment of outside competitors." Among the conditions agreed to were a pledge on the part of the Combination not to run its vessels to any German port without the consent of the two German companies, and certain restrictions to be observed by the latter in respect of their traffic with British ports. The establishment of new steamship lines, or the large extension of existing ones,

...being carried out, be mutually considered, and if tentatively determined on such development, the ... have the opportunity of participation to the extent ... of the enterprise. If either party temporarily ... more ships for its traffic than it possessed, it should ... to give the other the preferential right to supply them, ... laid down in the agreement. The arrangement was ... commented upon in the Press, and the Emperor ... his approval of it by conferring the Order of the Red Eagle on the managers and chairmen of the two lines on their return from their diplomatic mission to New York. It was asserted by the German negotiators that American capitalists did not acquire any controlling influence by the arrangement over the shares of the German companies, and that steps would be taken for preventing the shares from falling into foreign hands. These companies, notwithstanding the subsidy of 280,000*l.* a year paid to the North German Lloyd by the Government, had suffered from a serious decline in freights, partly owing to an excessive development of their business, and partly to the commercial and industrial depression in Germany, and it was therefore of great importance, both for themselves and the Government, that they should not be exposed to ruinous competition by the Morgan Trust.

The principal achievement of the summer session of the Reichstag was the acceptance of the Brussels Convention and of the Sugar Bill which was its consequence. A controversy took place on this occasion between Prince Herbert Bismarck and Count Bülow, the former having described the Convention as "a leap in the dark," and stated that some sixty or seventy sugar factories had protested against its provisions. The Secretary of State for the Imperial Treasury, in defending the Convention, explained that the German exportation of sugar was menaced by the great increase in the production of Cuba, and by the danger that other States would follow the example of America by imposing extra duties upon sugar exported under the bounty system. It was in the interest of the German sugar industry that Germany should not run the risk of being excluded from the Brussels Conference, and he felt sure that if a satisfactory international agreement were concluded the markets of the world would be kept open by the Convention for German sugar. He further pointed out that if the Convention were accepted, the sum of 29,000,000 marks, which on an average had been paid in recent years in sugar bounties, would in future remain in the Treasury, and would enable the inland revenue tax to be reduced ~~from 20 marks~~ to 18 marks. The whole tax—Customs and inland revenue—would thus sink from 40 marks to 22·80 marks.

In a subsequent speech, in reply to the Members who asserted that the Convention was equivalent to the ruin of

Germany's sugar industry, that it was especially damaging to the German growers of beetroot, and that the negotiations at Brussels had resulted in a victory for England, stated that in 1891 2,300,000,000 kilogrammes of sugar were produced, of which Germany only consumed 700,000,000, while of the sugar which had to be exported England took almost one-half. It would be a disaster for the German sugar industry if it lost the English market, and the only way of preventing this was to accept the Convention. He was convinced that the sur-tax of from 4.40 to 4.80 marks would be adequate to keep foreign sugar out of the German Empire. As to the Sugar Bill laid before the Reichstag, it abolished the State regulation of production and reduced the imposts on consumption, a measure which would materially contribute to increase the home consumption and thereby improve the home market for sugar. The Bill was finally passed by a large majority, the sur-tax being fixed at 4.80 marks (6 francs), which is the maximum allowed by the Convention, and the excise duty at 14 marks instead of 16, as proposed by the Government. It was also decided that the Sugar Bill and the Convention should simultaneously come into force on September 1, 1903, and that the tariffs on German railways for beetroot, molasses, and raw and crystallised sugar should be reduced. A Clerical Deputy proposed that at the date when the Convention expires it should not be renewed without the assent of the Reichstag; but Count Bülow in reply read a declaration on behalf of the Federated Governments vindicating their right to prolong treaty engagements at their discretion. The House also passed the German Spirits Bill (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 274) and the Saccharine Bill, under which the production or import of saccharine was prohibited, except under licence from the Federal Council, which was empowered to give the necessary permission to one or more manufacturers or importers. This permission might be recalled at any time, and the business of the licence-holders was to be subject to constant official inspection. Saccharine was only to be sold by retail in chemists' shops, and only to persons officially licensed to use it for scientific or medical purposes. The Imperial Chancellor was empowered by the Bill to fix the maximum of saccharine to be produced by each factory.

In the Prussian Parliament, next to the Bill for providing further funds for the German Colonisation Commission in the Polish districts (see p. 282) the most important of the measures passed during the summer session was a law for regulating the inspection of meat. Although it was introduced nominally in the interests of the public health, it would also serve to protect home-bred against imported meat, and was in this sense a concession to the Agrarians. The Government also gave satisfaction to the Agrarian party by prohibiting the employment of boracic acid for the preservation of meat, a measure which was strongly opposed by the National Liberals and the Radicals

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as tending to increase its price, and which created much adverse comment in the United States.

An important step was taken by the Emperor in May for conciliating the population of Alsace-Lorraine. The romantic Castle of Hochkönigsburg, in the Vosges, had been restored at the expense of the provincial treasury so as to fit it for an Imperial residence, and the Emperor, on arriving at the castle, issued an order to the governor authorising him to take, in conjunction with the Imperial Chancellor, the necessary steps for repealing the "dictatorship paragraph" in the conquered provinces. This paragraph was part of the provincial constitution of 1879, and was taken from the law of December, 1871, which invested the chief president or governor with powers to adopt, in the event of danger to the public safety, all measures which he might consider requisite, *i.e.*, to employ the troops for police purposes, to expel undesirable persons, to suppress newspapers, and virtually to place the country in a state of siege. Resolutions had been passed by the Reichstag in 1895 and 1900 for the repeal of the paragraph, on the ground that it had become unnecessary, but these resolutions were, as usual, disregarded by the Government—the then Chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, who had for many years been governor of Alsace-Lorraine, opposing them on various grounds of political prudence, and the Emperor probably thinking it best to postpone taking any action in the matter until Prince Hohenlohe resigned. In the edict to the governor he declared that he desired to give the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine "a special proof of his favour," and that he had confidence "in those sentiments of fidelity to the Empire and of loyalty which have become more and more firmly established among the population of the Reichsland." An important concession was also made to the Roman Catholics of the province by the establishment of a Roman Catholic Theological Faculty at the Imperial University of Strasburg. A semi-official statement was published representing this step as having been taken by the Imperial Government exclusively for State reasons, since the non-existence of such a Faculty in the annexed provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and the consequent education of Roman Catholic priests in the Episcopal Seminary, had tended to keep alive the Francophil spirit amongst the Alsatian priesthood, who naturally showed a predilection for France, where Roman Catholicism is prevalent and no obstacles are put in the way of State Theological Faculties. Count Bülow, in introducing the Bill for the abolition of the "dictatorship paragraph" in the Reichstag, further alleged that the paragraph had only two or three times been enforced during the seventeen years that Prince Hohenlohe had been governor, that emigration to France had now greatly diminished, and that in view of the strength of Germany all hope of separation by force had vanished.

The industrial depression from which Germany was suffering

during the year 1901 also continued in 1902. At the opening of the Prussian Parliament in January the speech from the Throne began with a statement that the prevailing economic depression had of necessity had an unfavourable effect upon the finances of the kingdom, and that a recurrence of the surplus of the financial year 1900-1 was not to be expected. The receipts from the State railways did not fulfil the expectations of the previous year, and it had been necessary to take measures for the relief of agricultural distress in the provinces of Posen and Westphalia. The railway administration would also afford increased facilities for employment, by greater activity in building operations, and by considerable grants for the construction of branch lines.

The returns of the foreign trade of Germany for the year 1901 showed that the imports amounted to 5,709,782,000 marks against 6,042,992,000 in 1900, and the exports to 4,512,646,000 marks against 4,752,601,000 in 1900, while it appeared from a comparison of the figures for the past five years that up to 1900 there had been a progressive and uninterrupted increase both of imports and exports. At Berlin alone there was a decrease of from 15,000 to 18,000 in the number of persons employed in the metal and machine industries, in building, and in carpentering; the iron foundries had dispensed with about 39 per cent. of their hands, and wages had fallen. The German Budget, too, showed a deficit of 48,422,784 marks.

The Estimates for 1902 were considerably cut down by the Budget Committee of the Reichstag, and the result was that in order to balance them loans would have to be raised amounting to only 112,000,000 marks instead of 182,000,000 as proposed by the Government.

The reductions effected in expenditure amounted to 23,500,000 marks. Of this sum 10,500,000 marks were saved by curtailing the Army Estimates, particularly the votes for fortress construction and siege artillery. There was also a total reduction of 6,304,000 marks in the Estimates for the East Asiatic Expedition, and 4,200,000 marks in the Estimates for the Navy. The sum of 33,000,000 marks was secured by appropriating a remainder of the China loan of previous years. The committee further resolved, after a protracted debate, to raise the amount of the matricular contributions of the German States to the Empire by 12,500,000 marks.

A considerable sensation was caused in Germany at the beginning of the year by the premature disclosure in a Socialist paper of a departmental instruction from the German Admiralty which indicated that the extensive naval programme sanctioned by the Reichstag in 1900 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 279, and 1900, pp. 285-7) would be still further enlarged. This instruction provided for an increase in the number of new vessels intended for foreign service, and a reconsideration of the existing arrangements for putting the new vessels in commission. According to the provisions of the law of 1900, two

battleships, one large cruiser and three small cruisers were to be commenced every year. The instruction stated that a parallel provision for putting the ships in commission was not introduced in the Bill because it would have involved so large an addition to the permanent Naval Budget for the years 1905-10 that the success of the whole Bill would have been imperilled, and that an additional clause to the law of 1900 would, in accordance with the present intentions of the Government, be submitted to the consideration of the Reichstag during the winter of 1904-5. The new clause would have reference only to the numerical increase of the vessels intended for foreign service, but the accompanying preamble would deal with the whole question of the development of the Navy during the years 1906-10, and, if the financial situation were at that time favourable, would contain a reference to the necessity of increasing the recurring expenditure in order to meet the growing requirements of the Navy.

In consequence of this disclosure of the intentions of the Government, it was accused by the Socialists and Clericals of having deliberately concealed its plans from the Reichstag when the Navy Bill became law in 1900, as it had then stated that no fresh taxation would be necessary, whereas it now appeared that considerable further expense would be incurred. The Secretary of State for the Navy, however (Admiral Tirpitz), asserted that he had declared in the debate on the Bill that the Government considered an increase of the number of ships for foreign service to be a matter of immediate necessity, but that in view of the difficulties involved it would consent to postpone the question; the Government still considered that the question of increasing the number of ships on foreign service was an urgent one, and it had made its preparations accordingly. He went on to say that, according to the naval programme announced to the Reichstag in 1900, a squadron of ten battleships would be built at the rate of two in each year, so that by the year 1905 the last two would be already in course of construction, and the next step would be an addition to the number of vessels for service on foreign stations. The first of these vessels would, therefore, according to the programme, be commenced in the year 1906, and an additional clause dealing with the matter would be presented for the consideration of the Reichstag a year beforehand. The instruction was based on the fact that no change was contemplated in the rate of construction at present maintained, *i.e.*, two battleships and one large and three small cruisers a year. But the additional 6,000,000 marks per annum which were provided did not, in view of recent developments, appear likely to satisfy the increasing requirements of the Navy. To this conclusion Admiral von Tirpitz said he had been led chiefly by the reports of the commander of the East Asiatic Squadron and the continual demands of the Foreign Department. He had been forced to the opinion that the putting of a larger

number of ships into commission could not be postponed till the year 1910. How large a sum would be required for the realisation of this further demand for naval resources would depend upon the time and the extent of the increase, but as a rough estimate he would be inclined to say that a yearly increase of 8,000,000 marks would be necessary between the years 1906-10 instead of the 6,000,000 marks provided for by the Navy Bill. This was the only financial result which would follow from his instruction in case it should eventually become law.

The comments which were made on this speech by the Press and the leaders of the chief parties in the Reichstag showed that a considerable change had taken place in public opinion in Germany since the subject was last discussed. The tendency to cut down the Naval Estimates which was at that time shown by the House seemed to have sensibly diminished, and the new proposals of the Government were on the whole received with approval. Several pamphlets were published shortly after in which the mission of the German Navy was described in so grandiloquent a tone that the semi-official *North German Gazette* found it necessary to issue a warning against the self-confidence created by the development of German naval strength and the disposition to underestimate the power and efficiency of the British Navy.

The German Socialist Congress met at Munich on September 15. The debates on this occasion showed that the Opportunists, or followers of the rational Socialism advocated by Herr Bernstein (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 277), were increasing in numbers and power, and that a further split in the Socialist ranks was being produced by the strong national feeling of the Polish members of the party. A resolution was passed declaring that the German Socialists, while supporting their Polish colleagues to the fullest extent, protested strongly against the action of the Polish Socialists in Upper Silesia, who from Nationalist motives refused to co-operate with the German Socialists and had set up their own Polish candidate. It was feared that if the German Socialists were to associate themselves with Polish nationalism the whole party would be combated by the Government as "a national danger." The Congress also adopted a resolution maintaining that the existing legislation with regard to working men's insurance was entirely inadequate, and demanding (a) the extension of insurance to all workmen; (b) the unification of insurance; (c) that the insured shall have full administration; (d) that the costs shall be supported by all classes; (e) the extension of the existing system of insurance against accidents, the establishment of a board of control composed of paid Government officials elected by the workmen, the improvement of the means of prevention of diseases, full compensation for injured workmen and their families, and a law prohibiting the employment of women for four weeks before or after childbirth; (f) the estab-

lishment of insurance for the unemployed, for widows, and for orphans.

It was further determined to inaugurate meetings throughout Germany to protest against the rise in the price of meat, and to authorise deputies in the Reichstag to interpellate the Government on the scarcity of meat and the boycott of foreign meat. The Congress afterwards passed unanimously a resolution condemning the police services Germany had recently rendered to the Russian Government, expressing the warmest sympathy with and admiration of their Russian comrades, and the expectation that the people of all nations would unite together to combat Asiatic despotism, win democratic freedom in Russia, and thus free the civilised world from the reactionary policy so favoured by capitalist Governments.

The Congress also considered the alcohol question, which the party had hitherto avoided. A resolution was adopted in which the Congress recognised unconditionally the dangers accruing to the working classes from immoderate indulgence in alcohol, but declared that it was not in a position to make total abstinence a condition of party membership. This question was also dealt with both by the Government and the Prussian Parliament, and a movement similar to that of Earl Grey for public-house reform was started in various parts of the country. In March the Prussian Minister of Education, Dr. Studt, issued an instruction to the National School authorities, inculcating the necessity of popular enlightenment as to the deleterious physical and economic effects of the excessive consumption of alcoholic liquors. In the Prussian Parliament a resolution introduced by Count Douglas, a personal friend of the Emperor's, in advocacy of temperance legislation, was passed by a small majority. The resolution invited the Government to prohibit the sale of spirits (1) containing fusel oil or other injurious elements; (2) in summer before 7 A.M., in winter before 8 A.M.; (3) to persons in a state of intoxication, or to persons under sixteen years of age, or to persons who are designated by the police as habitual drunkards, and to adopt measures for enlightening the public regarding the injurious effects which the abuse of alcohol produces upon the public health and in the increase of criminal offences. It also recommended the establishment of additional asylums for habitual drunkards. Such resolutions of Parliament are not, however, in Germany, necessarily followed by corresponding government action.

Considerable excitement was caused in August by the publication of a telegram sent by the Emperor to the Prince Regent of Bavaria, expressing indignation at the refusal of the Clerical majority of the Bavarian Diet to grant 100,000 marks to the Regent for art purposes. The telegram declared the Emperor's displeasure "at the mean ingratitude displayed in this action to the house of Wittelsbach," and added that he had placed at the Regent's disposal the sum in question in order that he

might be enabled to carry out his wishes. To this the Regent replied thanking the Emperor for his offer, but at the same time informing him that a member of the Diet had already placed the sum required at his disposal. The sum had been refused by the Clericals by way of retaliation for the forced resignation of Herr von Landmann as Minister of Education, because he had objected to the hostile attitude taken up by the Senate of the University of Würzburg towards a Roman Catholic professor. The Clerical party all over Germany was at once up in arms against the Emperor's conduct in the matter, which it described as the interference of a monarch, who is constitutionally only *primus inter pares*, in the internal affairs of a federated State, and as a political demonstration against the Clericals. The resentment of the Clericals was still further increased by the fact that only a short time before the Emperor had administered a rebuke at Aix-la-Chapelle to the Clerical agitators, stating that the Pope himself had observed to his envoy, Count von Loë, that in no other European country could Catholics live so peacefully as in Germany.

The veteran King of Saxony, one of the heroes of the Franco-German War and a great friend of England, died at Dresden on June 20. The Emperor described him at the funeral as "the last great captain of a great time, the last Knight of the Grand Cross of the Order of the Iron Cross, who helped in the work of building up the German Empire." He was succeeded by his brother George, and in December a grave scandal was caused at the Saxon Court by the flight to Geneva of the Crown Princess, who demanded a divorce from her husband in order to enable her to marry a M. Giron, who had been French tutor to their children.

At the beginning of February the duelling question (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 272) was again brought forward in the German Parliament. A Radical member suggested that the only radical cure for the evil would be "a decree issued by the supreme head of the Army absolutely forbidding all duels among officers." General von Gossler, the Minister for War, replied that the matter would be laid before the Federal Governments, but that personally he considered the suggested order unnecessary in view of the fact that duelling in the Army, so far from being on the increase, was on the decline, the average number of officers who were concerned in such encounters during the previous year being no more than four or five. Shortly after a man named Falkenhagen was sentenced to six years' confinement in a fortress for shooting in a duel Landrath von Bennigsen, a man universally respected, the father of five young children, and the son of the aged National Liberal statesman who did so much to bring about the unification of Germany; Landrath von Bennigsen having been obliged by the German code of "honour" to challenge Falkenhagen on discovering that he had been carrying on an intrigue

with his wife. The notions of "honour" which are too widely accepted by the educated classes in Germany were at the same time remarkably illustrated by the rapturous applause with which a truculent speech on the subject by a high official in the Department of the Public Prosecutor was received at the annual symposium of the students' clubs (*Burschenschaften*) at Berlin. In its course he said that "among the ancient enemies of the *Burschenschaft* must also be reckoned the enemies of the chivalrous duel." Attention was drawn to this speech in the Reichstag, and the Minister of Justice, while admitting that the language used by the speaker was not "suitable to a man in his position," said he had been sufficiently punished by being removed from Berlin to Hagen.

The question of the Krosigk court-martial, which had excited so much interest in Germany in the year 1901 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 276), was finally settled in May by the acquittal of both the non-commissioned officers Marten and Hickel, the former of whom had been sentenced by a court-martial to death for the murder of Captain Krosigk, and the latter, though acquitted by two courts-martial, had been detained by the military authorities for a third trial. In this trial both Marten and Hickel were again acquitted, part of the evidence against them having been declared by the court to be utterly untrustworthy and the remainder of doubtful accuracy, although the Public Prosecutor stated that "he would remain convinced to the end of his life" that they were guilty. The men had been in military custody for sixteen months, during which they were subjected to the torture of three different trials by court-martial for the same offence, and there was no material difference between the evidence before the court at the second and third courts-martial and the first. The second and third trials, however, were public, under a new and reformed system of procedure, the practice having previously been to conduct trials by court-martial *in camera*. The need for reform in another department of German legal procedure was illustrated by the dragging of a newspaper editor, who had been condemned to imprisonment for an article published in his paper, through the streets of Dortmund in chains like a common felon, and though the Government promised, in reply to a question on the subject in the Prussian Parliament, that such things should not be repeated, a Polish editor named Hoffman, who was sentenced to imprisonment for libel, was also led through the streets chained to a thief.

In the German Colonies large sums continued to be expended with but little return, as regards either trade or the provision of a field for emigration. The estimate for Kiao-chau amounted to 12,168,000 marks against 10,750,000 marks in 1901. Though the railway from the German port of Tsing-tau to the Chinese town of Kiao-chau had been open for traffic since April 8, 1901, and the line since been extended to Kau-mi and Chang-ling,

the official reports were discreetly silent as to the actual amount of traffic on these lines, which the opponents of the *Weltpolitik* of the Government declared to be practically *nil*. The Reichstag rejected the proposal of the Government for an annual subsidy for an emigration bureau to be established by the Colonial Society, and only voted a single grant of 30,000 marks for this purpose, on the ground that the Colonial Society, if granted an annual subsidy of that amount, might be tempted to encourage emigration to German Colonies which were unsuitable for European settlers. One of the members pointed out that emigration ought to be promoted to South America, and especially to Southern Brazil, rather than to the unhealthy African Colonies of Germany. The House also rejected the proposal of the Government to extend the Tanga railway in German East Africa to Mombo. Great dissatisfaction was expressed on the Radical side at Germany's latest acquisition, the Caroline, Pelew, and Marianne Islands. It was pointed out that 17,000,000 marks had been paid for these possessions, that the revenue derived from them was only 33,100 marks, and that a subsidy was now demanded of 350,000 marks for their administration, while the official report fully confirmed the pessimistic views of those who had opposed the purchase. To this the Secretary for Foreign Affairs replied that the islands were required by Germany as "a bridge between German New Guinea and the Marshall Islands."

In May a German expedition was sent to the Niger delta to establish a coaling station and factories for German trade with the Hinterland of the Cameroons, and great satisfaction was expressed by the German Colonial Society at the help given to the expedition by the British authorities. Consul Vohsen praised the magnanimous spirit of free trade in which the British neighbours of the Germans had acted, and said that such action "contributed in the highest degree to the progress of civilisation and commerce." He added that as Germany, France and England were all pressing onward to Lake Chad it was most desirable that there should be cordial co-operation on the part of the three Powers.

In June intelligence arrived of the immigration into German South-West Africa of thirty-six Boer families, or 313 persons. The immigrants were given six months in which to take a lease of land on German territory, such land ultimately to become the settlers' freehold. Facilities for permanent settlement were to be given to Boer immigrants only if they appeared to be "suitable persons." Their sons were to perform military service with the Colonial troops, and the language in the schools was to be German. An order was issued to the effect that "all Boers who have not settled down after six weeks' sojourn in German South-West Africa have to leave the German Colony." Some sixty Boer families were affected by this order, and with their flocks and herds, amounting to 60,000 head of sheep, cattle, and other animals, had to return to the Transvaal, where they made their

submission to the British. These people on re-crossing the German frontier had to leave behind them half of their cattle in payment of an export tax, which was instituted in order to prevent German South-West Africa from being overrun with Boer trekkers. A railway was opened for traffic from Swakopmund, on the coast, to Windhoek, the principal settlement in the interior, the length of which was about 380 kilometres (235 miles) and the cost 13,000,000 marks (650,000*l.*). A harbour was also in course of construction at Swakopmund, which it was estimated would cost another 2,000,000 marks (100,000*l.*). According to the estimate for 1902 the revenue was expected to cover a working expenditure of 857,000 marks (42,850*l.*). The railway was undertaken in order to overcome the difficulties of ox transport, which was often threatened with interruption by rinderpest, and as the inhabitants of Windhoek depend largely for the necessities of life on imports from the coast an interruption of the traffic might have had serious consequences. The railway was not likely, however, to pay its expenses, as the number of whites in the protectorate, which is one and a half times as large as the German Empire, was only 3,388, of whom 452 were women and 720 children. Only 2,223 were Germans, and of these 825 belonged to the Colonial troops, while of the remainder the majority have some connection with the troops or the Government officials. Agriculture was only possible in the north, and suffered much from drought and locusts. The imports into German South-West Africa had consisted, so far, mainly of the necessities of life and the materials for building the railway, and the total exports had not yet reached a value of 1,000,000 marks (50,000*l.*), of which two-thirds came from a guano factory on the coast.

The report of the German East Africa Company for 1901 did not give a very encouraging account of the three plantations which were the property of the company. In no case did a profit result from the operations of the year, and the Colony cost the Government an annual subsidy of 4,865,200 marks.

The most salient characteristic of the foreign policy of Germany in the year 1892 was its antagonism to England. The action and speeches of the Government in this respect were but a pale reflection of the frantic denunciations of the Pan-Germans. This party, however, which is mainly composed of professors and students, though very noisy and active, had few followers in the Prussian and German Parliaments. It was strongly opposed both by the Liberal sections, which represent the manufacturing classes, and by the increasingly powerful party of the Socialist Democrats, the representatives of the great bulk of the working men; and it alienated the Clericals by starting the *Los von Rom* movement (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1898, p. 265) in Austria. Such a party could not have much influence with the Government. It, however, no doubt found it convenient to adopt so

as regards England and the Poles in

order to catch Chauvinist votes for its Tariff Bill and further increases of the Navy. The Pan-German programme extended much further, comprising Austria, Hungary, Holland, and even the Baltic provinces of Russia, in its sphere of conquest for "German culture"; but Count Bülow was careful to repudiate in the semi-official papers its schemes with regard to these countries.

The Chancellor's remarks on Mr. Chamberlain's comparison of the conduct of the British troops in the Transvaal with that of the German troops in the war of 1870 have already been referred to. They occurred in a speech made in the German Parliament on January 8, and will be found on pages 4-5 of the present volume.

This speech was naturally applauded by the Pan-Germans and the military representatives of the Junker party, but the newspapers which represent the views of the middle classes expressed strong disapproval at thus "braving public opinion in England." The veteran Socialist leader, Herr Bebel, said in the course of the same debate that he failed to understand the outcry against Mr. Chamberlain. The Franco-German war had not been without those deeds of violence which were the invariable accompaniment of every war. The French after Sedan were in precisely the same position as the Boers in the Transvaal to-day or the Prussians in 1813. He would be sorry to expose the German Army to the danger of having to wage such a war as the English had now been waging for more than two years without any prospect of conclusion. Did the House believe that in such circumstances German troops would not also become brutal?

He was followed by the truculent Pan-German agitator and Anti-Semite Herr Liebermann von Sonnenberg, who described Mr. Chamberlain as "the most accursed scoundrel on God's earth," and said that Germany's "veteran soldiers must be protected against comparison with gangs of robbers and packs of thieves, for that the greater part of the British army is composed of such elements is evident." This language occasioned a prompt call to order from the President, but a somewhat perfunctory expression of regret from the Chancellor at its having been used.

Under the above circumstances some surprise was caused by the announcement that the Prince of Wales was about to visit Berlin. Admiral von Senden Bibran, the chief of the Emperor's Naval Cabinet, was first sent to London with an autograph letter from the Emperor to the King. It was the same officer who brought, shortly after the famous Krüger telegram, a letter from the Emperor to Queen Victoria, which went far towards removing the painful impression it had caused in the highest quarters in England, and it seemed to be something more than a coincidence that he should again have been entrusted with such a mission at a moment of political estrangement be-

tween the two countries. The Prince arrived at Berlin for the Emperor's birthday on January 26, and cordial greetings were exchanged on the occasion. The meeting was purely of a family character, but the more respectable organs of the German Press expressed a hope that it would lead to more friendly relations between the two countries. It was certainly followed, at any rate, by a more courteous and just tone toward England on the part of the representatives of the Government. The contrast between Count Bülow's speech in January and that made in March by Baron von Richthofen, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in connection with the reply of the British Government to the German appeal on behalf of the German Boer Relief Association was indeed striking, and the change was welcomed by the *Cologne Gazette* and the *Vossische Zeitung*, the organs of the middle classes. The Baron admonished the Pan-Germans to be more careful in their statements about British policy and the British Army, saying that they "should not forget that in spite of everything, in spite of our different judgments on many matters, we are, after all, still friends and kinsfolk"; and in proof of the humanity with which the Boer prisoners were treated he cited the evidence of a German officer of high rank, Major-General Trotha, who had paid a visit to the prisoners' camp in Ceylon, and spoke of it in the most favourable terms.

Count Bülow at the same time stated the views of the Government as to the Anglo-Japanese agreement, which, he said, was not of a nature to effect any change in German policy. Neither in China nor in Korea did Germany pursue any territorial objects. Her sole interest in Eastern Asia was to develop her commerce with the greatest possible security, and she had no interest in striving for political supremacy in that region. "The agreement concluded between Germany and England on October 16, 1900, secures, in particular, for German commerce and German shipping free access to the region of the Yang-tsze River and our commercial parity of rights in the valley of the Yang-tsze and on the coasts of the Chinese Empire, by virtue of the principle of the open door. This agreement continues in force unaltered, as do likewise the declarations which were exchanged at that time between the German Empire and other Powers and by which the principle of the open door in China is recognised. Nor is it true that Germany is endeavouring to secure monopolies and exclusive rights in Shan-tung at the expense of other countries. Germany demands in Shan-tung, as elsewhere, only the open door—that is to say, the same liberty of commercial activity which we do not challenge in the case of other States in Shan-tung and in all other portions of the Chinese Empire. We do not in the least want to have an extra helping of sausage (*Extrawurst*) in China, but we ask for the same helping which the others get."

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tion of reducing the strength of the

German brigade of occupation in China, the Count said that this depended on the understanding between the great Powers engaged in that country. Germany had no political objection to the restoration of Tien-tsin to the Chinese authorities; she had only an interest in "the assured progress of the regulation of the Pei-ho River—a work which had been proceeding with marked success under the auspices of the European Provisional Government of Tien-tsin"—as this was necessary for German commerce and for free communication between the coast and the Legation guards at Peking. It was hoped that it would be possible to secure satisfactory guarantees from the Chinese authorities in this respect, and the German brigade of occupation would only remain "so long as was politically desirable." If Germany had withdrawn her troops prematurely she would only have "provided for others a softer couch in China" at her expense, and "would have been doing a great favour to those who find it superfluous that Germany should also now have a word to say in trans-oceanic questions."

Regarding the German garrison at Shanghai, the Count said that Germany had followed the English precedent in order to support, in the most important Chinese emporium of trade, the exertions of other Powers for maintaining tranquillity and order in the Yang-tsze Valley, in the interests of the foreign trading settlements. Another object of these exertions was to afford support to the policy of the Yang-tsze Viceroy, and the action of Germany in keeping her garrison at Shanghai, so far from being directed against any other Power, had actually been concurred in by England. According to the figures given in the Budget Committee of the Reichstag, there was at that time in China, apart from the Legation Guards, an English force of 3,200 men, a Russian force of 600 men, and a German force of 3,030 men. At Shanghai England had 800, France 720, Japan 450, and Germany 800 men. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs stated to the committee that the Government considered a German garrison at Shanghai to be still necessary "because of the importance of that base for Germany, as she does not possess any nearer base, like England at Hong-Kong and in India, France in Tong-king, Japan in the mother country, and Russia in her frontier provinces."

In October Germany, followed by France, laid down the following conditions for withdrawing her garrison from Shanghai: First, the occupation and evacuation of Shanghai having been a joint one, Germany will also participate in any subsequent occupation. Secondly, China must agree not to grant to any other Power any preferential advantage, political, military, maritime or economic, in the Yang-tsze Valley, the stipulation as to economic advantages applying to States only, not to individuals. Thirdly, China must agree not to grant to any other Power the right to occupy any point on the Yang-tsze River commanding the river, whether above or below Shanghai. The second of

these conditions having been strongly objected to by England, as it was obviously calculated to interfere with her freedom of action in the British sphere of interest on the Yang-tsze, Germany abandoned it, and withdrew her troops at the end of the year.

Though showing little sympathy with the Chauvinistic vapourings of the Pan-Germans, the German Press continued to display an acrimonious and ungenerous spirit towards England, especially on the announcement that peace had been concluded with the Boers. This result was viewed with ill-concealed disappointment, and a hope was expressed that the Boers, notwithstanding their present defeat, would succeed at some future time in becoming paramount in what is now British South Africa. An appeal for better relations with England, organised by a journal published in Berlin for the use of Englishmen and Americans in Germany, on similar lines to the Paris edition of the *New York Herald*, was signed by Professor Mommsen and other distinguished Germans, but it produced little effect, it being evident that the appeal had no force of popular sentiment behind it. One of the causes of the ill-will felt in Germany towards England was that she was the chief obstacle to the construction of the Bagdad railway, for which a concession had been obtained from the Sultan by the German Foreign Office in 1899 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 292). The terminus of the railway was to be at Koweit, on the Persian Gulf, and an attempt had been made to land Turkish troops there in 1901, but this was prevented by a British warship, England having refused to recognise the Sultan's suzerainty over the Scheik of Koweit.

Considerable disappointment was expressed by the Pan-Germans at the refusal of the Emperor to receive the Boer Generals unless they were introduced by the British Ambassador at Berlin. They were greeted with much enthusiasm, however, on their arrival in the German capital on October 16, and a sum of 200,000 marks, which had been collected by the Boer Relief Association and other kindred societies, was presented to them. They were afterwards entertained at supper, and Prince Herbert Bismarck and Herr Liebermann von Sonnenberg, who had called Mr. Chamberlain "the most accursed scoundrel on God's earth" (see p. 299), took them to witness a debate in the Reichstag. The whole demonstration was mainly a Pan-German one, and Prince Herbert Bismarck was much ridiculed for having taken part in it.

Although the Emperor partly adopted the views of the Pan-Germans in regard to the Poles, he took every opportunity of showing friendliness to England and to her Royal family. In June he placed King Edward *à la suite* of the German Navy, and in an order to the fleet he expressed the hope that it would "be always mindful of this high honour, which at the same time brings it into closer relations with its comrades of the

British Navy." In August a monument of the Empress Frederick was unveiled at Hamburg in the presence of the Emperor and his family, the Duke of Cambridge, and the British, Austrian, and American Ambassadors. The Emperor delivered an eloquent address on this occasion, enlarging on the moral and intellectual qualities of the late Empress, and describing the many educational and charitable institutions which she established in Germany; and in the following month he invited Mr. Brodrick, Lord Roberts, and other distinguished British officers to witness the manœuvres near Frankfort on the Oder. Finally, in November the Emperor came to England to inspect his regiment (the 1st Dragoons), and to visit the King at Sandringham on his birthday. The organ of the German bourgeoisie, the *Vossische Zeitung*, in an article published on this occasion as to the feeling in Germany towards England, declared that among those classes of the population who are capable of political reflection and who possess political significance there was no desire for any but friendly relations with England, and that "no responsible politician in Germany would even entertain the remote possibility of a war with her or would desire her to be defeated in a war with any Power. A strong England is indispensable for the maintenance of the European equilibrium, just as the maintenance of a strong German Empire is in the interest of England."

Shortly after the Emperor's visit an arrangement was made between England and Germany for combined naval action against Venezuela to obtain satisfaction for their claims against her, the diplomatic steps taken for that purpose having proved unavailing. The German claims were on account of injuries suffered by German subjects in the civil wars of 1898 and 1900, and of various sums amounting to 1,718,815 bolivars, or 68,000*l.*, stated to be due on this account, together with a sum of 1,875,000*l.* claimed by the Diskonto Gesellschaft Bank at Berlin for arrears of interest on the capital of the German Caracas to Valencia Railway Company. The war vessels of Venezuela were captured by the English and German ships, which afterwards blockaded the Venezuelan ports, and the blockade continued till the end of the year, pending the consideration of a proposal for settling the question by arbitration.

The isolation in which Germany was placed in Europe by her high-handed diplomacy (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 281) seems to have prompted her to seek to enter into more intimate relations with the United States. Early in the year the semi-official Press made the startling announcement that so far from England having maintained a friendly attitude towards the United States in the war with Spain, the British Ambassador, Lord Pauncefoot, had actually suggested, in April, 1898, "a collective step on the part of the Powers in disapproval of the American policy in Cuba," and that "this step was abandoned in consequence of the decisive refusal of Germany."

A despatch from the German Ambassador at Washington, Dr. Holleben, was published in support of this statement, but Lord Cranborne clearly showed in the House of Commons that it was totally devoid of foundation, that Lord Pauncefoot did not take any initiative in the matter, and that when the Foreign Office was informed by him of the proposed collective step of the Powers, the British Government rejected the proposal. As an illustration, on the other hand, of the attitude of Germany towards the United States during the war, the *Army and Navy Journal* of New York published a letter from an American naval officer who was present at the surrender of Manilla, stating that the Spanish Governor, General Augustin, was taken on board by the German warship *Kaiserin Augusta*, which proceeded with him to Hong-Kong, although Admiral Dewey had given strict orders that no vessels should leave the harbour.

The attempt to stir up ill-feeling between England and the United States having failed, it was hoped that the visit of Prince Henry, the Emperor's brother, to New York would bring about the desired *rapprochement* between Germany and the Government at Washington. He arrived on February 25; at first his reception was somewhat cold, but he made a very favourable impression by his tact, his frankness, and his good manners, and on returning to New York from his tour in the States he was greeted with most enthusiastic demonstrations. In his speech at the Press dinner given him at New York, he described his visit as an act of friendship and courtesy, undertaken with the one desire of promoting friendlier relations between Germany and the United States. Should America be willing to grasp Germany's hand she would find it extended to her on the other side of the ocean. The visit, however, did not appear to have produced any effect from a political point of view. Shortly after the Emperor telegraphed to President Roosevelt that in recognition of the splendid and cordial reception "given to his brother, and in view of the friendly attitude maintained by Frederick the Great towards the young American Republic during the course of her formation, he intended to present a statue of Frederick to the United States, to be erected in Washington." This singular gift could hardly be refused, though both in Germany and in the United States the Press remarked on the incongruity of the capital of a free Republic being decorated with the statue of an autocrat King, the author of the partition of Poland.

The cordiality of the relations between Russia and France, and the *rapprochement* effected between France and Italy, were viewed in Germany with some anxiety, and the Emperor took every opportunity of asserting his desire to remain on friendly terms with the Governments at St. Petersburg and at Rome. In 1901 he had had a meeting with the Tsar in the bay of Dantzic, when the latter, on his way to France, though his effusive demonstrations on that occasion were but coldly responded

to (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 283). Similarly, when the Tsar proceeded to France in August, 1902, he met him at Reval, and it was stated that a complete agreement was then arrived at between the two Emperors on the Polish question.

As regards Italy and the Triple Alliance, Count Bülow made some characteristic remarks in a speech in the Reichstag at the beginning of the year. "The Triple Alliance," he said, "did not exclude the possibility of good relations between its partners and other Powers; and I would not consider it right if even a small section of the German Press were to manifest a certain disquietude on account of the Franco-Italian arrangements. In a happy marriage the husband must not get angry the moment he sees his wife having an innocent extra dance with some one else. The chief thing is that she does not run away from him, and she will not run away from him if she finds that it is with him that she is happiest." The Triple Alliance, moreover, imposed no irksome obligations upon the partners, such as an obligation to maintain military or naval forces at a prescribed level. The Franco-Italian arrangements concerning certain Mediterranean questions were not at all contrary to the Triple Alliance. The situation to-day was essentially different from that of the year 1879, when Prince Bismarck laid down with Count Andrassy in the Austro-German treaty the basis of the Triple Alliance treaty. At that time Germany was only conducting a European policy. Her combinations did not go beyond the basin of the Mediterranean. To-day a foreign policy embraced all the Great Powers and the whole globe. To-day also the situation was less strained, one main reason for which was that it was recognised that for thirty years the policy of Germany had been steadily pacific.

In conclusion Count Bülow said:—"The objects of the policy of our day—the objects of *Weltpolitik*—extend to regions and objects which are far distant from the confines of Germany. I would mention in this connection, for example, the north coast of Africa, Persia, and East Asia. If, therefore, the Triple Alliance is for us no longer an absolute necessity, it still remains in the highest degree valuable as an augmented guarantee of peace and of the *status quo*, quite apart from the fact that it is a very useful ligament for uniting States which, by their geographical situation and their historical traditions, are bound to remain good neighbours. As for us—and with this I will conclude—we must continue to keep Germany so strong that, as our friendship at present is valuable for every one, our hostility can be a matter of indifference to none."

The Count's statement that the Triple Alliance "is for us no longer an absolute necessity" produced some astonishment in Italy and Austria, where it was a common complaint that Germany alone profited by the alliance, the other members of it being pledged to support her while getting nothing in return. The purpose of the meeting of the Chancellor with Sgr. Prinetti,

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Prince of Denmark paid a visit to the Emperor William at Berlin, which was regarded as a sign that the relations between the two Courts had much improved, despite the memory of Prussia's annexation of North Schleswig and the restrictions placed on the use of the Danish language in that province.

In the West Indies Germany promptly punished the seizure by the Haitian insurgents of a German merchantman in September while conveying arms for the Haitian Government, by sending a cruiser to capture the war vessel which had effected the seizure. The captain of the insurgent vessel then blew up the magazine, and the German cruiser fired thirty shots into her as she was sinking.

II. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

In Austria no progress was made in 1902 in settling the language question in Bohemia, which continued to block all attempts at reasonable legislation and seriously impeded the development of industry and trade. The truce which Dr. Körber, the Premier, arranged in 1901 between the leaders of the various parties for suspending the nationality strife between the Germans and the Czechs (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 288) was at an end, and when the Reichsrath re-assembled (Feb. 4) obstructive and disorderly tactics were resumed. A Pan-German threatened to thrash a Czech with a dog-whip, upon which the latter sent for a revolver, and a guard of the more moderate men on both sides had to be organised to prevent bloodshed. Another Pan-German, the notorious Herr Schönerer, concluded a speech with the words: "Hurrah for, and God save, the Hohenzollerns," upon which other Pan-Germans sang the German national hymn, "Heil dir im Siegeskranz." These treasonable proceedings naturally produced great indignation, and Dr. Kathrein, a prominent German Clerical, warmly repudiated the conduct of the Pan-Germans and gave expression to the loyalty felt by all Austrians, without distinction of party or nationality, to the Emperor, the House of Hapsburg, and their country; but the President of the House took no steps in the matter beyond calling Herr Schönerer to order. Another incident which raised the conflict between the nationalities to fever-heat was a proposal made by Count Sturgkh, a prominent leader of the German party, to relieve the high school of Cilli of education in the Slovene language, and to transfer education in that language to some other town where the bulk of the inhabitants are of the Slovene nationality, as at Cilli the majority of the population are German, though the town is in the centre of a predominantly Slovene district. This proposal was rejected by a majority composed of Poles, Czechs, and German Clericals, but the Pan-Germans and the so-called German National party held a number of meetings during the Easter recess violently protesting against this decision. Several at-

tempts were made by Dr. Körber, the Premier, to bring about a compromise between the Czechs and the Germans on the language question, but no arrangement was arrived at, the Czechs insisting that their language, as well as the German, should be used in all official transactions in Bohemia, while the German party were equally obstinate in their demand that in the districts where there is a predominantly German population the German language only should be officially recognised. The Pan-Germans even went so far as to claim that German should be the official language of the whole Monarchy, but this extravagant pretension was not supported by the great majority of the German party. The language question continued to be a block to all legislation, and the Reichsrath was adjourned for the Christmas vacation without even having been able to pass a vote on account for the Estimates of the following year.

Serious labour riots took place at Trieste in February. There were 6,500 men on strike, mostly stokers of the Austrian Lloyd Company and employes of the great shipbuilding firm known as the Stabilimento Tecnico Triestino. The tramway service and the goods traffic on the railway lines were also suspended owing to the men employed having joined the strike; the foreign mails could not leave, as work in the harbour was stopped, and the newspapers ceased to appear. A state of siege was proclaimed and the troops had to use their fire-arms, when about forty of the rioters were either killed or wounded. The mob then bombarded several houses, attacked the governor's residence, and smashed the gas-lamps and the windows of inoffensive tradespeople in unprotected parts of the town, thereby causing a general panic which brought all business to a standstill. Ultimately the demand of the men for an eight hours' day, which was submitted to arbitration, was decided in their favour, and the riots ceased, but not until a further attempt by the mob to smash the gas-lamps and thereby reduce the town to darkness was foiled by the troops. In August labour riots also took place in Eastern Galicia, the peasants striking for an increase of wages, and the troops had to be employed to restore order. These riots were fomented by Ruthenian students and other agitators who took this means of revenging themselves on the Polish proprietors for the refusal of the Galician diet and the Minister of Education at Vienna to establish a Ruthenian university, as the Ruthenians in Galicia, who form one-half of the population, are so illiterate that it is found difficult to obtain Ruthenian professors even for the chairs in the university at Lemberg where education is given in the Ruthenian language to Ruthenian students.

In August an Anti-duelling League was formed, with local branches in all the provinces of the Empire. Its most immediate objects were, first, to bring about a reform of the laws relating to the protection of a man's honour and reputation, by an enhancement of the penalties for libel, slander, abuse and

assault; and, secondly, to bring into existence Courts of Honour, which would suffice to secure real satisfaction to the injured party, and so save him from the temptation to seek it by arms. Two leading jurists were commissioned to make detailed proposals for carrying out these objects, and 1,500 prominent persons, including members of the high aristocracy, officials, politicians, lawyers and authors signified their adherence to the scheme.

The party of the Christian Socialists, which was founded by the Roman Catholic clergy in Austria for the purpose of counter-acting the Anti-Clerical influence of the Jews and the Social Democrats on the poorer classes, had a great triumph in the elections for the provincial Diet of Lower Austria, which took place in November. The party had during the past ten years been admirably organised and disciplined, and its triumph at the elections greatly strengthened the already powerful Clerical element in the Austrian capital. One of the chief members of the party, Dr. Lueger, who had formerly been the idol of the Viennese (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1896, p. 278), but had since lost much of his popularity by his maladministration of the municipality, caused a scene in the Reichsrath by his unmannerly boasting of the victory of his party and his attacks on the Socialists for using violence to compel the electors to vote for their candidates.

The negotiations for the autonomous Customs tariff and the renewal of the other commercial and economic arrangements between Austria and Hungary under the *Ausgleich*, or dualistic compact, made in 1867, which had been postponed in the previous year, were continued during 1902, and concluded finally by the personal intervention of the Emperor at the end of the year, though they still had to be passed by the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments. The chief difficulty was caused by the desire of the Hungarians to protect their agriculture by the imposition of high duties upon raw material, while the Austrians demanded that they should be guaranteed against alleged arbitrary interpretations by the Hungarian authorities and the unfair competition of a State-created Hungarian industry supported by subsidies, remissions of taxation, discriminating railway rates, etc., in contradiction to the spirit of the Customs Union. The arrangements now under consideration did not directly affect the political institutions of the dual Monarchy, such as the dynasty, the succession to the Throne, the common Army and Navy, the Diplomatic Service, or the Parliamentary Delegations controlling the common affairs of the Monarchy, which are based upon the Pragmatic Sanction and the *Ausgleich* or compromise of 1867-8. The Pragmatic Sanction and the political part of the arrangement made in 1867-8 were irrevocable; but the Customs Union between Austria and Hungary, the Austro-Hungarian Bank, and the agreement as to the proportion in which the two States contribute towards the common expendi-

ture were made subject to periodical revision. An agreement on the Customs tariff and the other mutual economic arrangements of the Empire had been effected between the Austrian and Hungarian Cabinets so long ago as 1896, but in consequence of the obstruction in the Reichsrath, which overthrew the Badeni Government in the following year (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1897, p. 293), a provisional arrangement known as the "Szell formula," after the name of the Hungarian Premier, was made for maintaining the *status quo*, subject to some slight alterations, with the stipulation that, if it should prove impossible to come to a definite agreement by the end of the year 1902, both halves of the Monarchy were to be free to dissolve the Customs Union from 1904, provided the treaty were formally denounced before January 1, 1902. It was denounced accordingly by the Austrian Government, which thus secured its liberty of action; and the Austrian Premier declared in the Reichsrath that he was firmly resolved either to obtain better terms for Austria or to put an end to the Customs Union and the other economic arrangements with Hungary. He was well aware of the impossibility of obtaining the sanction of the Reichsrath to any arrangement which should not place Austria on a fairer footing in her commercial relations with Hungary than had hitherto been the case, it having been a subject of universal complaint in Austria that Hungary was getting much more than her fair share of the economic advantages of the Monarchy.

In Hungary, on the other hand, violent and persistent attacks were made on the dual system by the Kossuth party, which seeks to sever all the ties between the two halves of the Monarchy with the sole exception of that of a common sovereign; and it urgently demanded, as the first step towards the realisation of its policy, that the negotiations for an agreement between the two Governments as to a common tariff should be broken off, and an independent Customs system be established in Hungary. To this the Hungarian Premier replied that the political union with Austria was indissoluble under the Pragmatic Sanction and the *Ausgleich* of 1867, which is the charter of Hungarian privileges. He also declared that he was resolved to control and, if possible, to repress, the Pan-German movement, of the danger of which he said he was fully sensible. This movement had indeed assumed serious dimensions. In April the Pan-Germanic League of Germany proposed to undertake a propagandist excursion to the German towns of Croatia and Transylvania. This plan elicited such strong protests on the part of the Magyars that it was abandoned, but agents of the league were very active in spreading its doctrines among the German inhabitants of Hungary, and one of them, the editor of a German paper at Temesvar, was expelled from the country, while several others were condemned to imprisonment by the local courts.

The Kossuth party was very active throughout the year in

taking every opportunity for asserting its Magyarism and claiming for the country a position of total independence. It raised a storm on learning that the Archduke Franz Ferdinand was to be accompanied on his journey to London for the Coronation by three Austrian equerries and only one Hungarian, and Count Goluchowski, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, had to explain that these gentlemen were in no sense representatives of the Monarchy, but had merely been invited as part of his suite by the Archduke, who was the personal representative of the Emperor. In November, again, there was a long and acrimonious debate in consequence of one of the members, who was also an officer of the Reserve, having been summoned to a military court of inquiry for having taken part in a public demonstration against the playing of the Austrian National Anthem at a Hungarian national commemoration; and the Minister of National Defence was stigmatised as "an Austrian Minister" for attempting to justify the conduct of the military authorities in the matter, while when the Government proposed an increase of the Civil List such unseemly remarks were made against the Emperor-King by the Kossuth party that the veteran patriot and novelist, Maurus Jokai, published an indignant appeal to the people on the subject.

A politico-religious feud between the Catholics and the members of the Greek Church in Croatia culminated in September in a serious riot at Agram, the capital. The people of Croatia belong to the same race, and speak the same language, as the people of Serbia, but those of them who belong to the Greek Church call themselves Servians, while the Catholics, who are the majority of the population, retain the name of Croats. The latter, at the jubilee of a singing club, addressed a telegram of homage to the Emperor, whom it styled "the King of Croatia," and a Belgrade journal, whose article was reproduced in the Servian organ at Agram, protested in offensive terms against this appellation, denying that the Croats have a separate nationality, calling them "a nation of lackeys," and alleging that their destiny is to be absorbed by Serbia. A Catholic mob then attacked the Servian bank, the office of the Servian newspaper, and all the Servian shops and places of business, most of which were completely wrecked, and over a hundred persons were more or less seriously injured. Similar outrages took place in other Croatian towns. Order was only restored after martial law had been proclaimed and the troops reinforced.

In December identical Sugar Bills were introduced in the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments, and they contained a provision which seemed to contravene the Brussels Convention. In Article 3 of these Bills, referring to alterations in the taxation of sugar after the Convention has come into force, power was given to the Minister of Finance to grant the existing bounty, up to the last day in August 1903, to sugar produced in the

country which, though destined for export, is stored away, under official control, either in public or private storehouses. The clause also dealt with the case of such sugar being taken out for domestic consumption instead of being exported. In a long official explanation appended to the Bills, it was stated, as regarded Clause 3, that overproduction during the period before the Convention comes into force being very probable, it was deemed necessary to prevent injurious consequences by making it possible for the producer either to export the sugar kept in bond or to take it out for home consumption, irrespectively of the time fixed by the Convention. By these Bills the bounty was to be raised from 18,000,000 kronen for the whole Monarchy to 21,000,000 kronen for the period up to August 31, 1903, so that overproduction during that period was to be encouraged. For 1903-4 Austro-Hungarian sugar production for the home market was to be limited to 3,660,000 cubic hundredweight, in accordance with the estimated consumption in Austria-Hungary, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. For the present the Hungarian Government had no intention of reducing the sugar tax, believing that a reduction would not be appreciably felt by the poorer classes. In the Hungarian Bill the adoption of the Convention was recommended on the ground that in spite of some economic, technical, and geographical disadvantages, Hungarian sugar would be able successfully to face foreign competition, while the abrogation of the premiums would both lighten taxation and obviate overproduction in the sugar industry itself. At a conference of representatives of the Austrian and Hungarian Governments, presided over by an official of the Foreign Office, two important questions were discussed. One of these was the countervailing duty imposed in British India upon Austro-Hungarian sugar. Very strong feeling was expressed, particularly on the part of the Hungarian delegates, as to the supposed unfairness of this duty. It was contended that the calculation of the British India authorities was made on a false basis—namely, on the assumption that half of the Austro-Hungarian production is consumed at home. This was said to be incorrect, the amount exported being nearly three times as great as the domestic consumption. Austro-Hungarian experts have calculated that the advantage derived through the cartel on exported sugar did not amount to quite two crowns, or about 2*l.*, per quintal. Thus the countervailing duty of 10½*l.* exceeded this advantage by about eight crowns, and was alleged to be practically prohibitive. Austria-Hungary was by far the greatest sufferer from this impost, having the largest export with the smallest percentage of profit. The Convention was adopted by the Hungarian Parliament, and it was put down as the first subject of discussion in the Austrian Parliament after the new year.

The German Customs tariff scheme, the extravagances of the Pan-Germans, and the persecution of the Poles in Prussia

had a very prejudicial effect on the relations between Germany and Austria-Hungary. The serious injury which would be caused to Austrian and Hungarian agriculture by the high duties on agricultural products laid down in the proposed tariff led even the Austrian Germans and the Hungarians, hitherto the most steadfast advocates of the alliance with Germany, to the conclusion that Germany alone reaped any benefits from that alliance, while the Austrian Slavs, who form the majority of the population, were deeply irritated by the Pan-German agitation and the speech of the German Emperor at Marienburg (see p. 283). In Hungary, too, it was seen that Pan-Germanism was a far greater peril to the Monarchy than Pan-Slavism, as the latter was losing much of its influence—in consequence of the growing recognition by each Slavonic nationality of its own political traditions and aspirations apart from those of the others—and did not attempt any propaganda in non-Slavonic countries, while Pan-Germanism had, in every country where Germans had settled, a nucleus for spreading its propaganda among the other populations. The renewal of the Triple Alliance was accordingly received with some dissatisfaction, and when Count Bülow came to Vienna in April to make the preliminary arrangements, the complete absence of the enthusiastic demonstrations of friendship for Germany which took place on former similar occasions was very striking. "Our Monarchy and Italy," said one of the leading Hungarian papers on this occasion, "have nothing to show for this alliance but enormous material sacrifices and no profit." On the other hand, if the Triple Alliance had not been renewed, the Austro-German Alliance concluded in 1879 for an indefinite period would have remained in force, and even the Triple Alliance was considered a better arrangement for Austria-Hungary than that she should be left alone in alliance with Germany. As the relations with that Power became cooler, those with Russia grew more cordial. The visit paid by the Archduke Franz Ferdinand to the Tsar, and the conference held at Vienna between Counts Lamsdorf and Goluchowski in December, on the Macedonian question (see p. 325), were regarded as a revival of the Austro-Russian *rapprochement* effected by Count Goluchowski at the time of the Emperor Francis Joseph's visit to St. Petersburg in 1897 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1897, p. 297), which had been somewhat disturbed by the present of arms and ammunition from the Tsar to Prince Nicolas of Montenegro and the return of King Milan to Belgrade. With Italy, on the other hand, Austria-Hungary's relations were somewhat strained by the Italian agitation in Albania and the disorders at Trieste, by the disappointment produced in Austria by her having been omitted from the round of visits made by King Victor Emmanuel to St. Petersburg and Berlin, and by the withdrawal at the end of the year of the clause in the commercial treaty with Italy providing for a specially low duty on Italian wines.

Count Goluchowski made his annual statement on the foreign affairs of the Monarchy in May. Referring to the Triple Alliance, he said it would "continue to pursue the pacific end to which it owed its origin," and that it would do this "with all the greater confidence as according to the declarations repeatedly made by the competent authorities as to the no less pacific objects of the Dual Alliance it must regard the latter as a highly valuable complement and assistance in the fulfilment of its own task." The idea which had given rise to these political arrangements had, he continued, proved very valuable in its practical application, and had promptly succeeded "in developing into a system which was extended to extra-European questions." As an example of this he cited the treaty between England and Japan, "which had followed in the footsteps of the understanding between Russia and Austria-Hungary, both of them constituting agreements dominated by the same conservative spirit as had led to the Triple Alliance." The advantage of these international arrangements "was emphasised by the fact that they did not exclude in the slightest degree special agreements between individual Powers as to specific interests which affected them alone," as was shown "by the confidential relations now existing between Italy and France and by the thoroughly satisfactory development of Austria-Hungary's relations with Russia in consequence of the St. Petersburg agreement of 1897"—a development which was "one of the most satisfactory features that had of late appeared in the political sphere, as it had checked perils which caused permanent anxiety on the Continent." "The so-called prestige policy in the Balkans," the Minister said, had been put an end to by the St. Petersburg agreement, "the principal stipulation of which was that neither party should undertake or tolerate anything calculated to disturb the mutual equality of their positions in the Near East. All interference in the internal affairs of the various Balkan States was, therefore, to be carefully avoided, with a view not only to depriving them of all prospect of playing off Austria-Hungary and Russia against each other, but also, as far as possible, to preventing the creation of spheres of influence which would only increase the sources of friction between the two Powers." The "warning given to the Balkan States by Austria-Hungary and Russia" with regard to the troubles in Macedonia "had so far greatly contributed to prevent the danger from becoming acute," but the situation in that part of the world still "bore a very unpleasant aspect, and had to be constantly dealt with by the two Cabinets chiefly interested, those of Vienna and St. Petersburg, in order that it might not lead to a catastrophe." As regarded Turkey the Minister recognised her preparedness to deal with the difficulty, but solemnly warned her against pursuing the repression of disturbances beyond what might be required for the restoration of order, and he dwelt "on the necessity of substituting for the present mal-administration a system based on justice and humanity, which

alone would render the population proof against agitation coming from outside." Representations to the Porte in that sense had been "repeatedly and even recently made in agreement with the Russian Government," and "a somewhat similar warning" had been addressed to Servia and Bulgaria, "who were urged to keep their turbulent elements in check in order not to lay themselves open to the suspicion of wanting to create complications."

CHAPTER III.

I. RUSSIA.

THE year 1902 was chiefly remarkable in Russia for the alarming spread of the revolutionary movement, by which it became clear that a considerable part of the whole social, economic, and political fabric of the Empire was undermined. No disturbances, indeed, occurred which could not be easily suppressed by the employment of soldiery if the latter were entirely to be relied on. But, on the one hand, there began to be symptoms of indisposition on the part of existing Russian troops to use their weapons for the suppression of popular movements; and on the other hand it was evident that the classes from whom the Army was for the most part annually replenished were becoming increasingly subjected to revolutionary influences. The principal active agents in the diffusion of those influences were university students and the members of the liberal professions—teachers, doctors, barristers and the like; but also, as was pointed out in a circular issued in June by M. Plehve, the recently appointed Minister of the Interior, much use was made of clever and energetic peasants, who were first trained in courses of instruction in sociology and in such subjects as the history of political and economic movements and then sent forth to carry on an anti-Governmental propaganda among their fellows. How widely diffused the revolutionary leaven was among persons with a moderate amount of education was curiously illustrated by a statement made by the same Minister to the Tsar, setting forth the serious amount of mischief done by persons temporarily engaged by the *Zemstvos*, or provincial representative assemblies, for the purpose of collecting agricultural and other statistics. Many such persons, it was said, used their opportunities of intercourse with the peasantry for the very injurious object of spreading aspirations for the subversion of the existing order of things. This statement so much impressed the Emperor that he sanctioned the issue of orders forbidding the collection of statistics in twelve provinces and also in any other rural districts where the governors might consider that the work of the statisticians was undesirable in the interests of public order. It must be added that even the clergy, the strongest bulwark of Russian autocracy, were be-

ginning to be penetrated with revolutionary opinions. These were found to be prevalent in various ecclesiastical seminaries, and that at Odessa was in consequence closed.

With regard to the numerous disturbances of a revolutionary character which occurred only a few representative examples can be here recorded. In February some 400 students of the University of Moscow, many of whom were armed with knives and revolvers, seized the academic buildings, singing revolutionary songs and waving red flags, and erected barricades to oppose the troops sent against them. They were all captured and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. In March a demonstration took place in the Nevsky Prospect, the main street of St. Petersburg, which had been organised by committees of students and working-men acting in co-operation. They had circulated thousands of proclamations, inviting all who approved of the demand for freedom of speech, of the Press, of association, and for individual freedom, to assemble in front of the Kazan Cathedral. In notices sent by the committees to the officers of troops quartered in the capital, requesting them not to order the soldiers to use their weapons against the demonstrationists, it was stated that the gathering was designed merely as a peaceful expression of national demands, but at the same time the officers were urged to follow the example of the "Decabrists," the officers who attempted by an armed rising to secure a constitution at the accession of the Tsar Nicholas I. The demonstration was dispersed by the police, many of the people being wounded and some killed. Similar demonstrations took place in other towns, and—which was of very grave significance—at the small-arms factory at Tula soldiers who were ordered to fire on some strikers refused to do so, and mutinied when the officer in charge attempted to secure obedience by cutting down one of the non-commissioned officers. From Moscow also a Grenadier regiment was removed because it was said it could not be trusted to fire on the people in case of need. The earlier months of the year were also marked by several murderous attacks on high officials. The life of M. Trepoff, the chief of the Moscow police, was twice unsuccessfully attempted in the spring. M. Sipiaguine, the Minister of the Interior, was murdered by an ex-student of Kieff. He had been one of the chief opponents of the policy of conciliation towards the students recommended by General Vannovsky, the Minister of Public Instruction (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 206), and his assassination excited little public indignation and was even openly rejoiced over by many persons. He was succeeded as Minister of the Interior by M. de Plehve, Secretary of State for Finland, an official with a high reputation for energy, tact, and strength of character, and at the same time General Vannovsky resigned his post.

Serious agrarian riots took place in April in the provinces of

Poltava and Kharkoff, the workmen on some of the estates there combining with the peasantry to sack the houses of some of the proprietors before the troops could be brought in to restore order. In these regions the disorders were ingeniously stimulated by the circulation of absurd rumours that the Tsar had commanded the distribution among the peasants of the lands left to the nobles after the emancipation of the serfs. These reports obtained so much credence among the peasantry that in several cases they formed committees under the communal officials, who required the landowners to vacate their land, which they proceeded to redistribute, leaving fifteen to twenty acres to each proprietor. Considerable and destructive rioting occurred on the authoritative denial of the reports which had led to these proceedings. Economic causes, however, were to a very great extent responsible for the spread of the revolutionary agitation. A series of bad harvests had produced a grave contraction of the means of livelihood among the masses of the rural population, and in the course of 1902 an industrial crisis, advancing in severity as the months went on, was felt all over the Empire. Once prosperous firms were compelled to reduce their output and discharge many of their workmen and, in the south and south-east particularly, numerous industrial undertakings, which had been partly financed from abroad, either closed altogether or came into the hands of official administrators.

The difficulties of the Government were great indeed, and it must be acknowledged that they by no means sought to meet them by merely repressive measures. In Moscow, for example, the police adopted a friendly attitude towards the mill hands and ironworkers. They were encouraged not only to form friendly societies, but to discuss their grievances among themselves, and the Governor, the Grand Duke Serge, promised a deputation of working-men to do all in his power for the improvement of their conditions of labour, and even himself attended an open-air meeting which they held. The authorities also sought to induce the masters to make various concessions to their employes. This policy of conciliation, however, had only a temporary appearance of success. The workmen pressed plainly impossible demands, and the masters were little disposed to make even moderate concessions. The former fell back under the influence of revolutionary agitators, and conspiracies and numerous arrests ensued.

To mitigate the distress in the rural districts the Council of State remitted a very large amount of the arrears of taxation due from the peasants, and sanctioned a law freeing the village communes from their joint responsibility for the taxes of their members. A Government commission was issued to investigate the causes of the protracted depression of agriculture. It obtained many more or less plausible explanations from persons of greater or less authority. The indolence and ignorance of the

peasants, their irrational and exhausting methods of farming; the working of the *mir*, or village commune system, in respect of its allotment and re-allotment of land; the starving of agriculture and of the means of promoting its improvement by educational agencies, through M. de Witte's policy of artificially stimulating manufactures, were all dwelt upon. District committees of inquiry were also appointed by the Commission, formed from the nobility and the members of the *Zemstvos*. These bodies, with much unanimity, recommended that the peasants should be liberated from the control of the *mir*, that the powers of the *Zemstvos* should be increased, and that measures of judicial and educational reform should be undertaken. Such, indeed, was the energy shown by the district committees, technically appointed to aid the inquiry into agricultural depression, that the Minister of the Interior in October issued a circular to the governors of provinces, instructing them to put a stop to the discussion of politics by the committees. M. Stakhovitch, Marshal of Nobility for the province of Orel, and *ex-officio* chairman of one of these committees, refused to take any notice of the circular, but two committee members were banished for having suggested political reforms.

The Tsar in the summer and autumn addressed himself in various ways to the students and to the peasants, to the rural nobility, and to the *Zemstvos*. To the first two classes his utterances had a note of sternness, but also of paternal concern. All interests involved in the agricultural districts were assured that the Emperor was considering how best to help their real needs; but the *Zemstvos* were warned against ambitions for wider administrative powers.

Some new regulations for the so-called Volunteer fleet in the Black Sea, to remain in force until 1912, were published in the early part of the year. Under these regulations 600,000 roubles a year was to be contributed by the State towards the maintenance of the fleet, in consideration of which it was to keep up a regular service between Russia and the Far East and in general to co-operate in the development of Russian commerce. It was at the same time decided to grant from Government funds for every steamship built in Russia of Russian materials, according to the rules established by Lloyd's Register for ships of the first class, an advance towards the expenses of half the value of the vessel, to be repaid in annual instalments within a period of not more than twenty years. The Ministry further offered to insure all such vessels for two-thirds of their value at an annual premium of 2 per cent. only. These privileges, besides the subsidy of 63,000*l.* a year which it is to receive for military service in time of war, when its ships are to be used for transporting nearly 200,000 officers and men, were accorded to the Russian Steam Navigation Company for the special vessels to be constructed for the new line between Odessa and the Persian Gulf. A central administrative department

was also established for the control of Russia's commercial marine and "the emancipation of Russia from dependence on foreign undertakings and foreign commercial fleets." The new department was to have the control of harbours as well as of shipping, and the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovitch, the most hard-working commander in the Russian Navy, was appointed its chief.

Great efforts were made by the Russian Government to promote commercial relations with England. Facilities of all kinds were accorded to exporters of butter, eggs, meat and poultry, and to the agricultural classes for cultivating wheat and maize for the English market, instead of the rye and barley hitherto exported to Germany, which under the new German tariff were to be subject to almost prohibitive Customs duties. The cultivation of maize had more than doubled since 1883, and it was hoped that it might ultimately take the place of the rye hitherto grown for export.

In March Colonel Grimm, an officer on the general staff of the army at Warsaw, was arrested on the charge of betraying to Germany and Austria-Hungary the contents of certain schemes of mobilisation and plans of fortresses, and also of the scheme for the concentration of Russian troops on the Narva-Bug Railway line in case of an invasion by Germany. The accused confessed his guilt, saying that he had been induced to betray these schemes by a prominent officer of the German general staff whom he had met at Wiesbaden, and that the total sum he had received for this information, which he had been communicating during the past three years, was 300,000 roubles. He was condemned to military and civil degradation, twelve years' hard labour on the Island of Sakhalin, and subsequent banishment for life.

In Finland the people continued to resist to the utmost of their power the attempts of the Government to deprive them of their ancient national privileges. The majority of the communes refused to elect members to the Conscription Boards entrusted with the duty of carrying out the levy of recruits in the spring, and the orders given to the clergy to read out from their pulpits the new military service edict (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 307) were in most of the parishes not carried out. Heavy fines, amounting in one case to 14,000 roubles, were imposed upon the recalcitrant communes, but without effect. At Helsingfors, out of 857 men summoned to the levy of recruits, only fifty-six obeyed the summons, the remainder staying away as a demonstration against the military service edict. The Cossacks were ordered out, and they charged the public in the Senate Square and the adjoining streets, using their knouts indiscriminately and knocking down those who could not escape. Some offered resistance, and several men on both sides were wounded. Altogether about 60 per cent. of the young men of the country called to the colours refused to serve. In October

the Finnish Senate was placed by an Imperial edict under the direct supervision of the Russian Governor-General, whereby the last vestige of the autonomy of the country was destroyed. The people, however, were determined to refuse to recognise the recent unconstitutionally enacted measures as binding in law. In the middle of November a meeting was convened at Helsingfors, at which there were 235 persons present from all parts of Finland, the rural districts especially being largely represented. About half the number were peasant farmers, and there were also representatives of the labouring class. A great many of those present had been members for one or more sessions of the Finnish Diet. The principal resolution carried at this meeting was as follows: "That this assembly considers it imperative, for the maintenance of our political and national existence, to continue everywhere, unswervingly, and until legal conditions are restored to the country, the passive resistance against all measures conflicting with, or calculated to abolish, our fundamental laws."

The new Governor of Russian Poland, General Tchertkoff, did not continue the conciliatory policy of his predecessor, Prince Imeritynski, but reverted to the methods of Russification practised by General Gourko, though with more moderation and a greater regard for the national feeling of the Polish people. The persecution of Polish children in Prussia caused a good deal of sympathy for the Poles to be manifested in Russia, and the deputation of Russian officers who accompanied the Emperor William when he visited Posen showed so much friendliness to the Poles as to give considerable offence to the Germans.

In July a note was addressed by M. Witte, the Minister of Finance, to the Governments which took part in the Brussels Conference, suggesting that another conference should be assembled to consider the influence of trusts, syndicates, and cartels on the international market, and what steps should be taken to counteract their evil effects. He admitted that bounties in general, and sugar bounties in particular, could not be defended, declared that the Russian system had nothing in the nature of a bounty, and maintained that the action of the syndicates in the sugar trade constituted a greater difficulty than the actual bounties. No effect was given to this suggestion, which was generally regarded as impracticable. Russia had taken no part in the Brussels Conference, and her claim to be relieved from the countervailing duties provided by the Conference on the ground that such duties would be a breach of the commercial treaties she had concluded with the Powers on the principle of "the most favoured nations" was not recognised as valid.

The Russo-Chinese Treaty with regard to Manchuria having been withdrawn (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 301), a convention was signed in place of it on April 8. Under this instrument the Tsar agreed (Article 1) that Chinese authority should be re-established in Manchuria, which was to remain "an integral portion of the Chinese Empire." "On resuming

possession of sovereign and administrative powers in Manchuria," the Chinese Government undertook (Article 2) "strictly to observe the stipulations of the contract with the Russo-Chinese Bank of August 27, 1896," and, in particular, guaranteed the protection of the railway and staff and of all Russian subjects living in Manchuria and their enterprises. Russia, in return, consented, in the event of there being no trouble whatever, and no obstacle interposed by the conduct of other Powers, to withdraw gradually all Russian troops from Manchuria, the withdrawal beginning with the south-western portion of the Moukden province, which would be evacuated within six months, and to be entirely completed within eighteen months from the signature of the Convention. Under Article 3 it was mutually undertaken that, pending the withdrawal of the Russian troops, the local military authorities of the two Governments should respectively be instructed to "agree together in order to fix the number and determine the military stations of the Chinese troops in Manchuria." China would "not increase the number beyond that arranged, which ought to be sufficient to exterminate the brigands and pacify the country." After the Russian withdrawal China would "duly inform" Russia of any proposed increase in the number of her troops in Manchuria. For police duties and the maintenance of order "in the interior outside the territory ceded to the Chinese Eastern Railway Company," a Chinese gendarmerie "exclusively consisting of Chinese subjects," might be raised. Under Article 4 Russia consented to restore the Shan-hai-kwan, Niu-chwang, Sin-min-ting Railway, on the understanding that China alone would guard it, and would not permit any foreign Power to occupy the country restored by Russia. The railway, it was added, should be completed and worked according to the Anglo-Russian agreement of April 16, 1899, and according to the railway contract with a private company of September 28, 1898, China strictly observing the obligations of the company not to take possession of this railway nor to part with it in any way. Any railway extensions in South Manchuria by China should only be undertaken after an accord with Russia. And Russia should be reimbursed for her expenses in the restoration and prolonged working of the railway.

It was held by well-informed observers that while, on the face of it, this Convention restored Manchuria to China, its provisions with regard to the protection of the railway would really give Russia a hold over the country for an indefinite time. Russia also attempted to secure under another guise the exclusive railway and mining privileges in Manchuria, which she had stipulated for herself in the treaty of the previous year, by a secret agreement granting those privileges to the Russo-Chinese Bank; but this manœuvre was foiled by the protests of the United States, England and Japan. The announcement of the agreement concluded by the two latter Powers for main-

taining the independence and territorial integrity of the Empires of China and Korea, and securing equal opportunities therein for the commerce and industry of all nations, elicited an official declaration from Russia and France welcoming the principles affirmed by the treaty, but reserving to themselves the consideration of the means of protecting their interests in certain eventualities (see p. 355). This declaration was regarded in Russia as specially important, because it showed that the Franco-Russian alliance bound the two Powers to act in concert in the Far East as well as in Europe.

Meanwhile Manchuria was being rapidly transformed into what was virtually a Russian province. Every city and every road of importance was commanded by the railway, and the so-called evacuation became in point of fact the concentration of the Russian army of occupation along the railway line. Niu-chwang, Moukden, Lian-yang, and Kirin thus remained under the immediate control of powerful Russian forces, stationed at a few days' march from their walls, and permanent barracks for them had been built at the most important stations. Under the superintendence of Russian engineers and architects whole cities, with electric light, water supply, parks, and reading-rooms, had been built and inhabited by Russian immigrants. Harbin, which was a collection of mud huts in 1897, had become a Russian city of 9,000 inhabitants, and both the railway and the steam navigation on the waterways, and all the forts, arsenals, and magazines were entirely in Russian hands. Every effort was made to counteract the influence of British and German traders. A commercial bureau was opened at Harbin, the centre of the Manchurian trade, with the object of supplanting them by traders from Russia. M. Witte, the Minister of Finance, proceeded on a tour of inspection in the country and the adjoining districts in November, and initiated a number of reforms. He arrived at the conclusion that the new sea-port of Dalny, near Port Arthur, which had cost an immense sum, was practically of little use, owing to the disadvantages of the site, and that the principal harbour of Russia in Northern Asia should be Vladivostok, where a commercial school and navigation classes were to be established. Goods imported from China, whether by land or sea, were to be free of duty, and goods imported in foreign vessels generally were to be transhipped without Customs examination. Vladivostok had been almost ruined by the heavy duties charged there and by the competition of Dalny, and it was hoped by the above measures to restore it to its former prosperity.

In Persia Russia pursued the same methods for increasing her influence and establishing a monopoly for her commerce as she had practised with such success in Manchuria. During the visit of the Shah to Petersburg in September it was stated that the opposition was to be removed for making further arrangements with the Shah, in reply to the toast of

his health proposed by the Tsar, said that he hoped "the ties which unite the two countries, and which are already so firm, will be drawn still closer than they have been in the past." A new loan of 10,000,000 roubles, under the designation of "the Persian Gold Loan of the year 1902," was taken up for the Persian Government by the Discount and Loan Bank of Persia under the authority of Russia, in addition to the loan of 1900 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1900, p. 327), on the security of the same Customs receipts as those pledged for the previous loan. A concession was obtained by the Bank, which is practically a Russian institution, for building a road connecting Kasbin and Tauris with the Russian frontier. It was expected that this road, together with the one from the Caspian to Teheran, would be most useful for the development of Russian trade in Persia.

Attempts were also made to open up a trade with Afghanistan. Permission was sought of the Ameer for admitting Russian caravans on the routes between Khushk, Herat and Kabul, and also for establishing trade relations between Russian and Afghan Turkestan, but the Ameer replied that such requests should be addressed to him through the Indian Government, and nothing more was heard of the matter. A proposal was at the same time made by the Russian Government to England that direct relations should be established between Russia and Afghanistan with regard to frontier questions, such relations to have no political character. This proposal also was not carried any further, as the explanations asked for by the British Government were not given.

Although the German Emperor was almost cringing in his efforts to establish a friendly understanding with Russia, his overtures were but coldly received. He proceeded in August to meet the Tsar at Reval during the naval manœuvres there, and assurances were exchanged between the two Emperors as to their desire to maintain the peace of Europe, but it was at the same time pointed out in the Russian Press that the scheme for the Bagdad Railway, which implied the ulterior development of the German railway system in Asia Minor as well as the establishment of German colonies in Mesopotamia and the extension of German influence in the Persian Gulf, was an undertaking too prejudicial to Russian interests to allow the policies of the two nations to be reconciled in Asia, while the proposed German Customs tariff would be so injurious to Russian trade and industry that if it were maintained it would hardly be possible to renew the Russo-German Commercial Treaty of 1894. The antipathy between Slav and Teuton was now a practically indissoluble quantity, and the Pan-German propaganda in South-Eastern Europe contributed in a very large degree to intensify this feeling.

In May the President of the French Republic came to St. Petersburg, and the cordiality of his reception by all classes of the population was in strong contrast to the frigidity of the

comments of the Russian Press on the visit of the Emperor William. The official *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* stated on this occasion that the Franco-Russian alliance was a guarantee of universal peace and an essential element in the balance of power, not merely in Europe, but also in other parts of the world.

The King of Italy paid a visit to the Tsar in July, accompanied by his Foreign Minister, Sgr. Prinetti, and it was understood that the chief political topic of the conferences between the two Sovereigns and their Ministers was the policy to be adopted by them in the Adriatic and the Balkans and with regard to the proposed German Customs tariff. The Tsar expressed great gratification at this visit; it was certainly remarkable that so soon after the renewal of the Triple Alliance, the first visit of the King of Italy should have been to St. Petersburg.

In the Near East Russia maintained the most friendly relations with the Balkan States, while using all her influence, in conjunction with Austria-Hungary, for the maintenance of peace. Commercial agreements were concluded with Bulgaria and Servia with a view to developing Russian trade with those countries. A Russian consulate was established in September at Mitrovitz, in Old Servia, the starting-point of the railway to Uskub and Salonica, and the headquarters of the Albanian agitation against the Servians in that district, with the declared object of protecting the latter against Albanian raids. The Grand Duke Nicholas was present at the *fêtes* at the Shipka Pass (see p. 330) and made a speech on the occasion in which he said that the Russian guests had come among their brethren the Bulgarians "solely for the purpose of taking part in peaceful and solemn celebrations," that "the sacrifices made by Russia" in the war of 1878 "had borne good fruit," and that the Tsar "was pleased to give a fresh token of his goodwill towards his Royal Highness the Prince of Bulgaria and the nation of which he is the ruler." The Grand Duke afterwards paid a visit to the Sultan, who in his turn sent an extraordinary mission to the Tsar at Livadia bringing presents and the Sultan's greetings. The Tsar also sent a cordial telegram to the King of Roumania in reply to his announcement that he had laid a wreath on the grave of the Russian soldiers killed at the battle of Plevna.

On the Macedonian question an important *communiqué* was issued by the Russian *Official Messenger* on December 13, stating that the Government had made representations to the Porte on the dangerous state of affairs in Macedonia and had recommended a series of reforms in the administration of that province which it considered to be urgently necessary; that it had at the same time urged the Servian and Bulgarian Governments to do all in their power to check the Macedonian agitation; that its efforts in this sense had met with the complete sympathy of the other Powers; and that Austria-

Hungary had joined Russia in its representations to the Porte on this subject. The final paragraph of the *communiqué* ran thus: "In conclusion, the Imperial Government, which has given so many proofs of its constant desire to maintain the very best relations with Turkey, cannot but express the hope that the Government of the Sultan will take the necessary steps to put an end to every kind of outrage and cruelty, and will appreciate at their proper value the friendly representations made by Russia on behalf of the Christian population of Macedonia, the speedy pacification of which constitutes the best means of averting complications fraught with the most serious dangers to the Ottoman Empire." On December 22 Count Lamsdorff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, proceeded to Belgrade, Sofia and Vienna to communicate personally with the Governments in those capitals in regard to the policy enunciated in the above *communiqué*.

II. TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

The most important incident of the year 1902 in Turkey was the outbreak of the insurrection in Macedonia, which threatened to disturb the *status quo* in the Balkan peninsula and caused much anxiety in Austria-Hungary and Russia. The population of Macedonia is a mixture of Bulgarians, Servians, Greeks, Turks, and Roumanians, the Bulgarians being the majority and the leading spirits of the rising; and all these nationalities, backed by the adjoining States representing them, had for many years been striving among each other for predominance in the province. The Macedonian Committee in Bulgaria, which was the headquarters of the agitation, was at the beginning of the year less active than it had been previously owing to dissensions among its members. Miss Stone, the American missionary, who had been captured by one of the insurgent bands acting under the orders of the committee (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 306), was liberated, and the Bulgarian Government, hoping to obtain a foreign loan and anxious to be on good terms with Russia, gave no countenance to the revolutionary propaganda. The consequence was that the committee split into two parties; one, under Colonel Zontcheff, professed to aim at developing the Bulgarian element in Macedonia by legal means through the agency of the schools and the clergy, while the other, led by M. Sarafof, the former president of the committee, which had been somewhat discredited by its crimes and extortions, strove to gain popularity by a scheme for the general rising of the Christian populations of European Turkey. Under this scheme the Servians were to have a free hand in the district of Old Serbia and the Greeks in Epirus, while to the Bulgarians was reserved the task of emancipating the other Christian populations. This wild plan found no favour in Greece, where the Government even went so far as to promise to co-operate with

Turkey to defeat it, and the Servians showed no inclination to associate themselves with a movement conducted under Bulgarian auspices. Under these circumstances M. Sarafof decided to continue the agitation by Bulgarian means alone, and to reserve his forces until everything should be ripe for the proposed general rising, but he strongly opposed the plan of a revolutionary propaganda restricted to Macedonia. Meanwhile the state of affairs in that province was so alarming that the Grand Vizier appointed a committee to draw up a project of reform embracing an effective reorganisation of the *gendarmérie*, the reform of the judicial administration, the construction of roads, the establishment of schools, and improvements in the financial administration, which was approved by the Sultan, but, as usual, not carried out. In September Colonel Zontcheff, the president of the more moderate section of the Macedonian Committee, was arrested by the Bulgarian Government owing to the attempt of a revolutionary band armed by the committee to cross the frontier into Macedonia. Shortly after M. Sarafof was arrested at Nitch, so that the two rival leaders of the committee seemed to be disabled for further action: but the opportunity was taken by the revolutionists, who were now free from their control, and whose hopes had been excited by the Shipka celebrations (see p. 330) to take the field. Bulgarian bands appeared in the districts of Macedonia inhabited by Bulgarians under the leadership of a retired colonel of the Bulgarian army named Yankoff, and a provisional Government was formed to direct the operations of the insurgents. A large Turkish force was sent into the province to suppress the rising, and the Porte at the same time issued a circular note to the Powers complaining that Bulgaria was not effectively supervising her frontier, and that commands in the revolutionary bands were allotted among officers of the Bulgarian Reserve at the Monastery of Rilo, on Bulgarian soil. To this the Bulgarian Government replied that they could not repress the movement so long as the reforms needed for Macedonia were not carried out. Meanwhile both Colonel Zontcheff and M. Sarafof escaped from their Bulgarian prison, and issued manifestoes, in which the former proclaimed that the great struggle of the Bulgarian people had begun, and that they would fight for freedom until they were extirpated, while the latter boldly declared that the time had not yet come for a rising, and that neither insurrections nor insurgents existed in Macedonia.

The Turkish troops carried out their task with their usual unscrupulousness. Several Christian villages were destroyed, some of their inhabitants were massacred, and crowds of old men, women and children fled across the frontier into Bulgaria. A mass meeting was held at Sofia, under the auspices of the Macedonian Committee, to protest to the Powers against "Turkish atrocities," and by the middle of November the insurrection had. It had nowhere struck deep root, and

though it met with a certain amount of sympathy in the purely Bulgarian districts, the number of the inhabitants who actually joined the insurgent bands was small. Moreover, the insurgents treated the Mahomedan inhabitants as cruelly as the Turkish troops did the Christians, and they burnt even Christian villages when the peasantry refused to supply them with provisions and ammunition. Yet, although the larger bands had been defeated and dispersed, it soon became evident that the lull in the Macedonian troubles was but temporary. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather and the withdrawal of most of the Bulgarian raiders beyond the frontier, several small armed bands still remained in the country, obtaining food and shelter in the remoter villages and in some districts exercising a kind of independent jurisdiction over the people. The assassinations and other crimes perpetrated by the emissaries of the Macedonian Committee continued unchecked, and the culprits were rarely, if ever, brought to justice. The state of desperation to which a large proportion of the naturally submissive Christian population was reduced by the maladministration of the Government and the outrages of the insurgents made the situation a very perilous one, as the peasants, long the victims of an iniquitous system of taxation, were now harried both by the insurgent bands and the Government troops and gendarmes, and their homes had in many instances been pillaged and burnt, so that they had nothing more to lose.

Albania was in almost as disturbed a condition during the latter part of the year as Macedonia. Italian influence, owing to the efforts of the Società Dante Alighieri, made considerable progress among the Christian population; there were nearly 500 Italian schools, an Albano-Italian college at San Demetrio, and a technical and commercial school at Skutari. In August the Albanian League (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1897, p. 314) addressed a petition to the Sultan asking for the grant of autonomy to the Albanian districts of Skutari, Kossovo, and Janina, under a national governor, Prince Aladro Kastrioti, an ex-diplomatist who claimed descent from the Albanian hero Skanderbeg. The League had, however, very little influence in the country, and the Prince, a wealthy man who resides abroad, seems to have been merely a tool in the hands of unscrupulous agitators. Albania possesses no elements out of which an autonomy could be formed; the country is sterile, with no industry or commerce, and its population, 1,500,000, belongs to different religions and tribes who detest each other and are continually fighting among themselves. Numerous outrages were perpetrated upon the Bulgarian inhabitants, who are Orthodox Greeks by religion, by Albanian bands composed of Mussulmans, and the Albanian Christians, who are Roman Catholics, suffered equally from the depredations of their Mahomedan countrymen. The appointment of a Russian consul at Mitrovitza (see p. 324) was resented by the Mussulmans and

the Catholics as an attempt to spread Panslavist and Orthodox Greek doctrine in the country ; a meeting was held under the Albanian chief Issa Boljetinaz, at which it was decided to prevent the establishment of the consulate at all costs, and notice was given that any persons affording help to the Russian consul or his suite would be killed and their houses burnt to the ground. A detachment of Nizams upon this placed the consular effects on a cart and escorted the consul's servants, who had come to prepare for his arrival, to Uskub. Meanwhile Mitrovitza was occupied by Issa Boljetinaz with his tribesmen. Turkish troops were brought up, the Albanians were disarmed, and their chief put in prison ; but the Russian consul was not able to take up his post until some months later.

The Sultan, who afforded another instance of the system of personal despotism based on espionage which he had established in the previous year (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 303) by the deportation of Marshal Fuad Pasha, an old soldier who had covered himself with glory in the war with Russia and was the last man of decent character left at the Turkish court, seemed at length disposed to relent in his persecution of the Armenians, thanks in a great measure to the independent spirit displayed by the Armenian patriarch. The latter having sturdily refused to resume his duties so long as the exceptional laws under which the Armenians were suffering were maintained, the Sultan issued an *Irade'* abolishing them, after the councils of Armenian clerics and laymen had presented him with an address proclaiming their loyal devotion and peaceful disposition.

In July a number of members of the Orthodox Greek Church, of whom twelve were monks, were condemned by the Turkish Court of Justice at Jerusalem to various terms of imprisonment for having assaulted the Franciscan Friars at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at the instigation, it was said, of the superior of the " Orthodox " monastery there. The French Government, as the traditional protector of the Catholics in Turkey, at first took up the case, but it was induced by Russia to refrain from pressing for the punishment of the Greek monks, upon which Germany and Italy intervened on behalf of their countrymen among the Franciscans, with such effect that the prosecution was carried to a favourable issue. The prestige of France among the Eastern Catholics suffered seriously from this incident.

The pirates in the Red Sea having committed depredations on property belonging to Italians, the Italian Government took prompt measures to secure redress ; the ringleaders were handed over to the Italian authorities, and an understanding was arrived at as to the restitution of the stolen property and the payment of an indemnity. A difficulty also occurred with England as to the Aden frontier, and the Turkish troops were removed from all points to the occupation of which England objected.

The Bagdad Railway Convention was signed by the Sultan in January. It fixed the Turkish kilometric guarantee at 12,000 francs, with 4,500 francs as a minimum for working expenses. If the revenues of the railway should exceed 10,000 francs per kilometre the Turkish guarantee was to be diminished by 60 per cent. of the surplus. The total gross kilometric income of the railway between 4,500 francs and 10,000 francs was to be deducted from the total kilometric guarantee of 16,500 francs. As an understanding had not yet been effected regarding those Turkish revenues which would be managed by the administration of the Ottoman Public Debt as pledges for the promised guarantee, it was semi-officially pointed out that the present concession amounted to nothing more than an arrangement regarding the main conditions for the ultimate construction of the railway and the bestowal of exclusive rights to build it. The concession was for a period of ninety-nine years. The new railway was to start at Konia, go beyond Bagdad, and, according to German telegrams, end at a point on the Persian Gulf the locality of which was to be subsequently determined in conjunction with the Porte. It was further arranged that the Anatolian Railway Company should improve its existing lines so as to make them suitable for a direct express service between Constantinople and the Persian Gulf. The Turkish Government was to pay the company 350,000 francs per annum for thirty years to defray the expense of these improvements, and an additional annual sum of 350,000 francs for the whole period of the concession in order to meet the increased expenditure involved by the direct express service. The Bagdad Railway, together with its branch lines, was to have a length of 2,500 kilometres.

A new Ministry was formed in Bulgaria in March, with M. Daneff as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Karaveloff, the previous Prime Minister, having been unable to obtain a majority in the Sobranie after his defeat on the loan question (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 307). All the members of the new Cabinet belonged to the Zankoffist or Russophile party. During the debate on the Address and in a subsequent speech the new Premier stated that Bulgaria's foreign policy avoided all ambitious plans, and that the Government desired to maintain friendly relations with all countries, and more especially with her neighbours. He added that he hoped all the Powers interested in the Macedonian question, and especially Turkey herself, would intervene to improve the state of affairs in Macedonia. The large number of refugees who are related to men holding important posts in the Army and the Government offices of the country caused the effects of the events in Macedonia to be severely felt in Bulgaria, and they disturbed tranquillity there. To remedy this state of things an end must be put to the emigration of Macedonians, and the only way to do that was to make life

bearable for them at home. The Bulgarian Government had a right to demand the suspension of this emigration, but they ought to give proofs of their loyalty by doing everything to prevent illegal enterprises in Bulgaria, and they would do all they could. They asked for the support of the Powers interested in the maintenance of peace, and if that support were withheld they would do their duty to the end, but a day might come when they would be unable to stem the Macedonian current.

In June Prince Ferdinand proceeded to St. Petersburg to present to the Tsar a statuette of Alexander II. and an album of all the Russian monuments in Bulgaria. He was accompanied by a special deputation composed of the Minister for War and other eminent personages, and invited a Russian deputation to attend the ceremonies at the Russian convent at Shipka to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the crossing of the Danube by the Russian troops in the "war of liberation." The celebration took place in September in the presence of the Grand Duke Nicholas, Prince Ferdinand, Count Ignatieff, and a number of Russian officers, and was preceded by a great military display in which thirty-four battalions of infantry, with one battalion of sappers and sixteen guns, took part, reproducing the battle fought on the Shipka Pass on August 23, 1877, in which Suleiman Pasha was forced to retreat. All the Russian monuments on the heights were draped with crape, and after the operations a solemn requiem service was held in an improvised chapel erected near the principal monument. Count Ignatieff afterwards proceeded to Sofia, where he attended an entertainment given in his honour at the palace. He was enthusiastically received by the people, and, replying to a Macedonian deputation, he said that his desire for the liberation of Macedonia had been defeated by the enemies of the Bulgarians at the Berlin Congress. He hoped, however, that their common aspirations would one day be fulfilled if the Bulgarians resolutely persevered in their endeavours to attain this end. The Grand Duke Nicholas, on the other hand, used language of a strictly guarded tenour (see p. 324).

In November some startling revelations were made as to the organisation of the plots against the Government of the late M. Stambouloff which had resulted in the assassination of M. Beltcheff, Minister of Finance, of M. Vulkovitch, the Bulgarian Minister at Constantinople, and finally of M. Stambouloff himself (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1895, p. 295). Many persons occupying very important posts under the Ministry of M. Daneff, as well as under the previous Ministry, were stated to be implicated, and proceedings were instituted against them. Dr. Daneff and his Cabinet resigned, but he formed another Ministry, retaining most of his previous colleagues. The Budget statement submitted to the Sobranye in December showed that his administration of the finances had been more successful than that of his predecessors, as it left a surplus of 335,029 francs.

The War Office Estimates alone amounted to 23,301,362 francs, which was nearly a fourth of the whole expenditure of the principality.

The consecration of Mgr. Firmilian, a Servian, as Bishop of Uskub in Macedonia, as tending to strengthen Servian influence in that province, caused a sharp conflict between Servia and Bulgaria. Russia on this occasion supported the claims of Servia, although in other matters she posed as the special protector of Bulgaria. Great offence was caused at Belgrade, however, by the refusal of the Tsar to receive King Alexander and his wife at Livadia. This visit was repeatedly proposed, but it was postponed on various pretexts, owing, it was said, to the unwillingness of the Tsarina to receive Queen Draga.

Owing to the circumstances of his marriage and there being no prospect of any issue, King Alexander was not popular among his subjects, and the cause of the Pretender, Prince Karageorgievitch, was constantly gaining ground. A revolutionary attempt in his favour was made in March by a man named Alavantitch, who had been convicted of an attempt to assassinate the ex-King Milan. He induced the armed guards at several Customs stations on the Servian bank of the Save to follow him, but was shot by the officer commanding the gendarmes at Shabatz as he was reading a proclamation signed by the Pretender. The Vuitch Cabinet (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 308) resigned in October after concluding the negotiations in Paris for a 5 per cent. loan of 60,000,000 francs redeemable in fifty years, and was succeeded by a predominantly Radical Cabinet under M. Velimirovitch. It only lasted a few days, however, having failed to obtain sufficient support in the Skuptschina, and another Ministry was then appointed, with General Markovitch at its head and three other officers as its members. This was regarded as an attempt on the King's part to establish a régime of force under the direction of a soldier upon whose devotion he could rely, against the agitation on behalf of Prince Karageorgievitch and the movement, said to be favoured by Russia, in favour of placing on the Servian throne Prince Mirko, the son of Prince Nicolas of Montenegro, who was married in July to a princess of the Obrenovitch family. In December the new Government issued a programme in which it stated that its object would be "to devote special attention to the maintenance and further development of Servia's present sincere relations with the friendly Russian Empire and to the preservation of good neighbourly relations with Austria-Hungary," and that as regarded home affairs it would "make arrangements for carrying out in a regular way the necessary revision of the constitution." This seemed to point to further constitutional changes, but nothing had been done in the matter at the end of the year. The Prince of Montenegro, on a new Russian Minister presenting his credentials at Cettigne, in November, made a speech in which he

dwelt on the indissoluble bonds uniting Russia and Montenegro. "That union," he said, "which has been created by their history, is deeply engraved in the heart of every true Serb. My fatherland is the faithful and invincible outpost of the Slav south. Mighty Russia is its guardian and protector, and in return Montenegro is always ready to accept with a whole heart all trials and to make every sacrifice."

In November King Charles of Roumania was invited to meet Prince Ferdinand at Rustchuk, in order that they should proceed together to visit the battlefield of Plevna, and the Prince, in proposing the King's health, said that this visit was a proof of the friendly relations between the two countries, and that he would do his utmost to strengthen them still further. The meeting did not seem, however, to have had any political significance.

The note addressed by the United States to the signatory Powers of the Treaty of Berlin, representing that that treaty had not been carried out as regards the provision for the abolition of the religious disabilities of the Jews of Roumania, drew attention to a serious grievance under which the Roumanian Jews, who constitute about 4 per cent. of the whole population of Roumania, had long been labouring. This provision of the treaty, which was made a condition of Roumanian independence, was evaded by treating native Jews whose ancestors had been in the country for generations as foreigners, although they paid the same taxes and performed the same military duties as their Christian fellow-countrymen. Naturalisation was in the case of the Jews made very difficult, only eighty Jews having been naturalised during the past twenty-four years, and the disabilities by which they were affected under laws which, without naming them, were especially directed against the Jews, practically excluded them from most of the opportunities of earning a livelihood enjoyed by the Christian population, and reduced them to such poverty and distress that great numbers of them emigrated to America, though many had to be sent back as they had not sufficient means. By the last modification made in the law affecting aliens the population of Roumania was divided into three classes: *sujets Roumains*, *sujets sous la protection de la Roumanie*, and *sujets d'états étrangers*, and the Jews were included in the second class, but they still did not enjoy either the full rights of Roumanian subjects or those of the subjects of other States. That the King and his Government would gladly have removed the disabilities of the Jews if it had been in their power to do so there can be no doubt, but public feeling in the country was too strong for them, especially among the peasants, who were exploited by Jewish money-lenders. Great indignation was expressed, too, at the interference of the United States in the matter, and at the exclusion of the Roumanian Minister in London by the Lord Mayor from the invitations to the Guildhall banquet.

In Greece, owing to the obstruction of the Opposition under the veteran leader M. Delyannis, the parliamentary session was barren of all useful legislation. Brigandage, too, which for many years had been extinct in the country, was revived in the Western Morea and Thessaly. Most of the brigands were ordinary fugitives from justice or persons who had escaped from the prisons; of these the former were the more numerous, owing to the practice of absconding to avoid prosecution, even for comparatively trivial offences. The outlaws were frequently furnished by the peasants with provisions and other assistance. At Patras a brigand named Panopoulos, who had kidnapped the son of a wealthy citizen of Ægina and had exacted 100,000 francs for his release, on being arrested and conducted by the police to the railway station was greeted with acclamations by an enthusiastic crowd and presented by ladies with sweetmeats, flowers, lottery tickets, and other tributes of admiration. A general election took place in December, at which M. Delyannis, the leader of the Opposition, obtained a majority and was consequently appointed Premier. The party which had prior to the election formed the majority, however, refused to accept the decision of the people, and attempted to prevent the members of the Government from taking their seats at the opening of the Chamber by hiding the keys, so that the Delyannists had to enter the House by fire-escape ladders through the back windows. In the speech from the Throne it was stated that in future Cabinets would be formed of the party chosen by the majority of the electors, and that the privileges of the Crown would be in accord with the rights of the Chamber, the Delyannists having protested against the appointment of the Zaïmis Ministry (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 309), on the ground that it did not represent the majority.

CHAPTER IV.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE.

I. BELGIUM.

THE Bill for military reform read for the first time at the end of 1901 was finally passed by the Chamber of Representatives (January 25) by 74 against 42. The debate was less violent in the Senate than in the Chamber; at the same time a Liberal Senator brought in an amendment providing that none should be exempt from military service by the payment of money, and that the provisions of the law relating to substitution should be repealed. He added, in the name of the entire Left, that if the Government refused this amendment, the Left would dissociate itself absolutely from the debate, not wishing to take the responsibility of any participation in this ill-omened measure before the

eyes of the people. Replying in the name of the Government, the Minister of the Interior, M. de Trooz, declared himself a supporter of personal service on principle, but added that he could not accept the proposed amendment, on the ground that it concerned moral and social order rather than military. In consequence of this the Left abstained scrupulously from taking part in the debate, and all the clauses were passed by the Senate, without a word of comment, by 56 against 25. Shortly afterwards the Bill received the Royal assent.

It is, as yet, impossible to pronounce definitively on the consequences of this new law. One thing only was certain, that up to the end of the year, and in spite of the great pecuniary advantages offered to Volunteers, the voluntarily enlisted forces had not shown the results anticipated by the promoters of the system adopted, and that unless the Government were prepared to see the effective of the army seriously diminished in time of peace because of the reduction of the length of service introduced by the new law, it would be obliged to consider the question anew and to take further measures.

The Bill dealing with gambling was also read a second time, and was finally passed (March 21) by 93 against 7, with 10 abstaining. This question also raised some vehement discussion, especially in regard to a subsidy of 7,000,000 francs which the Government proposed to place at the disposal of the towns of Spa and Ostend for the execution of certain public works in compensation for the loss which these towns would suffer by the suppression of gambling. The Left, supported in this instance by M. de Lantsheere, formerly Catholic Minister of Justice, was of opinion that this subsidy could not be voted till after the promulgation of the gambling law, seeing that the effects of that law could not be experienced till it was in operation, and if Royal sanction were refused the subsidy would in fact be unnecessary. Without explanation, the Government replied that the law concerning gambling and the law granting subsidies would be promulgated at the same time; and the subsidies were voted by 70 against 10, with 8 abstaining. The anti-gambling law was not, however, signed by the King till the end of October, and was not promulgated before the last days of December. Other questions held a first place in the politics of the year. It is well known that in Belgium there is the "plural" suffrage; that is to say, a large number of electors who are in possession of certain capital and certain titles held to be proofs of capacity have two, three, and sometimes four votes. The Socialists were the first to attract attention to the injustice of this arrangement, because of the innumerable frauds to which this voting system is liable; and little by little they converted a large number of the Liberal party to their view. Before long the two sections of the party, Radical and Moderate, were formulating a plan for the revision of Article 47 of the Constitution, maintaining universal suffrage, already a

part of the Constitution, suppressing the "plural" vote, incorporating in the Constitution provision for proportional representation, and enacting compulsory education. The Socialist party joined unreservedly with the Liberals in support of the project. On the other hand, the Catholic party were absolutely opposed to the suppression of the "plural" vote.

Important demonstrations in support of the proposed reform and the abandonment of the "plural" suffrage took place in most of the large towns of the country. The Government refused to be intimidated by these demonstrations, and through the head of the Cabinet declared that it could not accept the unqualified universal suffrage demanded by the Opposition, because it held it incompatible with the institutions of the country. This declaration, on account of the somewhat aggressive form in which it was made, raised an indescribable tumult in the Chamber. On March 20 a formal proposal for the revision of the Constitution, signed by the Socialist leader, M. Vandervelde, and M. Janson, one of the principal representatives of advanced Liberalism, was placed on the table of the House. Meanwhile demonstrations in favour of the revision succeeded each other without interruption, and became more and more serious; at Brussels on April 10 the police were obliged to have recourse to arms, and three deaths resulted. At the same time a general strike was preached to the working classes, as a means of forcing the hand of the Government, and in a few days there were no fewer than 350,000 workmen on strike all over the country. The Minister of War, in order to ensure the maintenance of order, was forced to call a certain number of the militia to arms. It was in the midst of this tumultuous agitation that the great debate on the Bill for constitutional revision was opened in the Chamber (April 16). From the beginning the Government declared energetically that it would not yield to riot. The head of the Government, M. de Smedt-de-Naeyer, affirmed that the "plural" suffrage, the result of a loyal transaction with the Opposition, made only a few years before, had not been sufficiently tested; that a new revision was not according to the wishes of the greater part of the people, and he formally invited the Chamber to refuse to consider it. The debate was extremely animated, at times violent; and finally the Bill for the revision was rejected (April 18) by 84 to 64, Right against Left. Although anticipated, this vote was received with anger by the whole Socialist party. At Louvain, in particular, serious demonstrations took place, on account of which the city guard was obliged to fire, killing eight men and wounding twenty-five.

Two days after this the General Council of the Labour party decided on ending the strike and resuming work—a decision which, after a keen discussion, was approved by a large majority at a Congress of the Labour party held at Brussels (May 4).

On May 25 the re-election of half the Chamber of Repre-

sentatives took place. Five provinces out of nine were summoned to take part in the election. A few weeks before the Chamber had voted a Government measure augmenting the number of Deputies in proportion to the increase in the population of the country. The number was increased from 152 to 166. As to the Senate, of which no members retired in 1902, it was only necessary to provide seven new seats on account of the increase in the population. The elections took place in absolute calm, in striking contrast to the violent disturbances of the preceding months. It was necessary to replace seventy-six Deputies, who formed the retiring half of the Chamber, and also to fill one seat rendered vacant by death, and in addition the fourteen new seats recently created.

Among the seventy-seven retiring Deputies forty-seven were Catholics, twenty Liberals and ten Socialists; and there remained in the Chamber thirty-nine Catholics, fourteen Liberals, twenty-one Socialists and one Christian Democrat. In this first section the *status quo* was almost entirely maintained, only one seat being lost by the Liberals to the Catholics. With regard to the fourteen new seats the Catholics obtained nine, the Liberals one, the Socialists three and the Christian Democrats one. Finally, the new Chamber numbered ninety-six Catholics instead of eighty-six, thirty-four Liberals as before, thirty-four Socialists instead of thirty-one, and two Christian Democrats instead of one. The Opposition, therefore, numbered seventy instead of sixty-six, and the Catholic majority, which had been twenty, was increased to twenty-six.

With regard to the Senate, it numbered sixty-two Catholics instead of fifty-eight, forty-one Liberals instead of thirty-nine, and six Socialists instead of five—with a Catholic majority of fifteen instead of fourteen.

A small change took place in the formation of the Cabinet after the elections: the Minister of Industries, M. Surmont de Volsberghe, retired on account of overwork, and was replaced by M. Francotte.

The death of the Queen Marie Henriette on September 19 was not a political event strictly speaking, as the Queen had never taken any part in politics. But her funeral was the scene of a painful incident between the King and his daughter, Princess Stéphanie, widow of the Archduke Rodolph of Austria. Irritated by her second marriage with Count Lonyay, the King refused to meet his daughter at the deathbed of her mother. This incident made a very painful impression throughout the country, and the conduct of the King under these circumstances met with respectful but severe condemnation.

Nevertheless, a little while after, on November 15, in consequence of an attack, happily unsuccessful, on the life of King Leopold II. by an Italian named Rubino, the whole country showed most unmistakably the profound affection which it cherishes for the person of the Sovereign.

II. THE NETHERLANDS.

In spite of the vast programme elaborated in 1901 by the new Conservative Government, the changes introduced in 1902 by the Ministry were, on the whole, unimportant. The Cabinet did not propose nor cause Parliament to adopt any measure relating to the great reforms enumerated in its programme, except the Bill for military discipline. And in the course of the debate on that measure the Ministry at one time suffered defeat. An amendment proposed by a Socialist Deputy demanded the postponement of the execution of a penalty, in case of a protest or appeal, until a higher military authority should have dealt with the matter. The Minister of War, General Bergansius, opposed this amendment as wholly inadmissible; and the Chamber supported him by rejecting it by 52 against 18. Subsequently, however, an Anti-Revolutionary of the Left brought in a new amendment, stipulating that, at any rate in time of peace, the execution of a sentence protested against should be delayed till after inquiry by a higher authority. In spite of the protests of the Minister of War, who affirmed that under this system it would be impossible to maintain order and discipline in the army, the amendment was passed by 40 to 30. Thereon the Minister of War demanded the adjournment of the debate in order that the Cabinet might consider what course they would adopt. In the meanwhile the majority, afraid that the Cabinet might be wrecked on this question, not really of great moment, reversed their decision some days later and rejected the amendment, after the Government had made other proposals to reconcile the different sections of the Chamber on the question of the suspension of military punishments. Finally, by 81 to 5, the Chamber voted the whole of the Bill for the military penal code and military discipline.

The application of the new military law, passed the year before, also gave rise to an incident during the month of May. The Minister of War, by virtue of a Royal decree, summoned to arms men belonging to the classes of 1895, 1896 and 1897 for a period of drill. This measure roused great excitement in the country; everywhere meetings were held to protest against the illegality of the decree, on the ground that the prescriptions of the law of 1901 were not applicable to men of the two first-named classes. In the Chamber itself this point of view was shared; it was said that the terms of the Act were not clear, and two members of the majority brought in a Bill intended to supply the deficiency. Thereon the Minister of War, amid the applause of the whole Chamber, declared that he would propose to the Queen to suspend the execution of the decree in question until after the vote on the new Bill.

Some partial elections which took place during the year only increased the majority in the Second Chamber, showing

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once again the strength of the coalition between the ultra-orthodox Protestants and the Catholics. It must, however, be remarked that towards the end of the year M. Troelstra, one of the most important leaders of the Socialist party, took his seat in the Chamber. With regard to the elections which took place in July of a third part of the First Chamber, the Liberals again lost a seat to the Anti-Revolutionists, which brought the numbers of the First Chamber to 27 Liberals against 23 Anti-Liberals. (The figures given on this point in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1901 were erroneous.) But the First Chamber has never attempted to obstruct or embarrass the Government, convinced that under such circumstances the Ministry would not hesitate to dissolve, and that the result of a dissolution would not be doubtful. At the death of the Liberal President of the First Chamber, M. van Naamen, the Government nominated M. Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, Anti-Revolutionist, in his place. M. van Asch van Wijck, Minister for the Colonies, died, and was succeeded in that office by M. Idenburg, formerly a captain in the Dutch East Indian Army.

A serious illness of the young Queen, which placed her life in great danger for days, and which put an end to the hopes of an heir which she had cherished, caused throughout the country the most lively and most patriotic anxiety, and the recovery of the Sovereign was greeted by enthusiastic demonstrations of unanimous rejoicing.

While home politics were tranquil, public attention in Holland was much directed to foreign affairs. Thus, at the beginning of the year, the Committees of the First Chamber, in their examination of foreign affairs, expressed their regret that the Government had abstained from taking any steps to terminate the South African war; they recognised, nevertheless—a fact which negatived the idea of blame to the Government—the difficulty of any such action in the face of the non-intervention of all the other Governments. Meanwhile a journey of the First Minister, Dr. Kuyper, to Brussels and London, attracted public attention, and the public questioned whether the head of the Government was not endeavouring to find means of making peace between the belligerents. This opinion, in spite of M. Kuyper's declaration to the contrary, gained ground till the day when, simultaneously with Mr. Balfour in the English Parliament, the First Minister of Holland announced that a communication on the subject had been addressed to the British Government by the Dutch Government in which the latter declared itself ready to facilitate in every way any arrangement which might bring the belligerents together, and made suggestions to that end. This communication and the negative effect of the British reply have been described on page 51, but it should be said that the courteous and amicable terms of Lord Lansdowne's despatch were much appreciated in Holland. A British letter to the Boer generals in the field containing

the communications between the two Governments. It is very difficult to please every one; and whereas the former Ministry had been severely condemned for not taking the initiative by an offer of mediation, a large number blamed M. Kuyper for his attempted mediation, as having made him responsible for a premature peace, for they maintained that the Boers would have obtained far more favourable conditions if the war had continued.

In spite of the very keen interest naturally inspired by this question, another subject may be said, perhaps, to have more largely occupied the public mind. After the annexation of the Transvaal and Orange Free State by England, a certain number of politicians raised the question of the future of Holland, left to her own resources only, in the event of a foreign Power attempting to deprive her of her Colonies. This disturbing suggestion spread rapidly among the people, and the question of a possible alliance with a foreign Power was vehemently discussed throughout the country. Some journeys undertaken by M. Kuyper from personal and private motives to Berlin and Vienna were interpreted by a large section of the public as a proof that the rumours of an alliance were not without foundation. It was necessary, in order to silence them, that in the debate on the Address, in response to the speech from the Throne, in the First Chamber, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Melvil van Lynden, should declare that the rumours on the subject of an alliance with a foreign Power had no foundation whatever, and that the political relations of Holland had undergone no modification. M. Kuyper, for his part, also categorically denied the truth of these rumours. The most eminent Members of Parliament, without distinction of opinion, when interrogated on this point did not hesitate to declare that the interest of their country was best served by remaining free from all international obligations or alliances.

The condition of the Dutch Indies, in spite of all efforts, remained far from satisfactory; the rebellion in Atchin in particular continued as in the past, not without considerable loss of life on both sides. In September the Dutch troops gained a somewhat considerable advantage. They took possession of the two forts of Atchin, killing eighty-three of the enemy and carrying off fifty-three guns. Further, their most redoubtable enemy, the usurping Sultan, fled after this defeat, and the rumour spread at the end of the year that he had succumbed to his wounds.

III. GRAND DUCHY OF LUXEMBURG.

The birth of a sixth daughter to the heir of the Grand Duchy once again destroyed the hopes of the people, and roused their apprehensions for a future when, as appeared to be daily more probable, the great question of the succession might be

raised. By Article 42 of the Constitution the Grand Duke of Luxemburg was empowered to nominate a Regent to govern the Grand Duchy. In April the Minister of State, M. Eyschen, announced to the Chamber of Deputies that the age and state of health of the Grand Duke necessitated care, but that at the same time the Grand Duke was very desirous that public affairs should not suffer. In consequence of this, M. Eyschen issued a decree nominating the Prince, his son, Regent (Stadtholder) of the Grand Duchy, and on April 14 the Heir-Apparent, designated by his father, took the oath of the Constitution.

An agreement, signed in July, between the Guillaume-Luxemburg line of railway and the directors of that of Alsace-Lorraine, which prolonged the lease of the Luxemburg Railway for fifty years, is worthy of attention; for it constitutes, in fact, the incorporation of this line, which is important from a strategic point of view, in the railway system of Alsace-Lorraine, that is to say, in that of the German Empire.

IV. SWITZERLAND.

A protracted and troublesome, though not intrinsically serious, diplomatic difficulty with Italy marked Swiss annals in 1902. It arose from the publication in March in the *Réveil*, an Anarchist organ appearing at Geneva, of an article insulting the memory of the murdered King Humbert. The Italian Minister at Berne, M. Silvestrelli, promptly wrote to the Federal Council demanding that action should be taken against the offending paper. But he made the demand on his own account as Minister, and not as the immediate mouthpiece of his Government. Unfortunately, the Swiss Code prescribes that in such cases the demand for legal proceedings shall be made by the Government of the country concerned; and the Federal Council replied that they could not act in the absence of such a representation. The Italian Minister then simply repeated his demand in terms so vehement that the Federal Council declined to accept his communication, and demanded his recall from the Italian Government. That being refused, they broke off relations with M. Silvestrelli, and the Italian Government did the same with regard to the Swiss Minister in Rome, M. Carlin. This almost absurd situation continued for some four months. There was no difference of principle or really unfriendly feeling between the two Governments. The Federal Council early ordered the arrest of Bertoni, the Italian Anarchist who edited the *Réveil*, when he refused to obey an order of the Cantonal authorities against his taking part in a labour demonstration, and they also gave strict orders for the prevention of any anti-Italian manifestations. But they refused, and were sustained by the Federal Assembly in refusing, to depart from the letter of the Swiss law in regard to the conditions requiring action against a newspaper offending against

a foreign country, and the Italian Government appeared indisposed to make the direct demand prescribed. In the end German good offices were offered, and the difficulty was arranged by the replacement of the representatives of both Governments by other diplomatists. M. Pioda, Swiss Minister at Washington, was appointed to Rome, and M. Carlin was given an important post in London.

A few days after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations, the King of Italy passed through Switzerland on his way to Berlin, and was officially received by the Federal Council. The reception was most cordial, and no allusion was made on either side to the recent dispute. The public also saw, with satisfaction, that the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries was as favourably received in Rome as in Berne.

On October 26 the elections took place throughout Switzerland for the direct representation of the people in the Federal Assembly at Berne. The old Chamber numbered 147 Members; the increase of the population raised the number to 167. The election contests were very lively, but according to anticipation the strength of the respective parties was not modified. The result of the elections at Geneva was awaited with special interest because of the disturbances which had taken place there a short time before. Until then an alliance between the Radicals and Socialists had always carried the day; but after the disturbances recently organised by the revolutionists, whose close relations with the Socialist party had never been disputed, the Radicals were somewhat divided on the question of a new alliance, some inclining the more to the Socialists, others, on the contrary, wishing to join the Moderate Liberal party. This last alliance triumphed, and the chief result of the elections was a noticeable loss of ground for the Socialist party. Finally after the ballot the new Chamber was found to be composed of 35 Catholic Conservatives, 25 Moderate Liberals, 97 Radicals, 9 Socialists and 1 Independent; the united Opposition, therefore, numbered 70 Members out of a total of 167.

As was mentioned above, serious labour troubles broke out at Geneva at the beginning of October. A certain number of the employés of the Electric Tramway Company of Geneva were dismissed with no reason given; in consequence their companions took up their cause and went out on strike. This produced much and repeated disorder; the strikers threatened those of their companions who continued work, and tried to impede the traffic. The Cantonal Government, as much to assure the liberty of labour as to maintain order, decided to call out the military. Meanwhile, at the instigation of a certain number of ringleaders, a general strike was voted by a great majority of the labour syndicates. All bodies of workmen, without exception, joined the strike, so much so that even the newspapers were not published for forty-eight hours. On account of the threatening attitude of the strikers the troops

found themselves obliged to make a charge, and there was a fairly large number of wounded, although no death resulted. At last the strike was ended, after an assembly of the strikers, at which a letter from the syndicate of tramway employés was read, thanking the workmen of all trades who had proclaimed the general strike for this proof of their support, but urging them to resume work, realising the futility of 20,000 workmen standing idle any longer as winter approached for the support of only 300 comrades. The strike lasted altogether a fortnight for the trainways and three days for the trades generally, without securing, as a result, the slightest concession from the Tramway Company. There were 230 persons arrested and 110 expelled on account of the disturbances, of whom forty-five were Italians and thirty French, among whom was the anarchist, Sébastien Faure. It is a fact to be noticed with regard to this strike that a relatively large number of the men called upon to repress the disturbances and maintain order refused to obey the order. The secretary of the Labour party, who was at the same time a member of the great Council of Geneva, was condemned on this account by the Council of War to four months' imprisonment and to the loss of his civic rights during one year.

A curious incident took place at the beginning of the year. The French Government recently nominated M. Ador, President of the National Council of the Helvetian Confederation, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, on account of the important part which he had taken in the last International Exhibition at Paris, as general commissioner of Switzerland. Article 12 of the Federal Constitution forbade any authority or functionary, civil or military, to accept titles, honorary distinctions, or any other mark of favour from a foreign Government. And M. Ador, one of the leaders of the Conservative party, was accused of having violated the Constitution. In view of the hostile attitude taken up towards him by the Federal Council, M. Ador sent in his resignation of the Presidency of the National Council, while, at the same time, he declared his right to accept the decoration on the ground that the prohibition concerned only those who held Federal offices for life. In consequence of this incident, which was discussed with much heat in the Press, the Federal Council sent a circular to the military cantonal departments, asking for the names of any Swiss officers who, contrary to the Constitution, had received decorations from foreign Governments. This inquiry revealed, at the outset, that thirty among the officers decorated with the Legion of Honour, on being given the alternative of returning their decorations or resigning their commissions in the army, declared that they preferred to resign their commissions. In the face of this fact, the Federal Council thought it well to suspend the inquiry provisionally; and it seemed not unlikely that sooner or later Article 12 of the Constitution would be modified or suppressed.

A certain number of the religious orders who had quitted France in consequence of laws recently passed in that country established themselves in Switzerland. But Article 52 of the Swiss Constitution forbade the founding of new convents or religious orders and the re-establishment of any that had been suppressed. The Federal Council, therefore, issued a decree, by which twelve religious establishments were dissolved. They obtained, however, a delay of ninety days, in order that they might obtain a shelter elsewhere.

As was anticipated, this action of the Federal Council was very badly received by the Roman Catholic Press, which maintained that it was in virtue of the *droit d'asile* the Congregations driven from France established themselves in Switzerland. The supporters of the measure replied that the *droit d'asile* applied only to the "religious" taken individually and not to religious associations, which are interdicted by law.

A proposal, made by the Federal Assembly, was laid before the Federal Council at the beginning of the year, by which it was suggested that Switzerland, in conjunction with other Governments, should intervene with a demand that England should alleviate the suffering in the South African Concentration Camps. The Federal Council decided to reject this proposal on account of the measures which the British Government had already taken in regard to the Camps.

The buying up of the railways by the Confederation continued regularly in 1902. An agreement was made between the Federal Council and the directors of the Jura-Simplon line for the buying up by the former of the whole undertaking. The price agreed upon was 104,000,000 francs. At the end of the year M. Demher was nominated President of the Swiss Confederation for 1903.

V. SPAIN.

As the regency of Donna Maria Christina approached its end the political situation in Spain became more and more confused and disturbed. The old historic parties of Liberals and Conservatives which had displaced each other in turns at the head of affairs no longer existed except as an almost empty framework. Their programmes, their methods of government, no longer excited either enthusiasm or anger, so remote were they from the actual needs of the Spanish people. While Señor Sagasta sought to prolong a Parliamentary Government, showing neither frankness nor courage, while he was struggling among financial difficulties only too real, and the Conservatives were watching for an opportunity to return to power, the mass of the nation observed with nothing but contempt this parody of institutions feebly copied from foreign countries. This kind of anarchy in opinion was extremely favourable to the spread of Socialist views, of local sentiment, and of secret

societies. Industrial and agricultural strikes increased in number and seriousness, the conflicts between the people and the police became more and more severe, and the Liberal Government was constantly forced to have recourse to the argument—of which Cavour had said that it was within the reach of the most incapable Minister—of a state of siege.

At Barcelona this exceptional *régime* had become nearly habitual. The municipal junta tried in vain to intervene between employers and workmen in the metal works of that town, in order to arrive at a resumption of work; on January 14 the strikers sacked several of the factories of the town and neighbourhood. At Saragossa, the Prefect having been dismissed, and the Government having temporarily appointed a retired staff-colonel, the advanced newspapers asserted that this action had been forced on the Government by Clerical influence, and the capital of Aragon was also for several hours the scene of serious riots. The Cortès reassembled (Jan. 20) and religious complications soon arose. Señor Pidal had finally decided to tender his resignation as Ambassador to the Vatican and he was replaced by Don I. de Agüera. In order to fall in with the mood of the hour General Weyler, Minister of War, read to the Chamber a plan of reform in the law of recruiting which imposed military service on all seminarists and religious who had not taken vows. The monks found defenders skilled in the art of diversions, who specially attacked the financial policy of the Sagasta Cabinet. The Robledists in the Chamber and the Tetuanists in the Senate both took an aggressive line. Soon a very serious subject of debate was provided.

A general strike was proclaimed at Barcelona on February 16, and 80,000 workmen placed themselves under the orders of their leaders. The Government was taken by surprise; but General Weyler was a man of prompt action. From all the neighbouring towns battalions and batteries converged on the Catalonian capital, and by February 17 a street war had begun; the Chambers voted the local suspension of constitutional guarantees, and force ruled. On the 23rd, after a week of stern repression, communications were re-established. Saragossa, Valencia and even Madrid had been disturbed by some alarms which were easily mastered. The repression was strict in proportion to the anxiety felt by the authorities. But the Government, having mobilised its examining magistrates, and created military tribunals to summarily try Catalonian Socialists, was obliged to justify itself before the Cortès. An interminable debate opened in the Congress. Each in turn, Conservatives, Liberal-Dissentients, Catalanists, attacked the Government, some for their want of firmness, others for having been provocative and cruel. The tone of the debates became so violent that Señor Sagasta ceased to attend them, and as the announced speakers insisted on delivering their philippics, it became necessary to devote the first part of the sittings to

financial questions and the second to the Barcelona severities. The first week of March was taken up by this oratorical strategy. Thereupon the Republicans decided to begin an anti-Clerical Parliamentary campaign, and the confusion rose to such a point that on March 13 the Ministry decided to resign.

It was a false step. For a moment there was an idea in high places of confiding the Government till the majority of the King to a coalition Ministry, but Señor Sagasta refused to undertake it and would not pledge himself to support such an attempt by Señor Montero Rios. On the other hand, the Conservatives were not anxious to take office, which would imply dissolving the Cortès so shortly before a change in the head of the State. The Queen-Regent was therefore obliged to retain the old Liberal, who accepted the task (March 15), and decided to simply keep his colleagues of March 6, 1901, to form the Ministry of March 18, 1902. Nevertheless the Finance Minister was changed, Señor E. Rodriganez replacing Señor Urzaïs. As it was impossible to proceed without a programme the new Government announced that they would firmly enforce the decree of September 19, 1901, and Prefects received a circular recommending them to hold themselves ready to close the establishments of the unauthorised Congregations in their provinces, but to wait for further orders before taking any action. The Prefects waited, but the promised orders never came. What did happen was, first, a protest from the Vatican against the decree relating to the Congregations, and a prudent suggestion from the Regent to the head of the Government, with a view to the delay of the matter; then a discussion in the Council of Ministers, at which it was decided that the Foreign Minister should make inquiries as to the manner in which other nations and France in particular had acted with regard to the Congregations. This amounted to a retreat on the part of the Government. Shortly afterwards the Papal Nuncio in Spain announced to all the bishops that, out of consideration for the Regent, for the King, her son, and for the Government, the Pope would consent to discuss the question of authorisation, but only on condition that all demands made for it should be granted. The delicacy of Roman diplomacy could not have dealt more finely with an embarrassed enemy. The prestige of the Liberal Cabinet was considerably reduced by this incident. It might have perished in the debates on Señor Rodriganez' measure aimed at the restriction of the note issues of the Bank of Spain. Thanks, however, to the energetic support of Don Vega de Armijo, the Chamber passed this Government Bill, April 28, and the Senate, May 10. But, on the same day, in the Chamber, a debate took place on an interpellation by Señor Romero Robledo as to the circular of the Nuncio, and the head of the Cabinet was forced to own that he had arranged a *modus vivendi* with Rome. Señor Canalejas had not been acquainted with this incident. He considered it beneath his

dignity to be thus ignored, and tendered his resignation (May 11).

This partial crisis had not the effect which it would have had in ordinary times. The end of the Regency had arrived and great festivities were being prepared in Madrid. The demonstrations of the Catalanists at Barcelona, where the national flag had been displaced at the Carnival by flags with the colour of the ancient kingdom of Aragon, were treated as of no importance. The comings and goings of the Carlist leaders, even the journey of Don Carlos as far as Perpignan, where the French police had requested him to return to Italy, were considered as minor incidents. The smallest words and actions of the Queen-mother were remarked—her letter to the Pope, her address to the Ministers at the last Council at which she presided (May 12). The whole nation applauded the touching words of the old Premier to the Queen-mother and the young King, who, after a delicate and troubled childhood, had at last reached the legal age of manhood.

All that the most magnificent pomp of monarchical luxury could display under the sun of Castile was lavished on the spectacle of May 17 for the thousands of visitors assembled in Madrid from far and near to be present at the *Jura* of Alfonso XIII. Splendid weather favoured this festival, and the enthusiasm of the crowd was shown in the thunders of applause at the procession of the Royal Family, the Spanish grandees, and the representatives of foreign Powers, extraordinary embassies, troops and deputations. But following immediately on these radiant days, more bitter jealousies were evoked than ever. The education of the young King had been directed by his watchful mother on extremely orthodox lines; but on handing over the sovereign power to her son, Donna Maria Christina gave him neither her experience nor her *finesse* nor her power of surrounding herself with devoted servants, jealous of one another, but sincere in their attachment to her. Alfonso XIII. from the first allowed himself to be swayed by his *entourage* and, though in a Constitutional Monarchy, gave the Court precedence over the Government.

During the summer the Government had to undergo severe attacks. A few days after the coronation of the young King, the Cortès had been prorogued for a five months' recess, and at the last sitting the Minister of Finance had introduced *pro forma* the Budget which would be discussed on their reassembling. In the interval a simple decree would maintain in operation the financial law of the preceding year. The receipts were calculated at 991,178,227 pesetas and the expenditure at 948,661,898 pesetas. The most serious financial difficulty at the moment was the question of Customs. A decree admitted the coupons of the foreign debt as the equivalent of gold for the payment of Customs duties, but Señor Rodríguez was looking for means of realising what still had

to be issued of a loan which his predecessor had vainly tried to float at the beginning of the year. All the schemes of the ingenious financier seemed likely to fail because of the want of confidence among capitalists and of the unfortunate suspension of industrial life which was becoming almost the normal state of things in Catalonia. The caravans of Señor Canalejas were not of a kind to restore shattered credit. The former Minister *da fomento* (agriculture, commerce, and industry) understood better than any one how to cultivate popularity. He opened a campaign of protest against the Sagastan policy, which he considered too Clerical. Beginning at Alicante, he stated at Valencia as a notable fact that at the moment when the Congregations considered themselves forced to take the steps required of them it was believed that 1,500 of them existed, yet 6,000 had declared themselves and perhaps a larger number had disdained to put themselves in order. At a second meeting held the next day (June 16) Señor Canalejas complained that people were less free than in the time of the Conservative Ministry of Canova. The Government answered these criticisms by forbidding the orator to speak at Barcelona, where he was received on the 22nd by an unusual display of armed force. Having held no meeting and made no speeches to the crowd Señor Canalejas returned to Madrid, where his friends gave him a compensating ovation, but on the whole his campaign had failed.

The Kingdom of Spain would not follow the steps of Republican France. The young King showed his determination in this respect by refusing to sign a decree prepared by the Count of Romanones conferring on Perez Gaidoz, author of the Anti-Clerical play "Electra" (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, p. 320), the Order of Alfonso XII., which had just been created. The Papal Nuncio, Mgr. Rinaldini, accentuated this Clerical triumph by going to preside at the biennial Congress of Catholics at S. Jacques de Compostella, where it was affirmed that the Spanish Colonial Empire founded by Catholics had been lost by Freemasons. The bishops met separately to prepare an address to the Government asking for the suppression of the measures proposed by the Minister of Public Instruction.

The Government also endured other and more severe humiliations. The young King had undertaken a journey through the north-west provinces. He chose to surround himself with Court officials, and left the Ministers among the crowd of Senators and Deputies, who were not even invited to inspect with the King the State establishments. This behaviour provoked severe comments in the Press. Even the Conservative *Epoca* blamed the Prime Minister for allowing hostile influences to dominate the Constitutional Monarchy.

The usual truce between parties in the dog-days and September was disturbed by the riots of the coppersmiths' workmen at Barcelona. The police charged the mob and killed several demonstrators. The Government, on the eve of the reassem-

bling of the Chambers, wished to give an impression of energetic action towards the Vatican in regard to the Congregations. It ended in the appointment of a commission to inquire into the question of the reduction of the Budget for religions. The state of siege at Barcelona was once more removed (Oct. 14).

The Cortès reassembled October 20. Some days before Señor Sagasta had put to the young King the question of confidence, and had received *carte blanche* from his political friends. He had taken all possible precautions, but the Opposition, led at first by Señor Villaverde, attacked the Financial Minister on his scheme as to the unstamped vouchers of the foreign debt, called suppression of the affidavit. The Ministry contrived to have only its political supporters named as members of the commission appointed to inquire into the plan, and in the sitting of November 3 arranged the rejection of a motion for an interpellation on the incidents of the Royal journey. But the question came up again two days after and everything was spoilt. Señor Canalejas criticised hotly the weakness of the Government, and on the 6th Señor Maura announced that he was joining the Conservative party in the hope of finding in Señor Silvela the energy which was lacking in his rival. The latter, after a debate in the Chamber (Nov. 7) with the Conservative leader, once more resigned. The King did not consider that the time had come to call on the Conservatives, and they did not think that the Liberal party was as yet sufficiently discredited. Señor Sagasta, once more invested with power, tried to reconstitute the Liberal party by becoming reconciled with Señor Romero Robledo. This attempt was abandoned almost at once, and that vindictive statesman was deeply wounded. A patched-up concern was presented to the King (Nov. 14) as representing, after a fashion, a new Cabinet, only three new names appearing in the list. Señor Eguilior, Vice-President of the Senate, became Minister of Finance; Señor Amos Salvador took Commerce, and Señor Puigcerver Justice. The sittings were resumed on the 19th; at once Señor Romero Robledo declared in an implacable tone that there was grave public danger in keeping Señor Sagasta in office. Continuously harassed by their traditional enemies, and still more by their former friends, the Government had to answer at the beginning of December a series of interpellations as to the forbidding of the Catalan language in the schools; as to the putting on the stocks of two war-ships without a previous vote of the Cortès; and as to their new financial schemes. The real reason was the definitive rupture in the Liberal party, and, above all, the rapid loss of strength, without hope of recovery, on the part of the *doyen* of the Ministers. Finally convinced of his powerlessness, Señor Sagasta (Dec. 3) gave up the Government, and, after a few days of formal hesitation, the young King sent for the Conservatives (Dec. 6). They were ready. On the same day the task of forming a new Government was accepted and accom-

plished. The list of the Cabinet was as follows: President, Silvela; Foreign Affairs, Abarzuza; Justice, Dato; Finance, Villaverde; War, General Linarès; Interior, Maura; Navy, Sanchez Toca; Public Instruction, Allende Salazar; Public Works, Marquis de Vadilla.

The Ministry was presented on December 9, and the President of the Council at once read a Royal decree suspending the sittings, a prelude to dissolution. The elections were fixed by decree on the 21st for the first fortnight in April.

VI. PORTUGAL.

In his habitual address at the opening of the Cortès (Jan. 2) the King, Dom Carlos, congratulated himself specially on having maintained neutrality in the state of Eastern Africa and on having succeeded in improving the rate of exchange. He announced financial measures intended to relieve the pressure of the debt, and administrative measures for preserving order. It is one of the misfortunes of critical times that the smallest incident may produce serious trouble. Thus, on January 10, an opera by the Italian composer Giordano, was to be performed in Lisbon; André Chénier was the hero of the piece, and the air of the Marseillaise was one of the *motifs* of the orchestra and of the choruses; this became a State matter. Was it possible that the Marseillaise could be sung in Lisbon without a revolution resulting? It seemed impossible, and the hymn of Rouget de l'Isle was forbidden on the banks of the Tagus. While Senhor Hintze Ribeiro was making this serious decision, the Minister of Finance, Senhor Ferdinando Mattoso, resumed the difficult negotiations with the representatives of the foreign holders of the external debt. The Opposition blamed the Government for want of openness in these discussions, and for leaving the Financial Committee of the Chamber of Deputies in complete ignorance of what was happening. The Minister was obliged to promise that he would announce in good time the result of the negotiations, and that he would consult the Chamber; but this promise was not kept, and as the conditions of the *convenio* appeared equally displeasing to the Portuguese and to the foreign bondholders, a formidable agitation followed. The students of the Universities of Coimbra and Oporto joined in it so tumultuously that they had to be rusticated wholesale. In the end, however, a measure became law (May 14), to which the representatives of the foreign bondholders had agreed with the best grace they could command, and the general effect of which was to cut down by a half the nominal value of the capital of the 3 per cent. debt, and to promise 3 per cent. on the remaining moiety.

The Azores also gave grounds for anxiety. More than 600 Portuguese subjects had recently asked to be naturalised as Americans, and this seemed to show a separatist tendency

which the United States was suspected of encouraging. At the same time the company of Mozambique was harassing the Government with complaints as to the Barowë expedition, the urgency of which became more and more pressing. To all this must be added the eternal Clerical question. At Aveiro a mob broke up a procession, and a few weeks later it became necessary, following on a strike, to proclaim a state of siege in that town.

The ultimate cause of these disorders was the bad state of the finances. In spite of all his cleverness Senhor Mattoso had been forced to present a Budget showing a deficit, the receipts amounting to 9,910,205*l.*, and the expenditure to 10,076,806*l.* For ten years no account had been paid without adding to the floating or consolidated debt, and useful expenditure figured for but a small sum in the Budget.

The announcement in October of the journey of Dom Carlos to England provided a fresh grievance for the Opposition. The visit of the King of Portugal to his cousin King Edward VII. had been decided on after the Chambers had been prorogued, and the Ministry had not thought it necessary to summon them in order to sanction the journey and confide the Regency to the Queen. The language of the Press became so violent that the Council of State was consulted in order to discover whether it would be well to summon the Cortès to confirm Dona Amelia as Regent. The idea of summoning them was abandoned, and the King started for England in the second week of November.

During the regency the strictest watch was kept on all malcontents and the Government suspended without trial several Opposition newspapers. The Army was in danger of being compromised in the disturbances which followed; a *pronunciamiento* was suggested, but not carried out. Whilst the King of England was receiving the King of Portugal at Windsor an English fleet appeared in the roads of Lisbon and was eagerly welcomed. The Portuguese people were for the most part pleased with the intimacy between the two Courts, and the Regent profited by a kind of truce between parties, hardly disturbed by the protests provoked by the news that she had signed a decree conceding to an English company the railway of Benguela. On December 15, having visited the young King of Spain on his return, Dom Carlos re-entered Lisbon amid acclamation. He resumed the direction of the Kingdom with thanks to the Regent, and congratulations to the Ministers on their watchful administration; at the same time the rigorous measures taken against the newspapers were immediately repealed and the leader of the Opposition, Senhor Franco, was invited to come to the palace to confer with the King. This unusual interview lasted for more than two hours, and was considered as a proof that the power of the *regeneradores* was nearing its end.

VII. DENMARK.

As was anticipated on all sides the first session of the Rigsdag after the Liberal party had come into office proved both a long and a busy one. A number of important Bills were brought before the Legislature, and their comprehensiveness necessitated such a thorough handling both in the House and by the various committees that the actual legislative outcome of the session could not by any means be taken as a fair gauge of the work done. The session lasted from October 5 till May 17, and even then the prorogation came somewhat abruptly, as the result of the position taken up by the First Chamber in the matter of the proposed sale of the Danish Colonies in the West Indies to the United States of America.

On the Rigsdag meeting after the Christmas recess the Budget Committee of the Folkething promptly presented the report on the Ways and Means Bill, in the framing of which the various parties had fairly well agreed, with the exception of the Social Democrats, who had maintained their usual negative position, more especially in connection with the military and naval grants, and the Estimates of the Foreign Ministry. The Landsting took exception to several items, although of minor importance, in the Budget as drawn up by the Lower House, and pressed its objections, with the result that a Joint Financial Committee was formed, comprising fifteen members from each Chamber, by whose efforts a compromise was arrived at. The Ways and Means Bill showed an aggregate revenue of 69,445,584 kr. against an expenditure of 74,911,809 kr. As the Budget was only finally passed on April 24, it was necessary to pass a temporary Budget—so as to avoid a provisional one—and this was done on March 24 in the Lower and the next day in the Upper House.

Although much of the time of the House was taken up with the discussion of such important reforms as those embodied in the Administration of Justice, the Taxation, and the Church Bills, a number of other measures were passed, although most of them were not of any great moment. Worthy of mention is the law providing for the appointment of a commission to investigate and report upon the defence of the country. This commission comprised nineteen members, the Government appointing the chairman, and each Chamber electing half of the other eighteen members amongst its own members. The commission was to be aided in its labours by four experts, two officers of the Army and two of the Navy, selected by the Government, but the experts would have no vote. There were also passed Bills tending to facilitate in various ways the raising of good stock and the procuring of small holdings, besides providing means for the proper training of owners of such—measures which all showed the deep interest taken by the Government in the welfare of agriculture and perhaps specially

of the small farmers. A Bill was passed introducing what may be called official catering for some regiments by way of an experiment; the greater part of the soldier's pay was to be withheld and he was in return to be fully provided with good wholesome food. This arrangement, which entails an additional expenditure for the State, but which appears to be giving much satisfaction, seems likely to be introduced in the whole Army. Other Bills passed had reference to an improvement in the pay of various Government and other officials.

The dramatic element of the year was provided by the proposed sale of the Danish Colonies in the West Indies to the United States of America, on terms upon which the respective Governments had arrived at an understanding. The Folkething passed the Bill by 88 votes against 7, not considering it advisable to consult the population of the islands through a plebiscite. The Landsting, however, by 34 votes to 30, accepted the proposition drawn up by its committee, the effect of which was that they had grave doubts about the advisability of the sale of the islands, and before finally dealing with the convention they proposed that the Crown should send over representatives to ascertain by secret ballot the desires of the population, or rather of the electors of the Colonial Council. The matter was then sent back to the Lower House, which, by 102 votes against 2, accepted a kind of compromise introduced by A. Nielsen, substituting a general plebiscite for the voting of the privileged electors as proposed by the Landsting. The Upper House, however, adhered to its previous decision, upon which the matter was referred to a Joint Committee (fifteen members from each Chamber). In this committee a majority (all the members of the Folkething and seven members of the Landsting) recommended a vote on the basis of ordinary suffrage for men who had completed their twenty-fifth year, etc. The minority, amongst other things, insisted upon an annual income of not less than 300 West Indian dollars, and wanted three-fourths of the votes recorded to be in favour of the transfer in order to give it their sanction. The Folkething accepted the proposal of the majority in the committee by 98 votes to 2, whilst the Landsting negatived it by 34 to 29, and thereupon accepted the proposal of the minority in the committee by 33 to 30.

The Bill was thus negatived, and the Government at once prorogued the Rigsdag. The voting of the Landsting, inspired, as it was thought, by M. Estrup, the former Premier, who, whilst in office, had himself taken steps to bring about the sale of the islands, was subjected to very severe criticism. On September 19 there was a partial election of members of the Landsting, *viz.*, of half of the elected members. This election aroused much interest, and a number of meetings were held.

The result was in favour of the Government, the Reform party gaining four and the "Eight" two votes, while the Conservatives lost four, the Moderates one and the Agrarians one. This election for the first time reduced the Conservatives to a minority in the Upper House, an unmistakable proof of the general decadence of the party.

The Rigsdag met again on October 6, and the following day the Minister of Finance introduced the Budget for the next financial year, which showed a deficit of 4,228,000 kr.; the Minister stated on the same occasion that the actual deficit on the previous year amounted to close upon 10,000,000 kr. If the increasing expenditure could not be reduced, and of that he saw but little chance, it would be necessary to increase the taxation. As far as the current year was concerned there was a satisfactory rise in the Customs' and railway revenue. After a fairly exhaustive but not particularly interesting discussion on the Ways and Means Bill, the Folkething sent it to its Financial Committee, whose report was expected to be ready by the beginning of January.

On October 22 the fate of the West Indian Islands Sale Bill was sealed amidst considerable excitement. In the hope that the past election to the Landsting would enable them to carry the measure, the Government had obtained a prolongation of twelve months from the American Government for the ratification of the Convention, but the Conservatives made a tremendous effort to frustrate the plans of the Government, and two members were actually brought from distant parts of the country, though seriously ill and unable to walk, in order to record their vote. The voting resulted in a tie, 32 for and 32 against, and the Bill was thereby lost.

The Ministers held a Cabinet Council the same day, at which it was decided to despatch a special commission to the islands in order to report upon their condition, and make suggestions as to what could be done to assist them. Private enterprise also showed itself desirous of helping the colonies in various ways.

Between the opening of the Rigsdag and its adjournment for the Christmas recess, a number of new measures were introduced. These included Bills relating to a new central railway station at Copenhagen, a new hospital for the whole country, higher national schools, etc., and in the Upper House, the Taxation Bills, the Church Bills, and several Railway Bills. Both Houses worked assiduously, and material progress was made in several directions. The Government, however, while, of course, having an overwhelming majority in the Folkething, had to depend for the support of its proposals in the Upper House to some extent upon a quasi-Conservative fraction. Thus the Church and School Reform Bills could hardly be held to have an altogether clear course before them in the Landsting. The latter, before the close of the year, had received from the Lower

House the comprehensive and highly important Bill introducing a number of vital reforms in the administration of justice. The Landsting's Committee on the Taxation Bills had framed its additional proposals, and it now remained to be seen whether the prospects of these oft-discussed and much wanted measures had improved so as to allow of their being definitely passed. Several other committees in both Houses had materially advanced their work before the close of 1902, and some Bills had also been finally disposed of, including the one providing for Denmark's joining the Berne Convention, which Act comes into force on July 1, 1903.

In the Lower House the Moderate Left had ceased to exist as a distinct party, and its fifteen members were considered as standing outside the parties, of which the Left Reform party numbers seventy-seven, the Social Democrats fourteen, and the Conservatives eight. In the Upper House the "Eight" have formed a new "Free Conservative Party," which has been joined by two of the recently elected members. Their programme is attractive enough, and they will in all probability materially assist the House in all useful legislative work; the members being men of integrity and position. The old Conservatives were still faring very badly, and an attempt to rally their scattered forces before the election to the Landsting was altogether futile.

M. Hörup, Minister for Public Works, died on February 15, and M. Hage, Minister of Finance, has taken over the former office.

VIII. SWEDEN.

The Riksdag was opened by a speech from the throne by King Oscar in person on January 17. His Majesty said that although he had hoped that the Riksdag in the previous session would have fully agreed to the Government's demands as to the time of drill or service in all departments of the Army, and was still hoping that they would make good what yet remained, he thanked them for what had already been done. The first place in the legislative programme announced was given to an Extension of Suffrage Bill for the elections to the Second Chamber. The introduction of a Bill providing for the establishment of a national life insurance institution was also referred to, attached to which was to be a council comprising an equal number of employers and workmen.

The Budget was at once laid before the House; the credit side amounted to 173,000,000 kr., and the calculated expenditure to 178,500,000 kr., of which it was proposed to raise 5,500,000 kr. by loan. This sum was to be applied to the continuation of the Gothenburg-Skee Railway (4,000,000 kr.) and to new rolling stock (1,500,000 kr.). Considerable amounts of the ordinary revenue were to be applied to the same purpose, in addition to which there were heavy items for the Army and Navy.

The following day a joint Council of State, that is, a Council where both Swedish and Norwegian Councillors of State are in attendance, decided upon forming a Swedish-Norwegian Consular Commission. The Swedish representatives were Baron Bildt, Swedish-Norwegian Ambassador at Rome, and Consul-General Ameen at Barcelona, the Norwegian representatives being Dr. Sigurd Ibsen and Consul-General Christophersen at Antwerp. The Government requested the Commission to investigate the question of how separate Consuls for each of the two united Kingdoms could be made compatible with joint diplomatic representation, and how this arrangement would work practically. The Commission was also to consider the question how Swedish interests were to be looked after in Norway and Norwegian interests in Sweden.

The attention of the Riksdag and of the whole country was, however, soon engrossed by the question of extending the suffrage for the Second Chamber. The Bill was introduced by the Government (March 12), and provided political suffrage for any man, already having municipal suffrage, who had completed his twenty-fifth year, who did not owe the State or the Corporation taxes or rates for the last two years, and who was not liable to military service without having completed his military duties. Every man possessed of suffrage would have one vote; but if married, or having been married, or if he had completed his fortieth year, he would have two votes. This measure was not received with much enthusiasm. It was urged in many quarters that far from introducing universal suffrage, the Bill really only provided a kind of privileged suffrage, and although the Liberal factions and the opponents of the Government generally were loudest in this respect, many Conservatives also found serious fault with the Bill. The discussion in the Second Chamber began on March 14, and the Government measure was somewhat roughly dealt with; M. von Knorring, Conservative, stated that it had caused dissatisfaction in all directions, and several of the leading Liberals were still more severe in their comments. M. Branting, Socialist, called the measure a challenge to all without suffrage, who in the Bill were treated like wild animals. The Home Secretary was the only one who defended the proposal. In the First Chamber the Prime Minister stated that the Government, in introducing the Bill, had only intended to propose such alterations as were highly necessary, useful, and possible to carry through. The Government were quite convinced that a measure on the suffrage question without certain "guarantees" would be impossible to get through. In their proposal no special party had been favoured. After the introductory discussion, both Chambers sent the Bill to the Constitutional Committee. The same evening the Liberal party held a meeting and decided to appoint a committee for the purpose of drawing up a fresh Suffrage Bill.

During the next few weeks the country was thoroughly

aroused to an extent only very rarely seen in the normally tranquil Sweden. The trade unions even threatened a general strike. The Liberal party, or, as it should be called, the Liberal Joint party, prepared a Suffrage Bill, which was introduced (April 16) in the Second Chamber by M. von Friesen, and which proposed that the Constitution should be so altered that political suffrage should be extended so as to comprise all who had municipal suffrage from the year when they completed their twenty-fifth year. The Liberal proposals also included a demand that the Government in the next session should introduce a Bill extending municipal suffrage to men with small holdings or houses. M. von Knorring introduced a proposal providing suffrage for any man, at the completed twenty-fifth year, subject to his possessing real estate, or house property on his own land or that of others, of not less than 100 kr. (5*l.* 10*s.*) value, or paying taxes to the State of not less than 50 ore (6*½d.*), provided that he otherwise fulfilled his duties as a citizen.

Numerous demonstrations were held all over the country, and in Stockholm serious riots ensued. The multitude wanted to go to the King, and the police had to draw their swords; several persons were wounded and some arrests made. A new Liberal Society which was formed met with an altogether surprising support, and within the Trade Unions as many as 90 per cent. voted in favour of a general strike as a means of carrying through a real Reform Bill.

In the meantime the Constitutional Committee had been busily engaged in the consideration of the Government proposal. Within the committee, however, as among the various Parliamentary groups, no small amount of confusion prevailed, and the revised proposal, which was the outcome of the committee's labours, did not meet with a very spontaneous support. The basis of the Government measure had been maintained, but the taxation limit had been raised, and it was proposed that large villages or small towns or rural parishes in which large industrial undertakings had sprung up, should form divisions together with the towns, so as to rid the rural divisions of the labourers' votes.

It would appear that Conservative interests had been distinctly predominant in the committee, and that it had been influenced by fears lest the Suffrage Bill should remove the power in the Second Chamber from the Right to the Left. The only concession made by the committee was the abandonment of the double vote and of the completion-of-military-service clause. The various parties of the Riksdag at once held several meetings to discuss the committee's proposal, about which, however, a number of divergent opinions were expressed. So as to bring pressure to bear upon the Riksdag a general strike was declared all over the country, which took effect almost everywhere, although not in all places to the same extent. This had been preceded by a large number of meetings.

and the agitation amongst the labouring classes had been carried on with much energy.

The discussion in the First Chamber was opened by the Home Secretary, who practically admitted the defeat of the Government scheme, even though the criticism had not been so crushing as many would make it appear. He said the prospects for passing a Suffrage Reform Bill were not good; the problem would, however, have to be solved, and could be solved. Bishop Billing recommended universal suffrage, with strong guarantees (restrictions). He proposed, amidst cheers, that the Government should frame a new proposal to be introduced in the Riksdag of 1903. In the Second Chamber the Premier stated that it was hard to say what proposal there could be that would please both Chambers. What basis should be chosen? If universal suffrage, the question of female suffrage arose. He thought it was unjust to withhold suffrage from women if it were given to all men who were not disqualified. He hoped the labours of the Riksdag would result in an effectual extension of suffrage. On all sides the necessity of extending the suffrage was admitted, but the various sections were anything but agreed as to how far.

The First Chamber, by 83 votes against 59, accepted (May 16) Bishop Billing's proposal, that the Government should introduce a fresh Bill in 1903, based upon universal suffrage from the completed twenty-fifth year, and equal conditions for town and country. The same evening in the Second Chamber M. Branting, Socialist, criticised the position taken up by the Home Secretary, and ridiculed the military precautions against the workmen, who had not shown the slightest inclination to cause any disturbances. It was contrary to his advice that the printers had joined the general strike and thereby made it impossible to publish the daily papers. A proposal of his was lost by 158 to 68, and others were also negatived. Finally the House, by 117 votes to 107, accepted a proposal introduced by M. Monsson requesting the Government to have the suffrage question fully investigated, and early in the session of 1904 to introduce a fresh Suffrage Bill, based upon universal suffrage from the twenty-fifth year, provided there were no arrears as regards taxation and military service. Thus this great question was allowed to stand over for another year or two, but there can be very little doubt that it will then be solved in a popular sense, all parties alike having apparently realised not only the expediency but the necessity of not unduly delaying such a decision. The first result of the votes in the Chambers was the cessation of the general strike, which had proved the Swedish labourers to be far more organised than was probably anticipated, although their political influence had hitherto been of but little moment.

Several other measures of some importance occupied the time of the Riksdag. The proposed purchase by the State

of the Stockholm Telephone Company was negatived. The question of introducing a tobacco monopoly in Sweden ended in both Chambers requesting the Government to have the matter investigated, the Second Chamber apparently not being in favour of a monopoly but preferring increased taxation. The most important positive outcome of the session was the Income Tax Act, based upon progressive taxation and compulsory declaration of one's income. Another important Bill passed was that providing for the establishment of a National Life Insurance Institution. The committee on the completion of the military reforms had not yet finished its labours, but the work of improving and strengthening the Army and Navy was being continued with unabated zeal. The proposed reform in public education was still under consideration and some time, it appeared, might yet elapse before the proposals of the Education Bill Committee assumed definite legislative shape.

From the time of the discussion on the Suffrage Bill it was evident that the Prime Minister, M. von Otter, would not long retain office, but it was not till the beginning of July that a new Ministry was appointed, the chief of which was M. Boström, M. von Otter's predecessor. His return to office was received with much satisfaction. M. O. Bergen became M. von Hammarskjöld's successor as Home Secretary, in which capacity he would have to frame the new Suffrage Bill. M. E. F. V. Meyer, a provincial merchant, was made Minister of Finance; he was understood to be a moderate Free Trader. Rector C. S. von Friesen was appointed Church Minister, and M. Ramstedt Consulting Counsellor of State. It may be mentioned here that the King, contrary to what was the custom, had given M. Boström an entirely free hand as to the forming of his Ministry.

The Swedish-Norwegian Consular Committee brought its meetings to a conclusion on July 26, and the report was published two days later. It dealt very exhaustively with the whole question. The Committee took it for granted that each country would have its own Consular System, so that there would be appointed Swedish Consuls, exclusively subordinate to Swedish authorities, and Norwegian Consuls, exclusively subordinate to Norwegian authorities. As far as Sweden was concerned there was no reason why the Foreign Office and the Ambassadors should not retain their former relations with the Consular Service. As far as Norwegian Consuls are concerned, the authority and control of the Foreign Office ceases, and the Consular System of Norway must be transferred to some Norwegian Government Department, and the Ambassadors (of Sweden-Norway) will no longer be the intermediaries between the Consuls and the Government department. Diplomatic work for Consuls will be at an end, inasmuch as the Consuls of the two countries do not belong to the same State department.

Although the elections to the Second Chamber did not take

place till September, the electioneering campaign began a couple of months earlier, the suffrage question having roused a strong political feeling throughout the country. At the elections friends of a Liberal suffrage reform, on the whole, had the advantage over more Conservative candidates, although the various groups are not very distinctly defined. Of the twenty-two members for Stockholm, twenty Liberals were returned and one Socialist, M. Branting being re-elected, and the result may justly be claimed as a victory for the Liberals—the Liberal Joint or Amalgamation party, which had been greatly aided by the new Liberal All-country Union. The Social Democrats also made some little progress.

IX. NORWAY.

Compared with what was the case some years ago, a quieter and more conciliatory mood has been observable in the relations between Norway and Sweden, and in the feelings with which the Union is being viewed in Norway. Sentiments of a more hostile nature are occasionally expressed, but such manifestations now, more often than not, call forth dissent and contradiction. The leading men, indeed, within the Government and the Left party do not appear to have, or will in any case not admit that they have, waived their original demands, but the temper in which such matters are now being discussed shows a distinct improvement.

The most important political event of the year was the resignation of the Premier, M. Steen, for many years the leader of the Liberal or Left party. The trouble which the finding of a successor to M. Steen gave may be taken as an indication that the party was not quite so compact or consolidated as formerly, and that independent and divergent opinions were beginning to assert themselves. Some of that dissatisfaction which outside the Government party has found a sufficiency of nourishment in the unsatisfactory state of the finances, and in the somewhat aggressive nature of the doings of the War Minister, had made itself felt among the Liberal majority. Three names were mentioned as those of possible successors to M. Steen—M. Blehr, M. Arctander and M. Berner. The King, it was thought, favoured the last-named.

On April 15 a meeting of members of the Left—as to the expediency of which doubts were, indeed, strongly expressed in some quarters—was held with a view to ascertaining the feelings of the party with reference to the various candidates for the Premiership: M. Blehr received 29 votes, M. Arctander 20 and M. Berner 10 votes. Five members did not vote. There could be no doubt that the retiring Premier favoured M. Blehr's candidature, and some of his opponents within the party advised the two minorities to club together, so as to break the continuity of the Steen tradition, which was denounced as stale and antiquated. On the following day the Crown Prince held

a Council of State, at which the resignation of the whole of the Ministry was accepted, and the Crown Prince requested M. Berner, President of the Storting, to form a new Cabinet. M. Berner did not meet with much encouragement, and more especially the Steen faction seemed disinclined to forego what they considered their right, viz., to nominate the successor of their retiring chief. As M. Arctander's followers also declined to support M. Berner, M. Arctander being unwilling to join his Ministry, M. Berner had to inform the Crown Prince that he was unable to accomplish the task of forming a new Government. Thereupon the Crown Prince requested M. Blehr to form a Ministry. Having received Dr. Sigurd Ibsen's promise to join the Ministry, in which otherwise the members of the Steen Government retained their offices, M. Blehr had no trouble in forming his Cabinet, which was appointed on April 21. M. Blehr became Prime Minister; M. Qvam, Norwegian Minister of State in Stockholm; Dr. Sigurd Ibsen, Member of the Norwegian Council of State; M. Aarstad, Home Secretary. The new Ministry was expected to facilitate the negotiations, and to ensure friendly relations between Norway and Sweden, M. Blehr relinquishing the post of Minister of State in Stockholm in order to become Premier, and Dr. Sigurd Ibsen, a son of Dr. Henrik Ibsen, being considered a diplomatist of rank and experience.

A week later M. Berner, as President of the Storting, introduced a proposal expressing the willingness of the House to loyally co-operate with the new Ministry for the advancement of the questions with which the Premier had dealt in his statement. After some discussion, in which Professor Hagerup, the leader of the Conservative Opposition, joined, the vote of confidence was carried by 76 votes (the whole of the Left) against 33 (the Conservatives and the Moderates). Notwithstanding this unanimous support by all the factions of the Left party, the proceedings prior to the termination of the Ministerial crisis had demonstrated greater divergencies within the Government party than had been anticipated. It was announced in the paper which is considered the mouthpiece of the Government that no change in its politics would result from M. Blehr having taken over the Premiership, and it may be taken as a natural sequel that neither have the causes for dissatisfaction been removed.

The session of the Storting, which resumed its work after the Christmas recess, again proved a long one, but it was on most sides admitted that the time was well employed. Much of the Parliamentary work in Norway is done in committee, and according to the rules every member of the House shall be a member of a committee, and most often of but one—an arrangement which tends to bring about a pronounced division of labour. The Ways and Means Bill occupied considerable time and attention, and there were signs of more sober views

as regards the expenditure—views more than justified by the somewhat lavish, not to say reckless, votes for which several members of the Government had for some years been in the habit of asking, and not in vain. M. Sunde, Minister of Finance, had in many quarters met with but scanty appreciation, and he has hardly succeeded in convincing his numerous antagonists of his superior wisdom. Some attempts at retrenchment were made, but nevertheless increased taxation was found to be necessary, the objects being tobacco and transactions charged with stamp duty.

The most important of the Acts passed was the new Criminal Code or "Law of Punishment," which had necessitated a vast amount of preparatory labour, and for the handling and passing of which much credit was due to the Government and the Opposition alike, the leader of the latter, Professor Hagerup, being chairman of the committee on the subject. The military "Law of Punishment" also was satisfactorily disposed of. The Bank Act was revised in accordance with some wishes set forth by the Bank of Norway. Some social measures were passed having the effect of somewhat improving the position of women and extending their influence in certain fields.

On January 24 the Peace Committee of the Storthing proposed the appointment of a committee for the purpose of considering what could be done to advance the neutrality of Norway. On May 26 the committee laid a resolution before the House expressing the conviction of the Storthing that the State authorities of Norway, in harmony with the wishes of the nation, would always work for the maintenance of the country's neutrality, and the hope that, after the Peace Congress at the Hague in 1899 and the establishment of a permanent Court of Arbitration, it might be possible in no distant future to conclude binding arbitration treaties between Norway and other countries, more especially the neighbouring countries. The Storthing also requested the Government at the first suitable time to take up for discussion the question of the permanent neutrality of Norway and Sweden, and to endeavour to promote the establishment thereof under such forms as are likely to ensure the freedom and the independence of the two countries.

On May 24, four days before the dissolution of the Storthing, the matter came before the House. M. Blehr, the Premier, strongly recommended the proposal, which he said had the full support of the Government, and eventually it was accepted unanimously.

The previous day the Storthing had granted the formation of a new "Jäger" (Infantry) Corps, but the majority was small, 58 votes against 50, fifteen members of the Left voting with the Conservatives and the Moderates. The new corps was intended for strengthening the fortifications of Southern Norway. A vote for new artillery was also passed.

Just before the close of the session, when the proposals of the Budget Committee had been passed, the Storthing discussed the Constitutional Committee's report on the Consular Committee's labours. M. Berner, the President, expressed the hope that the work of the committees would bring about the solution of this old-standing problem. A fully satisfactory solution could only be arrived at on the basis of separate consuls for each country, and, considering the support the Moderates had given the Constitutional Committee, he hoped that the Conservatives, too, would acquiesce. The spokesman of the Conservative party referred to the report of the minority of the committee, but would not enter upon a discussion of the matter proper. The Conservative party had on their programme the reform of the consular system, subject to the maintenance of joint diplomatic representation for the two countries, but the Conservatives declined to further discuss the matter before the Consular Committee had concluded its labours. The Storthing closed its session on May 28.

On October 11 the Storthing again met. M. Berner was re-elected President with 74 votes, and M. Arctander was elected President of the Odelsting. The Budget was introduced the following day, showing an aggregate of 99,000,000 kr. against 102,225,000 kr. for the current year, the item of extraordinary expenditure having been reduced from about 14,500,000 kr. to 9,557,000 kr., of which 5,670,000 kr. are for railways and 3,434,000 kr. for extraordinary defensive measures. On the credit side the State railways were calculated to give an increase, as was the spirit tax. On October 13 the Storthing was formally opened by the Premier, M. Blehr, with a speech from the throne. The Prime Minister's statement was considered to be of a somewhat negative nature, although it evidenced, indirectly at least, that the Government was beginning to realise the necessity of economising. No new military expenses, no new railways were foreshadowed, and it was hinted that it would not be safe to reckon with the increase in the revenue of former years. It was announced that the Consular Fees Bill would be again introduced, in which connection it may be expedient to note that the Crown has twice refused to sanction this Bill, in 1894 and 1900.

The session was not expected to bring about any great legislative results, although some important measures were left in abeyance from the previous session, notably the National Insurance Bill and a Bill dealing with limited companies, a measure of which the last four years' doings had proved the necessity. There was also the Load Line Bill and some measures in the interest of the labouring classes, all of which had already been before the Storthing, but it was difficult to say how far they would be advanced.

The preliminary report of the Budget Committee was not of a very exhilarating nature. When the increased taxation, to

which reference has been made, was agreed to in the previous session, it was distinctly understood that there would be no increased taxation the following session; great economy would therefore be necessary. It was also urged that the cash in hand was insufficient, and that it ought to amount to 10 per cent. of the annual expenditure. The national debt amounted, on April 1, 1902, to 262,000,000 kr., the year's expenditure for interest on the same amounting to 8,500,000 kr. and the amortisation to about 3,000,000 kr. The Budget Committee was strongly against any further increase of the national debt, of which perhaps 200,000,000 kr. was for railway construction and other means of transport.

CHAPTER V.

ASIA (SOUTHERN).

I. PERSIA.

IN Persia itself there has been no change of visible importance during 1902. The Shah made another tour in Europe, visiting most of the great capitals, including London and Paris, and he was received by the King at Portsmouth in August. If he settled any matter of importance during this tour, the fact has not been made known to the public. A Special Mission, with Viscount Downe at its head, was despatched at the close of the year to invest the Shah with the Order of the Garter.

As regards events below the surface, the struggle of the rival Powers, Russia and England, France and Germany, to gain "influence" or commercial advantages, rumour has been as busy as usual. Russia appears to have strengthened her financial hold on Persia by making to it a loan of 10,000,000 roubles through the Russian bank, branches of which have been established at Meshid, Teheran, Tabriz, and Reshd. This loan is said, like the one of last year, to have caused much discontent amongst the people, who wished to see their country independent. Russia has obtained a concession for the construction of a road from Tabriz to Teheran, and in the latter part of the year there have been frequent reports, followed by semi-official denials, of her having constructed or being about to construct railways in the Eastern Provinces of Persia. It is now stated in the Press that a new Commercial Treaty between Persia and Russia has just been signed, which confers on Russia important advantages; if this proves to be correct, the matter will be noticed in the review of 1903.

Early in the year a force, under Major Showers, captured the fort of Nobiz, in which a band of raiders from Persia, under Muhamed Ali, had established themselves. Muhamed Ali was killed and his band broken up. The Persian Governor-Genera

of Seistan and Major Showers then made a tour together along the Perso-Biloch border, which it is anticipated will have an excellent effect in quieting that country for the future. Later in the year a boundary dispute between Persia and Afghanistan broke out on the Helmund. One account of it is that it arose from the natural shifting of the course of the river. Another is that the Persians accuse the Afghans of improperly damming up the river, and so depriving the Persians of the water required for the irrigation of their fields. Major MacMahon is starting with a considerable escort to meet the Persian and Afghan representatives, and settle the dispute on the spot. This step has been taken with the full consent of Persia and Afghanistan, but it is denounced by the Russian Press as another instance of British aggression.

In last year's volume it was pointed out that although the quarrel between Mabarik, the Sheikh of Koweit, on the Persian Gulf, and Bin Rashid, who claims to be King of Arabia, was of no importance in itself, it might be used by greater Powers as a pretext for raising some very serious questions. But 1902 has passed away without any material change in the *status quo*. Mabarik and Bin Rashid have remained as they were, and although there have been rumours of the capture of Nejd by a kinsman of Mabarik, and of his subsequent defeat by Bin Rashid, nothing is certainly known about this. As regards the greater Powers the Sultan undoubtedly called on Mabarik to acknowledge his suzerainty, but on meeting with a refusal he took no further steps to enforce the demand. A large Russian warship is said to have appeared in the Gulf in January, but she soon left, and nothing resulted from this visit, or from that of a smaller warship a little later. Koweit itself appears to have been under the protection of one or more British warships stationed there, or within call throughout the year. There was a report that the Russian Consul had made large purchases of land in the Island of Bahrein, but no overt attempt appears to have been made by Russia, or any of the Western Powers, to obtain a port, or to permanently station a naval force, in the Gulf.

II. BALUCHISTAN.

The capture, or dispersal, of the Persian raiders by Major Showers, and his march through the border with the Persian Governor-General, and the deputation of Major MacMahon to settle the Perso-Afghan dispute on the Helmund, have been noticed above. The Peshin section of the railway from Ruk to Chaman has been completed, and the Secretary of State has sanctioned the construction of the line from Quetta to Nushki, a distance of eighty-two miles. The estimated cost is 70 lakhs of rupees, of which 47 lakhs have been provided in the Budget of the current year. It is very probable that after the line

has been completed to Nushki it will be extended to Seistan. Colonel Yate, the Governor-General's agent, held a Durbar at Quetta on October 2, at which khillats were distributed to those who had done good service, and he also took representative chiefs to the Coronation Durbar at Delhi. The figures of the census taken in 1901 have now been published, with a very interesting report by the Census Superintendent, Mr. Hughes Buller. Although the area of Baluchistan is 132,315 square miles the population according to the census is only 810,746, but as some parts of the country were omitted, the total is estimated at 1,050,000. It is curious to find that the Baluchis, according to the census of 1801, are eleven times more numerous in the Punjab and Sindh than they are in the country to which they give their name. There they are only 80,000, whilst the Afghans number 200,000, the Brahois 300,000, and the Ladis 40,000.

III. AFGHANISTAN.

The first year of Habibullah's reign has passed without any internal disturbance, or event of importance. In October he held a great Durbar to commemorate the anniversary of his accession, and released 8,000 prisoners. General Mir Attar Khan, who was imprisoned by the late Amir, has been released and reinstated in his old post of Commander-in-Chief, or rather of Naib, or Deputy Commander-in-Chief, for this is the title by which the successors of the late General Ghulam Haidar Khan in the command of the Army have been designated. The Amir is said to be reluctant to confer the full appointment on any one, and there is a belief current that he is likely to keep it for Yahya Khan, whose daughter, whom he lately married, has become his favourite wife. Yahya Khan is at present in great favour with the Amir, and his position in Kabul not unnaturally excites the jealousy both of the Amir's own relatives and of the leading chiefs and Sirdars. There have been rumours of intrigues in favour of the Amir's youngest half-brother, Mohamed Umar, but these seem to have died away, and towards the end of the year Mohamed Umar was reported to be in delicate health. There have also been rumours that the Amir's full brother, Nasir Ullah Khan, had fallen into disgrace, and even that he had been imprisoned. These were, as usual, followed by complete denials, and assurances that the best feeling existed between the two brothers.

It is said that the Amir intends to put in force the plan of compulsory military service devised by his father, by which one-eighth of the male population will be passed into or through the Army. He also directed the Governor of Jallalabad to raise regiments of Afridis, some of whom were to be employed as a bodyguard at Kabul. But this intention caused so much discontent amongst the Afghans that it had to be

abandoned, and orders have been issued to stop recruiting. It is said that although many Afridis at first came forward as recruits they soon found that the promises of pay and allowances held out to them were not fulfilled, and the tribesmen who wish to take foreign service much prefer the certainties they can obtain from the British Government.

The Hadda Mullah, Najib-ud-din, who visited Kabul early in the year, was received by the Amir with great favour and distinction. We were first told that the Amir was completely under his influence; then it was said that he was virtually a prisoner, and that the Amir never visited him. Towards the end of the year he was sent back to his own country, with an allowance of Rs. 16,000 a year.

The relations of Habibullah Khan with the British Government are reported to have been of the most friendly nature throughout the year, and he ordered his officers on the Frontier to prevent all outlaws from British territory from entering Afghanistan. He is reported to have said in Durbar that he had found by experience that a mild rule was unsuited to the Afghans, and that he has consequently ordered the revival of his father's Secret Intelligence Department.

But although the domestic history of Afghanistan during 1902 has been comparatively colourless, a very important move has been made or attempted by Russia in what may be called its foreign policy. The Russian Government suggested to the British Government that whilst it fully recognised the existing agreement between the two countries by which it was precluded from direct diplomatic intercourse with Afghanistan, it would be of the greatest convenience if the Russian and Afghan officials on the frontier were allowed to communicate direct with one another for commercial purposes only. To this proposal Lord Lansdowne gave the very natural answer that before expressing any opinion on it he would like to know exactly what it meant. As to what has taken place since, no information has been given to the public; we have been merely told that the correspondence has been still going on. But if there were any doubt of the true meaning of the Russian proposals this has been removed by the Russian Press, which has declared openly that the time has come when the agreement excluding Russia from Afghanistan should be set aside and that Russia should insist on as full commercial and political intercourse with that country as is enjoyed by England itself.

IV. THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

In April the Viceroy held a Durbar at Peshawar which was largely attended by representatives of the Frontier tribes, to whom he explained his new policy. But neither the Viceroy's speech nor the creation of the new province has as yet worked any change in the state of the Frontier. Disturbances have

been at least as numerous as before, and the methods employed in dealing with them have been the same as those which Lord Curzon criticised so severely when the Frontier was under the Punjab Government. On January 1, for example, three punitive columns entered the Mahsud territory with the usual result, that is, the Mahsuds avoided the columns, who destroyed the towers and villages which came in their way and made a few captures. When the columns had withdrawn, the Mahsuds made a formal submission, paid the fine imposed on them, restored stolen rifles, and gave security for replacing stolen cattle and the expulsion of outlaws. On this the blockade was withdrawn, and a restoration of their allowances promised conditionally on their good behaviour. On February 9 between 200 and 300 Afridis raided a village ten miles from Jamrud and carried off some cattle. The Khaibar Rifles overtook them, recovered the cattle and took eleven Afridis prisoners. In June a picket at Ghalakot, in the Tochi country, was attacked by Mahsud Waziris. One Sepoy was killed, one wounded, and three rifles were stolen.

In consequence of a series of raids by outlaws between Bannu and Thal, four columns, each 700 strong, under General Egerton, entered the Darwesh Khel Waziri Territory, and met with no serious opposition, except in the case of the column starting from Gumati, which lost two British officers killed and three wounded in an attack on a tower held by some outlaws. The Jagi tribes from over the Afghan border encroached on grazing grounds in Upper Kurram, and came into collision with Kurram Militia; a few casualties took place on both sides. There has also been some fighting in the Bajour Valley, where the Nawab of Dir and the Khan of Nawagai joined forces to coerce the Mahmands. A permanent bridge 900 feet in length has been constructed over the Kabul River at Nowshera; it will be protected by a fort at Dargai, where the railway line, a broad gauge one, will terminate.

V. BRITISH INDIA.

FINANCE.

In presenting his statement to the Legislative Council in March, 1902, the Financial Member dealt as usual with the figures for three years, *viz.*: (1) the accounts for 1900-1 as finally closed; (2) the Revised Estimates for 1901-2; (3) the Budget Estimates for 1902-3.

The Accounts for 1900-1.—The causes of the great difference between the figures of the original and of the revised Estimates, which resulted in an increase of the estimated surplus from 160,000*l.* to one of 1,640,000*l.*, were fully explained to the Council in March, 1901. The closed accounts showed a further increase in the surplus of 29,000*l.* only, a sum too small to require explanation.

Revised Estimates, 1901-2.—In the Budget for 1901-2 the Revenue was estimated 71,900*l.* in excess of the Revised Estimate of the previous year. It was anticipated that there would be an increase under the heads of Land Revenue, Railways, Provincial Rates, and Tribute from Native States amounting to 1,086,500*l.*, and a decrease of 1,014,600*l.* under the heads of Opium, Customs, Irrigation and Minor Departments. The Expenditure showed an increase of 4,446,900*l.* under the heads of Army, Public Works, Railways, and Civil Charges, but owing to a decrease of 3,245,000*l.* on account of Famine Charges, and small reductions under other heads, the net result was an increase in Expenditure of 1,131,900*l.* The estimated surplus was 690,000*l.* The Revised Estimates show an increase in the Revenue of 4,354,800*l.* and in the Expenditure of 371,800*l.*, or a net increase of 3,982,000*l.* The surplus of 690,900*l.* is thus raised to one of 4,672,900*l.*

Revenue.—The greater part of the total increase of 4,354,800*l.* occurred under the following heads:—

Land Revenue	£299,300
Opium	311,400
Salt	58,800
Stamps	147,400
Excise	119,400
Customs	643,900
Post Office	33,500
Telegraph	55,700
Mint	515,200
Railways	1,750,500
Irrigation	89,100
Receipts by Military Department	115,400
Total	£4,139,600

The increases in Land Revenue, which is only 1·65 per cent on the original Estimate, and in Irrigation require no special explanation. As stated last year, almost the whole of the profits on coinage is credited to the gold reserve, and the entries both of Revenue and Expenditure under the head of Mint are merely for the purposes of account. The increase in military receipts is fortuitous, and due almost entirely to the purchase by the Home Government of the horses of two cavalry regiments for South Africa. The increases under the heads of Salt, Stamps, Excise, Post Office, and Telegraphs are due to no special causes, and may be taken as proof of an increase in the general prosperity of the people. The same may be said of the increase in the revenue from railways, which have now become a source of profit to the State. As was anticipated last year, the opium market has been steadily falling, but the fall has not been so great as was expected. The consequence has been a considerable increase in opium, not over the actual revenue of the previous year, but only over the Budget Estimates. The Customs receipts are 643,900*l.* more than the Budget Estimate, and 460,000*l.* more than the actuals of the preceding year. The lowness of the Budget Estimate is justified by a review of the

figures of the preceding ten years. The greater part of the increase of 460,000*l.* is thus accounted for: cotton manufactures, 86,000*l.*; silver, 109,000*l.*; petroleum, 47,000*l.*; sugar (ordinary 5 per cent. duty), 11,000*l.*; *da* (countervailing duty), 99,000*l.*; manufactured articles, 25,000*l.*: total, 377,000*l.* It is pointed out that a very small portion of cotton, petroleum, silver or sugar is imported to meet the wants of Europeans or of the Government, and the increase under these heads may therefore be regarded as further proof of the increasing prosperity of the indigenous population of India.

Expenditure.—The Expenditure shows a net decrease of 1,026,800*l.*, the details of which are given in the following table:—

	Increase.	Decrease.
Fixed demands on the Revenue		£319,800
Interest		144,100
Post Office		13,400
Telegraph	£44,600	
Mint	431,300	
Salaries and Expenses (Civil Departments).		294,800
Miscellaneous Civil Charges	42,200	
Famine Relief and Insurance		72,400
Railway Revenue Account	768,000	
Irrigation		36,000
Other Public Works		427,300
Army Services		1,006,000
Special Defence Works		9,100
Total	£1,286,100	£2,312,900

The increase in the railway expenditure is the consequence of the expansion of traffic, which has caused the still greater increase in the receipts already noticed.

The decrease in direct demands on revenue is mainly due to the decrease in the opium charges, and that on interest to the fact that the loan raised in India was reduced from two to one crore and issued at a good price. The saving under the head of Public Works is one which must occur almost annually, as many works, which have to be budgeted for in full, cannot be completed within the year. The large saving under the head of Army Services was due to the continued employment of Indian troops in South Africa and the non-delivery within the financial year of stores ordered from home.

Budget Estimates, 1902-3.—Revenue.—In estimating the revenue the receipts from land revenue are put at 679,800*l.* less than those given by the revised Estimates for 1901-2. This is due to the decision of the Government to finally remit arrears in the districts affected by the famine to the extent of 1,321,500*l.*, of which 738,300*l.* will fall on the revenues of the coming year. There is a similar decrease of 675,100*l.* in the opium revenue, as the steadily falling market and the disturbed state of China do not warrant the hope of a higher average price than Rs. 1,100 per chest. Under the head of Customs it is not expected that the high figures of 1901-2 will be maintained, and as the great increase in the railway receipts of the previous year

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occurred on two lines only, the North Western and the Great Indian Peninsular, and was due to causes not likely to be permanent, a falling-off of 228,700*l.* is allowed for. A moderate increase is anticipated under salt, excise and stamps. The increase that might have been expected from the Post Office has been almost entirely lost by the reduction granted in the commission charged on money orders of small value, and there is a decrease of 58,500*l.* in the telegraph, owing mainly to the reduction in the rates for foreign messages.

Expenditure.—There is a considerable increase in expenditure under several heads, regarding the most important of which the following explanations are given. An increase of 546,000*l.* in the direct demands on revenue is due partly to the creation of the new Frontier province, partly to the extension of survey and assessment operations, and partly to general administrative improvements. Of the increase of 964,800*l.* in the salaries and expenses of civil departments, 118,300*l.* is on account of courts of justice, 146,500*l.* on account of police, 358,500*l.* on account of education, 156,800*l.* on account of medical, and 222,000*l.* on account of political; the last sum includes the cost of the proposed Coronation Durbar at Delhi. The provision for famine charges is left at 1,000,000*l.*, and out of the increase of 252,900*l.* for irrigation, 166,700*l.* is for minor village irrigation works. The increase of 848,400*l.* for public works is necessary for the completion of works which had been stopped, or which could not be commenced during the period of financial pressure. The increase of 1,535,400*l.* in the Army charges only raises these to what they would have been during the present year but for the reasons already explained.

The net result of the Budget is an estimated surplus of 837,700*l.*

Capital Account.—In addition to the charges to be paid out of the revenue of the year, a sum of 10,705,100*l.* is required by Government for the following purposes:—

Reproductive Works—	
State Railways	£4,893,300
Railway Companies	2,591,600
Irrigation Major Works	666,700
Total	£8,151,600
For discharging debt	1,458,800
Deposit, Remittance and other Transactions	1,094,700
Grand Total	£10,705,100

It is proposed to procure this sum: (1) by using the surplus of 837,700*l.*; (2) by a loan of 3,813,300*l.* to be raised by railway companies; (3) by an addition of 2,500,000*l.* to the Permanent Debt, of which 1,000,000*l.* will be borrowed in India; and (4) by an addition of 543,100*l.* to the Unfunded Debt. These sums amount in the aggregate to 7,694,100*l.*, and the remainder will be obtained by a reduction of 3,011,000*l.* in the closing balances

in India and England, which will then stand at 10,832,381*l.* in the former, and at 4,050,726*l.* in the latter, country.

Remission of Taxation.—In answer to a possible objection that the large surplus of 1901-2 should have been utilised for the remission of taxation, Sir E. Law pointed out that the land revenue, opium and Customs, which together contributed more than one-third of the total revenue, are either inelastic or precarious. The land revenue, apart from the necessity of suspending or remitting it in times of exceptional distress, can expand but slowly, and to a very limited extent. Opium must always be precarious, and is becoming more so owing to the disturbed condition of China. In the Customs there is likely to be a falling off, not only in consequence of the decision of the recent conference on sugar bounties, but also in consequence of the development of the sugar, cotton and petroleum industries in India itself. The Government has, in fact, granted relief in the form most appreciated by those who really need it. The provision in the Budget for a remission of 738,300*l.* of arrears of land revenue, the abolition of the Pandhari Tax in the Central Provinces at a cost of Rs. 70,000, the reduction of the Patwari Rate in Ajmir by Rs. 23,000, the grant of twenty-five lakhs for village irrigation works, and of ninety lakhs to Local Governments for education, sanitation and general improvement of the administration, constitute a relief amounting altogether to 1,511,200*l.* But for this relief the surplus for 1902-3 would have been greatly in excess of the estimated 837,700*l.*

Exchange.—A stable Exchange has been satisfactorily maintained; the maximum rate obtained for Council drafts was 16·154*d.*, the minimum 15·905*d.*, and the average was 15·991*d.* The extreme variation was thus less than 1 per cent.

Gold Reserve.—The hope expressed last year that the profits from coinage which should have been credited to this fund, but which have been used under financial pressure to meet current expenses, would be in time recovered from loans repaid by native States and Takavi advances has been more than realised. The whole sum due has been repaid in full during the current year, and the Reserve now stands at 3,455,282*l.*, the whole of which has been invested in British Consols.

Coinage.—During the year Rs. 4,32,32,590 were coined for Government, and Rs. 52,75,010 for native States, making a total of Rs. 4,85,07,600. Experience has shown that the large addition to the coinage made last year was in no way in excess of the actual requirements of the country.

Currency Notes.—The question of extending the circulation of currency notes by making their encashment at out-stations more easy has been fully discussed and considered during the year, but the opinions of experts on the subject differ so greatly that a final decision has not yet been arrived at.

Presidency Banks.—The idea of establishing one general central Bank has, for the reasons given in the published papers,

been abandoned, at any rate for the present. But the representations of the existing Presidency Banks, that their business is unduly hampered by the present restrictions, are under consideration. The maintenance at the Banks by Government of large balances during the busy season of the year, that is, during the winter months, has continued to prove a great advantage to the mercantile community, and the Bank rate of interest has not exceeded 8 per cent. since June, 1897.

Army Services.—India is defraying the whole cost of the rearmament and re-organisation of the Army out of current revenue, a feat not attempted by the more wealthy European countries. A portion of the cost of the scheme, which was explained in detail in the Budget of last year, falls on the revenue of the present year. There has also been an unexpected demand for 226,000*l.* on account of the increase in the pay of British soldiers serving in India, ordered by the Home Government. The whole military expenditure for 1902-3 is estimated at 16,775,500*l.*

Railways.—The provision made in the Budget for expenditure on railways, both from current revenue and from capital, has already been explained. Capital is required for (1) the improvement of existing railways, (2) the completion of lines under construction, (3) the development of the country by new lines. Both in India and in England the amount of money that can be raised in the money market on reasonable terms is very limited, and is almost entirely absorbed by the first two of the purposes named. Until new means of raising money can be devised, the work of extending railway communications must be greatly restricted.

Countervailing Duties.—These duties have now been levied for three years, but whilst they have brought in a handsome sum to the Indian exchequer, they have had little or no effect in checking the importation of sugar. It is difficult to foresee what will be the effect of the Brussels Conference, but it is pointed out that in addition to the direct bounty foreign Governments assist the exporters of sugar in many other ways, and that the sugar manufacturers, by combining to keep up unnaturally high prices at home, are enabled to export sugar at a price considerably less than the cost of production.

Famine Results.—The monsoon of 1901 was only moderately favourable, and there was considerable scarcity of rain in many parts of Central India, especially Rajputana. The Government recognises the duty of relieving distress in Native States as well as in British Territory, and for this purpose it advanced to those States during the year 597,500*l.*, whilst it granted to Local Governments 556,200*l.*, of which Bombay received 533,800*l.* The total expenditure was thus 1,153,600*l.* The 1,000,000*l.* entered in the Budget for the coming year is intended to provide 423,200*l.* for direct famine relief, 93,900*l.* for the construction of protective irrigation works, 474,200*l.* for the avoidance of debt,

and 8,700*l.* for net loss on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. A statement compiled by the Financial Secretary summarises the famine insurance and relief account, since it was opened in 1878-9, thus: receipts, 25,000,000*l.*; expenditure, on famine relief, 12,658,038*l.*; on protective works, 9,399,739*l.*; applied to reduction of debt, 1,510,612*l.*; total, 23,568,389*l.*; estimated balance on March 31st, 1903, 1,431,611*l.* Of course this is merely a paper account; there is not, and never has been, a really separate Famine Fund.

Agricultural Banks.—A committee composed of experienced officers from almost every province, with a banking expert to assist them, was assembled at Simla in June, 1902, under the presidency of Sir E. Law, to consider the possibility and desirability of establishing, for the benefit of the agricultural classes, Mutual Credit Institutions and Agricultural Banks. It drew up a report which has been published, and circulated to the Local Governments and Administrations for their opinion. Sir E. Law says that the Report speaks with no uncertain sound, and he has every hope that some definite action will be taken upon it.

Economic Progress.—The general economic condition of India was fully reviewed by the Financial Member last year, and he sees no reason for altering the opinion then expressed. That opinion is briefly this: we should avoid both optimism and pessimism. Some of the sources of the Indian revenue are precarious, and the country is always exposed to danger from the calamities of season. But in ordinary years India can readily pay its way, and there are many signs of increasing prosperity. Those to be found in the increase in various branches of the revenue, such as customs, salt, excise and stamps, have already been noticed. The tea and indigo industries are still much depressed. As regards tea, although the trade with Persia has increased, and some well-managed estates still earn fair profits, there is a fear that over-production may lower prices generally to a point which will make the industry unremunerative. In indigo, Sir E. Law believes that energy and the employment of more scientific methods may yet bring about a revival of prosperity. The jute trade, indigenous cotton manufactures, petroleum and coal, have all made substantial progress during the year, and the increase in private deposits, both in ordinary banks and in the Post Office Savings Banks, is most satisfactory. The discussions on the Budget, both in the Legislative Council in Calcutta, and in the House of Commons at home, call for no special remarks, but Lord G. Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India, was able to state that the returns received from India up to the end of November fully warranted the expectation that the surplus estimated for the close of the financial year 1902-3 will be more than realised.

FAMINE.

In the review of the famine operations of 1901 in last year's **ANNUAL REGISTER** it was stated that, although the grand total of persons in receipt of relief had fallen at the close of the year from the maximum of 590,367 attained in July to 140,143, it was feared that if the winter rains continued to hold off the numbers would again rise. The following table shows to what extent this fear was realised :—

Week ending	Number on relief works.	Number in receipt of gratuitous relief	Grand total.
Jan. 26 . . .	124,487	33,094	157,577
Feb. 15 . . .	259,201	50,331	309,532
Mar. 29 . . .	279,691	70,935	350,626
May 17 . . .	360,083	88,360	448,443
June 28 . . .	337,798	109,002	446,800
Aug. 23 . . .	417,989	151,329	569,318
Sept. 27 . . .	98,956	155,537	254,493
Nov. 29 . . .	2,018	21,794	23,812
Dec. 31 . . .	6,051	10,611	16,662

These figures may be said to give in themselves a history of the famine. They show that the failure of the winter rains caused a great increase in the numbers receiving relief in the early months of the year, and this increase continued slowly but steadily till the maximum was reached in August. There was then a good rainfall, which reduced the numbers for September to less than one half, and as the rain throughout the latter month was both abundant and general, except in Baluchistan and some parts of Rajputana and Central India, where it was less than 25 per cent. of the normal, the famine had practically ceased by the close of the year. Indeed, if we compare the figures with those of real famines, it can hardly be said that in 1902 there was any famine at all, but only a considerable scarcity within a limited area, of which the total population was only 26,355,037. At the period of maximum pressure 400,715 were on relief in Bombay, 30,446 in Merwara, total for British provinces, 433,170; in Rajputana States, 20,936, Baroda, 37,063, Bombay Native States, 71,864 (including 40,834 in Kattiawar), total for Native States, 136,148. No outbreak of disease was reported on any of the works, and there was no exceptional mortality. In March last a Blue Book was issued by the India Office containing a resolution by the Government of India, with reports of Local Governments and Administrations, which dealt at length with various criticisms which had been passed on the existing Land Revenue system. The main point of the criticisms was that the excessive burden of the Land Revenue, if it did not actually cause famine, greatly aggravated its effects. The resolution most clearly demonstrates the falsity of this contention by showing from facts and figures that it was

by no means in what might be termed heavily assessed districts that the famine was most severe, and that the distress has from time to time been at least as great and as widespread in the permanently settled as in the temporarily settled tracts.

PLAGUE.

In noticing the progress of the plague in 1901 it was observed that although at the close of the preceding year, and in the early months of 1901 itself, there were satisfactory signs of abatement, these vanished as the year progressed and at its close the record was the gloomiest that had as yet appeared. The total mortality, as compared with 1900, had increased, in the Bombay Presidency from 38,000 to 155,000, and in the other parts of India from 53,000 to 117,000. But gloomy as 1901 was the year which has just closed has been far more so, and during it the mortality has more than doubled. The plague has been exceptionally severe in the Punjab, where the deaths were 211,710, and in Bombay, where they were 217,910, of which 14,088 were in the city. There were 29,848 deaths in Bengal, of which 7,289 were in Calcutta; in the United Provinces, 41,570, and in Madras, 12,556. The total mortality, including the Native States, was 559,602.

The preventive measures have been much less severe in recent years than at the outbreak of the plague, and more reliance is placed upon the voluntary co-operation of the people than upon compulsion. Although the great increase in mortality during the last two years may be regarded by some as a strong argument against this change of policy, there can be no doubt of its true wisdom. The preventive measures adopted at first failed to stamp out, or even to materially check, the plague, and they created amongst all sections of the people such a bitter feeling against the Government as no other measures have ever been known to create before. The change of policy is already bearing good fruit. Thus in the Patna division of Bengal the people have resorted spontaneously to evacuation of villages, though disinfection was not in favour outside the towns. In Bombay the natives themselves enforce segregation and removal from the infected locality as necessary measures. Inspection at railway stations is still carried out, but on a more restricted scale than formerly, although surveillance is exercised over persons arriving at uninfected places from infected places, and different measures are adopted to suit the needs of different localities. Special efforts have been made to encourage inoculation with Haffine's Plague Fluid, but it is strictly enjoined that no compulsion shall be exercised. In the Punjab especially inoculation has been undertaken on an extensive scale, and thirty-seven doctors have been obtained from England for this work for a period of six months. Unfortunately impure serum was supplied by the Bombay Laboratory, with the result that

nineteen persons died of tetanus in one village. Operations were temporarily suspended, but have now been resumed. No plague riots have been reported from any part of India.

GENERAL.

No great measures have been passed by the Legislative Council during 1902. A Bill has been introduced to amend the Code of Civil Procedure, but it has not reached the stage when the changes it is likely to effect in the law can be reviewed. Commissions have, however, been appointed to inquire into and report on the railways, irrigation, the police and the Indian Universities. The last-named commission sent in its report in August last, but no orders had been passed on it up to the close of the year.

An annual provision of one lakh has been made for the preservation of ancient monuments, and Professor Marshall, late of King's College, Cambridge, has been appointed Director-General of the Archæological Survey.

In January the Lieutenant-Governor opened the Mandalay Canal, which will irrigate 89,000 acres, and yield, it is calculated, a revenue of Rs. 337,555, making a net return on the capital expended of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The canal is from 30 to 35 feet deep, and of an average breadth of 57 feet.

The rectification of the Thibetan frontier has been completed, and 350 square miles have been added to British territory.

VI. NATIVE STATES.

NEPAL.

In last year's notice of Nepal a brief history was given of the deposition of Maharajah Deb Shumsher, who had succeeded his brother, Sir Bir Shumsher, as Prime Minister, by another brother, Chundra Shumsher, and his confinement in a fortress. It was also mentioned that there was a rumour at the close of the year that Deb Shumsher had escaped from the fortress and had arrived in Darjiling, and it was added that if this rumour proved to be true we might expect further trouble in Nepal. The rumour has proved true, but there has been no trouble. Chundra Shumsher settled a considerable sum of money on his brother, who has since lived quietly in Dehra Doon.

Heavy rain caused the rivers Baghmali and Bishnumali to overflow, with the result that serious landslips occurred in the valley by Katmandu, the cities of Bhatgaon and Patan suffered greatly, and several hundred lives were lost. On the other hand, this heavy rain produced a bumper harvest.

HAIDARABAD.

The visit of the Viceroy to Haidarabad resulted in an amicable settlement with the Nizam of the long-pending Berar question. The Nizam permanently relinquishes all claim to a restoration, or to exercise territorial jurisdiction in the Dominions, but his nominal sovereignty will still be recognised by the hoisting of his flag side by side with the British. In lieu of the surplus revenues to which he was entitled under the former arrangement he will receive a fixed sum of thirty lakhs annually. Some beneficial changes have also been made with regard to the Haidarabad contingent, and Maharajah Kishn Persad has been confirmed in his appointment of Prime Minister.

MAISUR.

In the course of his tour in August the Viceroy formally installed on the *masnad* the young Maharajah Krishna Raja Wodayar, Bahadur.

BHOPAL.

Haji Abdul Jabar Khan, Bahadur, C.I.E., has retired on a pension.

PANNA.

The commission appointed to try Maharajah Mado Singh on the charge of poisoning his uncle found him guilty, and the finding was confirmed by the Viceroy. He was consequently deposed, and ordered to be confined in a suitable place. His first cousin, Jadendra Singh, eldest son of the late Rao Rajah, has been nominated as his successor, but as he is only a boy of nine, the administration of the State during his minority will be carried on by the Diwan under the supervision of the Political Agent.

THE CORONATION.

The Coronation of the King-Emperor was celebrated with great rejoicings in all Native States as well as in British India. The ruling chiefs who visited England on the occasion were the Maharajahs of Gwalior, Jaipur, Kolapur, Bikanir, Idar and Kuch Behar. The Nawab of Bahawulpur only got as far as Bombay; he then turned back on account of his sufferings from sea-sickness on his voyage from Karachi. The aged Rajah of Nabha was, to his great regret, forbidden by his medical advisers to attempt the voyage. In addition to the ruling chiefs, many Indians of rank and distinction received and accepted invitations to England, and they were accompanied by a large contingent representing all branches of the Indian Army.

VII. SIAM.

The revenue for 1901-2 was 35,611,306 ticals, giving a surplus of 1,770,049 ticals. The estimated revenue for 1902-3

is 39,000,000 ticals. The Mint has been closed to the free coinage of silver, with a view to the establishment of a gold standard, but no scheme for this standard has yet been published.

Mr. Black, the British Vice-Consul at Bangkok, has been engaged by the Siamese Government as adviser to the Minister of Justice. The Crown Prince of Siam has returned home after completing a course of study at Oxford. A young Siamese gentleman of rank, who holds an appointment in the Civil Service, has been sent to that university for a year's study.

There were some disturbances in the Shan districts, in the northern corner of Siam which borders on French and English territory, and the British Political Officer proceeded to the spot with a considerable escort. At the close of the year the Siamese authorities reported that quiet had been restored.

By far the most important event of the year has been the signing of a new Convention in Paris on October 7 between M. Delcassé, the French Foreign Minister, and the Siamese representatives, who had been sent to France on a special mission for the settlement of pending questions between the two Governments. To understand its full bearing it is necessary to refer to the treaty of 1893 between France and Siam, and also to the agreement between France and England of 1896.

For some time previous to 1893 France had been gradually encroaching on Siam, and by the treaty of that year she extended her frontier to the Mekong, and obtained a formal cession of all the Siamese territory to the east of that river. Although the territory on the right, or western bank, was left to Siam, she was not allowed to erect any forts, or to keep any troops, within a zone of 25 kilometres from the river. As a natural consequence she has been unable to effectually maintain order within the zone, and her inability to do so has been made a source of constant complaint by France, and used as a pretext for refusing to carry out that part of the treaty which bound her to restore Chantabun, a port in purely Siamese territory, which she had seized without a shadow of right. Siam had also a grievance against France in connection with the province of Luang Prabang on her northern border. Before 1893 the whole of the province belonged to Siam, and when the portion of it which lies to the east of the Mekong was ceded to France by the treaty it was understood that Siam's authority over the part to the west of the river would be undisputed. But very soon after the signing of the treaty the nominal chief through whom France professed to rule the eastern part put forward his claim to rule the western part also, and proceeded to enforce it by collecting taxes. The Siamese officials who attempted to interfere with him were seized and sent in chains to the French Governor, and the remonstrances of the Siamese Government were not merely disregarded, but were met by France with a claim to the western territory itself.

By the Convention signed on October 7 Siam cedes to

France the territory on the Great Lake between the rivers Rolnos and Piek Kompong Tiam, and also the provinces of Meluprey and Barsak, an area of some 20,000 square kilometres. In return France engages to restore Chantabun, and Siam is to be allowed to keep troops at various points on the right bank of the Mekong. But it is stipulated that in the whole basin of the Mekong none but Siamese troops, officered by Siamese, are to be maintained, and if Siam desires to construct ports, canals, or railways, and especially the railways intended to link any point whatever in this basin with the capital, and if these cannot be executed by Siamese *personnel* and capital, it is bound to come to an agreement with the French Government. As regards the registration of Asiatics, a matter which has caused constant friction between the two Governments, it is provided that persons of Asiatic origin born on French territory, or in territory placed under the protection of France, may, themselves and their children, be registered as dependent for their protection upon the French Legation or Consulate in Siam. As regards persons born elsewhere, France will enjoy the same rights as would be accorded by Siam to other Powers. If this means, as it apparently does, that France renounces her claim to register all and every Asiatic, and to put them outside Siamese jurisdiction, Siam will be saved considerable annoyance and inconvenience. In the summary of the new treaty no special mention was made of the part of Luang Prabang on the west of the Mekong, and it was inferred that the right of Siam to that territory was fully acknowledged. But when the full text of the treaty was published it was found that this was far from being the case. France does not indeed make any distinct claim to the territory, but provision is made for the delimitation of a frontier line between it and the two Siamese provinces of Muang Pichai and Muang Nan, and it is then declared that the present Convention does not, any more than the Treaty and Convention of 1893, in any way change the traditional relations between the King of Siam and that portion of Luang Prabang situated on the right bank of the Mekong. No attempt is made to define these "traditional relations," and as they have formed ground for constant disputes in the past, they are likely to do so in the future. In fact, the very insertion of these special provisions regarding Luang Prabang implies that the authority of the King of Siam is less complete over that province than over the rest of his dominions.

Taken as a whole the new treaty cannot but be regarded as a one-sided bargain in favour of France; her gains are substantial, whilst those of Siam, except in the matter of Chantabun, to which France has no shadow of right, and which she is bound to restore even under the treaty of 1893, are illusory. It is clear moreover that, apart from the germs of future misunderstandings just pointed out in the treaty itself, France has no intention whatever of accepting it as a permanent settlement.

It is openly denounced by the Colonial party, who do not hesitate to declare that they will be satisfied with nothing less than the annexation of the whole of Siam, or at least the establishment of a French protectorate over it. The influence of this party is so strong that it seems doubtful whether M. Delcassé will venture to present the treaty in the face of its opposition. He has already prepared a road of retreat by alleging that there was an understanding between himself and the Siamese envoys that before the treaty was presented for ratification Siam should give some proof of her goodwill towards France by appointing Frenchmen as freely as other foreigners, by which no doubt he means Englishmen, to posts in her administration. If the Siamese Government felt that any particular Frenchman was better suited for a post than any other foreigner, and that he would not abuse his position for the purpose of extending French power at the expense of Siam, it would no doubt employ him. But having regard to the obvious aims of French policy, Siam might well demand that before she employed Frenchmen she should have satisfactory proof that France had no designs against her independence.

A convention, it must be borne in mind, was signed between France and England in 1896 with regard to Siam. By this convention both Powers guaranteed the independence of the kingdom of Siam within the Valley of the Menam. Outside those limits it was understood that the eastern part should be open to French, and the western parts to British, influence. As to the meaning of "influence" differences of opinion have already arisen. Lord Salisbury and Lord Dufferin declared that the Convention was intended to secure the independence of the whole of Siam, and that England could not allow France to acquire territory or establish posts in the eastern provinces. The French authorities on the other hand consider that they have a free hand there, and that the Convention only applies to the Menam Valley. It seems likely that England will offer no active opposition to the action of France in the eastern provinces; for the present at any rate she is contenting herself with strengthening her position on the west and south, thoroughly organising and developing her own possessions and the Malay States under her protection. What she would or should do if France were to establish herself so firmly in the Eastern Provinces of Siam as to have the Menam Valley at her mercy is a question which does not fall within the scope of a review of the events of 1902.

CHARLES ROE.

CHAPTER VI.

ASIA (THE FAR EAST).

I. CHINA.

AT the opening of 1902 the Imperial Court was slowly pursuing its journey back from Si-ngan Fu to the capital, and the question whether the Empress-Dowager would venture to enter Peking while the allied armies still retained garrisons in the city was exciting much debate both in China and abroad. On January 3 the Emperor, Empress-Dowager, the Empress and all their suite confided their persons to the care of the Belgian Railway staff at Cheng Ting Fu and proceeded thence by train to Pao Ting Fu, the capital of Chih-li. On January 7, after supervising the despatch of train loads of baggage, their Majesties continued their journey by train to Peking. But instead of using the railroad which had been constructed by the foreign military authorities up to the Chien Men, the gate in the Tartar city which faces the Palace, they alighted at the old terminus outside the Chinese city, and after thanking the railway authorities, Belgian and British, for the arrangements made for their comfort on the journey, they entered their chairs, and arrived at the city gate at the hour which had been pronounced to be propitious. Escorted by nobles and cavalry they passed through lines of kneeling troops until they reached the Chien Men. The railway stations outside the gate had been masked by screens of matting, and the ruined towers on the wall had been flimsily restored to conceal the injuries inflicted by the allied forces. But groups of foreigners were on the wall, and, to the surprise of all, after the Emperor and Empress-Dowager had burnt incense in the temples at the gate, the latter, before re-entering her chair, made a deep bow to the foreign onlookers, which was repeated when they acknowledged her salute. Her attitude and expression seemed to appeal for forgiveness of the past, and to show an intention of ushering in an entirely new phase in the relations of foreigners with the Court.

On January 22 the foreign representatives were received by the Emperor in the innermost of the large halls of the Palace with a new ceremonial, the details of which had all been previously arranged by protocol, and were conscientiously carried out. The Emperor confined his remarks to expressions of satisfaction at Germany being again represented at his Court, and of faith in the intentions of the Powers to deal fairly with China in the negotiations which were still unfinished. The Empress-Dowager had not been visible on this occasion, but on January 28, at a reception of the whole diplomatic body, she occupied a throne, while the Emperor sat on a low dais in front of her. After the delivery of an address to the Emperor,

who replied in brief terms, the Ministers advanced to the steps of the throne, when the Empress-Dowager addressed some indistinct remarks to them, which were interpreted as expressive of her sorrow for the troubles that had occurred.

The position assumed by the Empress in the ceremony was regarded as an assertion of her holding the direction of affairs in her hands, and the recognition of her position by the Foreign Ministers afforded her a satisfaction which was evinced in an audience granted on February 1 by the Emperor and Empress-Dowager to the ladies of the Foreign Legations. After being presented the ladies withdrew to another room, where the Empress, amid sobs and tears, bewailed the attack on the Foreign Legations, and presented the United States Minister's wife with bracelets and rings taken from her own person. After a banquet, at which the Emperor was the only man present except the interpreter, other presents of jewellery were made to all the lady guests. Later in the year the strange spectacle was again witnessed of the Empress-Dowager exchanging compliments from the foot of the city wall with ladies looking down on her from forty feet above. In the autumn, following on other Court entertainments in Peking, parties of ladies were invited to the Summer Palace, to which they were taken in barges towed by steam launches.

Among other innovations was the presentation at Court of Sir Robert Hart (after nearly forty years' residence in Peking), of the Roman Catholic Bishops Favier and Jarlin, and of the manager of the Russo-Chinese Bank. A specially distinguished reception was given to the Grand Duke Cyril Vladimirovitch. On these occasions the Empress-Dowager was present, and she conversed at some length with Sir R. Hart and the Grand Duke. But when Envoys came from the Emperor of Corea, the former vassal of China, the Empress-Dowager was not present at their audience. Her position towards the Emperor and the degree of government nominally left in his hands still remain undefined. But the homage paid to her by the Emperor and Court in December at the winter solstice was in accordance with special decrees defining the time and place and the subsequent homage to be paid to the Emperor.

While much interest was excited abroad by the events taking place at Court in the spring, close attention was also given to the negotiations between Russia and China regarding the evacuation of Manchuria. In 1901 China had been on the point of signing an agreement under which the occupation by Russian troops for another three years would have been authorised, the civil and military administration have been subject to Russian control, and exclusive rights in railway, mining and commercial matters have been granted to Russian subjects. Objections raised by other Powers to the conclusion of any private agreement before the peace protocol had been signed had prevented the signature of this document, but had not advanced

the evacuation. In January, 1902, a protest was lodged by Great Britain and Japan against the infringement of treaty rights involved in the concession of exclusive rights to Russian subjects, and on February 1 the United States addressed a communication to both St. Petersburg and Peking, upholding the same principle, and also exposing the injury to China's sovereign rights which arose from such action.

M. Lessar maintained that the evacuation of Manchuria was a matter quite apart from any negotiations which might be taking place between the Russo-Chinese Bank and the Chinese Government, and Russia renewed to the United States her assurances that the commercial rights of other nations would be maintained within her zone of influence. The publication in February of the terms of an Anglo-Japanese Alliance evinced the importance attached by those countries to the preservation of the integrity and independence of the Chinese Empire, and to the enjoyment by all nations of equal rights within its boundaries.

Negotiations which followed were terminated by an agreement signed at Peking on April 8. [The substance of this document is given under "Russia" (p. 320).] The sum to be paid under this agreement to Russia in reimbursement of her expenses in connection with the railway east of Shan-hai-kuan was afterwards fixed at 300,000*l*. In fulfilment of the agreement the Shan-hai-kuan to Newchwang section of the railway was transferred to China on October 8, and the Russian troops withdrew from south of the Liao river. But in a telegram from the Peking correspondent of the *Times* of October 22 it was shown how, while Russia was carrying out the letter of her agreement, her occupation of Manchuria had been consolidated by steps taken for the protection of the railroad, under the authority conferred by the contract of August, 1896 (previously often denied but expressly confirmed by the agreement of April, 1902), with the Russo-Chinese Bank. New towns have been built for Russian colonists, barracks have been constructed for strong Russian forces, the distribution of arms to Chinese troops is under Russian supervision, and the Russian power has been strongly consolidated, while only the administration of the province is left in Chinese hands. Later on the appointment of a new civil administrator to the treaty port of Newchwang and the attempt to establish Custom houses independent of Sir R. Hart's control showed how little influence the agreement of 1902 had had on the actual occupation by Russia of Manchuria. [See also under "Russia," pp. 320-322.]

The withdrawal of foreign troops from Tien-tsin and the handing over of that city to the Chinese authorities by the Provisional Government were matters which entailed long discussion not only between foreign Legations and Chinese officials, but also between the former and the commanding officers who were responsible for the safety of foreigners in North China. It

was not until August 15 that the arrangements were completed and the city handed over to the Viceroy, who had refused to take up his residence there until this was done.

In spite of the difficulties which attended its constitution, owing to the necessity of all nationalities being represented on its Board or in different departments of its administration, the Provisional Government of Tien-tsin had, since its inauguration in August, 1900, effected great improvements. It had constructed a boulevard on the old site of the city wall, made good roads in the streets and along the river front, erected bridges, formed recreation grounds, spent 250,000 taels on river improvements, and collected a revenue of about 2,000,000 taels, of which the cost of public works and of government absorbed some 600,000 taels.

The evacuation of Shanghai was in June pressed for by the Viceroy of Nanking, and Lord Lansdowne made no objection to this if other Powers acted similarly. Japan, Germany and France expressed their willingness, France reserving the right to re-occupy if any other Power took that step. In October the German Government added the condition that China should first engage not to grant to any Power special advantages in the Yang-tse basin. Lord Lansdowne considered this unnecessary and suggested that each Power should make a declaration that it had not obtained or sought any special privilege in return for withdrawing its troops from Shanghai. The German condition was, however, agreed to by China, though the fact was denied by Prince Ching. The denial produced from Lord Lansdowne a telegram expressing the resentment felt by His Majesty's Government, together with the statement that no regard would be paid to any pledge by the Chinese Government or Viceroys by which freedom of action in the protection of British interests in the Yang-tse region would be limited. This statement was repeated to the German Ambassador on his acquainting Lord Lansdowne that the Chinese Government declared that it would not part with any sovereign rights, or grant any preferential right which was opposed to the principle of the open door, with the limitation that this would not apply to rights already conceded.

The date originally named for the withdrawal had been November 1. The conditions demanded by Germany had interfered with this, but while negotiations were still proceeding Japan withdrew her contingent on November 22, and Great Britain announced her intention of following suit on December 22. Part of the German contingent left two days before that date and the evacuation was completed within a fortnight.

An event of very possibly vital importance in Chinese annals was the signing of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in London on January 30. [The terms of that treaty will be found on pp. 58-9.] Its main motives are declared in its preamble to be the

maintenance of the independence and territorial integrity of the Empires of China and Corea, and the securing of equal opportunities in those countries for the commerce and industry of all nations. It doubtless strengthened the influence of Great Britain in China, besides securing a very cordial friend in Japan.

The Governments of Russia and France acknowledged receipt of the Convention in a joint reply, in which they declared that they find in it the essential principles which have been and remain the basis of their past and present policy, and that as such it constitutes a guarantee for their special interests. At the same time they reserved to themselves the consideration of the means of protecting those interests in the case of their being threatened either by aggressive action on the part of a third Power or by fresh troubles affecting the position of China.

A question arose in the early part of 1902 regarding the war indemnity, in consequence of its being found that the total claims of the Powers exceeded the amount of the indemnity by about 2 per cent. The difficulty was settled in June by the Powers making proportionate reductions in their respective claims. A more serious difficulty arose out of the fall in the value of silver, a fall estimated to add 100,000,000 taels to the amount originally calculated (450,000,000 taels) as equivalent to the indemnity, 67,500,000*l*. Already in June the regular quota paid in silver by the Imperial Maritime Customs fell short of the sterling amount by 3,200,000 taels. On China demurring to the payment of the increase, the United States, at China's request, proposed that the question of payment on a gold or silver basis should be referred to the Hague Arbitration Tribunal. To this Germany agreed on condition that the arbitration was confined to that point. While the matter was still under discussion the Customs Taotai at Shanghai announced, on paying an instalment at the close of the year, that the Chinese Government declined to pay on a gold basis.

The Commercial Treaty, signed at Shanghai after long-protracted negotiations by Sir J. L. Mackay and the Chinese commissioners (6 Sept.), covered a great deal of ground. The most important concession obtained under it was the abolition of *likin* and all kindred taxes, and thereby the free movement of all goods, native and foreign (except native opium and salt), throughout the Empire. In return for this concession—which would, however, only be made if all Treaty Powers accepted the same engagements as Great Britain—the latter Power agreed to a surtax on import duties of 5 per cent. over all authorised existing charges and to an addition of 2½ per cent. to the export duty (corresponding to the optional payment now made in discharge of transit dues) on all goods except silks.

At the same time, the Chinese Government was authorised to retain "native Custom houses," of which a list would be furnished, to establish collectorates of duty on native opium at

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provincial frontiers, and to open stations at which the movements of salt would be reported. But a supervision of these by officers of the Imperial Maritime Customs was promised.

The British Government further recognised China's right to levy a "consumption tax" on native goods not intended for export on arrival at their destination, and of equal duties on goods carried by junks to those on goods carried in foreign vessels. And the Chinese Government undertook that the "consumption tax" should be uniform in its incidence on goods of the same description, but might vary according to the nature of the merchandise. It was also arranged that the Excise duty of 10 per cent. was to be charged on all machine-made products manufactured in China and paid to the Imperial Maritime Customs, while the consumption tax and junk charges were to be collected by the native Custom houses.

There were also certain new ports to be opened to trade and some other changes, all of which, as above stated, were dependent on the acceptance by all other Treaty Powers of these conditions, without consideration given for such acceptance.

Apart from these, there were many important articles which were to come into effect on ratification of the Treaty by the two contracting Powers. These provided for an improvement in the system of issuing drawbacks; a uniform national coinage; similar treatment of goods carried from Hong-Kong to Canton, whether carried by junk or steamer; the liability of Chinese shareholders in Joint Stock Companies; improvement of the water-way of the Canton River and of the Upper Yang-tse; extension of bonded warehouses; protection of trade marks; revision of mining regulations; supplementary rules for the navigation of inland waters; the relinquishment of extra-territorial rights on the introduction of a proper judicial system; a commission to investigate the missionary question; and the better regulation of the export of grain.

Criticism of the Treaty was mainly concentrated on the article (VIII.) regarding the abolition of *likin*, and the concessions made in return, which included, though not expressed, the abolition of the list of duty-free goods (valued at 10,000,000 taels annually). In China a strong feeling was expressed that while these concessions were clearly defined and certain there was great uncertainty as to the good faith of China. The Shanghai branch of the China Association accordingly asked the British Government to obtain fuller information regarding the consumption tax, the working of the native Custom houses and of the new office to be established, and also the amount of the funds to be remitted to Peking from the provinces out of the surtaxes imposed by the Treaty and which were primarily intended for the benefit of provincial exchequers.

An agreement, made by Sir E. Satow with the Chinese Government in April regarding the Tien-tsin—Shanghai-kuan Railway, provided for the addition of a British military director to the

Board, and that any extension within eighty miles of the line should be built by the railway administration, and of materials bought by open tender. In deference to objections raised by France and Russia, the military director was dispensed with and the other condition was modified. The line was restored to the Chinese Administration by the British military authorities on September 29, together with a balance of 30,000*l.* which remained after discharging all expenses and obligations.

The Tien-tsin Railway siding dispute of 1901 was left to the British and Russian Consuls to settle, with M. Detring, the Commissioner of Customs, as referee, and has been disposed of with the exception of one point, which was still under consideration.

The Island of Kulangsu, at Amoy, was made an international settlement for foreigners.

Two missionaries were murdered early in the year in Kansu, and on August 15 Messrs. Bruce and Lowis were murdered in Hu-nan. The refusal of the local military authorities to afford protection to these two gentlemen led to the demand for their severe punishment, and in November, after much pressure, an edict was issued ordering their execution, and the punishment of all the local officials concerned.

Rebellion, brigandage and Boxer disturbances occurred in Chihli, Ho-nan, Kwangsi, Sze-chuen, Fukien, Kuei-chou and Yun-nan. The rebellion in the southern provinces assumed alarming proportions in the spring and then died away, to break out again in the autumn. Troops have been sent from Hu-nan to repel the rebels, and the Black Flag troops in Kwang-tung were, in December, slowly pursuing them from the south.

In Sze-chuen the Boxer movement assumed large proportions. Chapels were burnt, converts murdered, and at one time the capital was in danger. The Viceroy, Kuei-chun, was recalled for having failed to crush the movement. Tsen Chun huan, his successor, adopted energetic measures on his arrival, but appears not to have a free hand. The Roman Catholic bishops regard the outlook for 1903 as very serious and promising a repetition of the scenes in Chih-li in 1900.

Late in the year the attitude of Tung Fu-hsiang in Kan-su excited considerable alarm. It was reported that some 30,000 of his old troops were still with him, and that he was making demands on the Peking Government for the pay of his men and his own exoneration from blame for the action that he took in 1900. Prince Tuan in Mongolia was said to be acting with him, and to have a large independent force at his command. British missionaries were warned that they might have to be recalled from Kan-su. Later news seems to show that the danger had been exaggerated, but that there is doubtless cause for anxiety.

In the Canton delta piracy has been rampant throughout the year. In one affray a British subject, Mr. Evans, was shot,

and died within two days of his wounds. An indemnity of 20,000 taels was paid to his family.

In addition to other troubles cholera was unusually prevalent throughout all parts of China, and the price of grain in the South rose to famine figures. But in spite of this, and of a fall in silver which paralysed foreign trade at the end of the year, the revenue of the Maritime Customs for 1902 was over 30,000,000 taels, by far the highest on record.

On November 1 the new tariff of import duties on the basis of 5 per cent. came into force.

Work on the Pekin-Hankow Railway has been steadily continued, and the progress at the south end has been satisfactory. In Ho-nan the Pekin syndicate has constructed some thirty miles of earthworks towards the head of water communication with Tien-tsin, and has begun mining operations. On the border of Kiangsi and Hu-nan ten miles of railroad are in working order, and the line is being continued towards the Hsiang River. The German line from Kiao-chou was opened to Wei-hsien in June, and is being carried on to Tsing-chou-Fu. Coal has been brought down by it from the mines opened near Wei-hsien. Work has been begun on the Canton-Hankow Railroad. In Kwei-chou the Anglo-French Company has been paying much attention to its quicksilver mines at Wen-shan-chiang. A contract has been made with the Russo-Chinese Bank for 40,000,000 francs for the construction of a railroad from Cheng-ting-Fu to Tai-yuan-Fu in Shan-si. The British-Chinese Corporation has made arrangements with the Chinese Government for a loan in connection with the Shanghai-Nanking Railroad. Portugal has obtained a concession for a railroad from Macao to Canton.

The fortification of the Legations at Pekin has been completed, and the memorial erected by the Chinese Government to the memory of Baron von Ketteler, on the scene of his murder, was by the close of the year ready for dedication.

The Russo-Chinese line to Port Arthur gave in the autumn evidence of the speed at which communications with Europe will be carried on when the line is in working order. But the regular carriage of passengers and mails was postponed to the spring of 1903. In October M. Witte came from St. Petersburg to inspect the line and the new towns constructed along its route.

In Tao-mu, the Viceroy at Canton, and Liu-Kun-yi, the Viceroy at Nanking, who died within a few weeks of each other, China has lost two of her most capable officials. The funeral of the latter provoked a spontaneous acknowledgment from all foreign officials of their recognition of the value of his eminent services in 1900.

Liu-Kun-yi was succeeded at Nanking by Chang-Chih-tung, but in December Wei-Kuang-tao, a Hunanese, was appointed to the post, and it is uncertain whether Chang-Chih-tung will resume his ~~old post~~ at Wu-chang.

Tsai-chen, a son of Prince Ching, was appointed special envoy to attend the Coronation in June. Chang Te-yi has succeeded Sir Chi-Chen Lo-feng-lou as Ambassador at St. James's; and Sir Chen Tung Liang-cheng has been appointed to Washington *vice* his Excellency Wu-Ting-fang.

M. Dubail has succeeded M. Beau as Minister for France at Peking. Sir E. Satow left Peking in November on leave, and Mr. W. B. Townley was left in charge of his Majesty's Legation.

There has been a certain display of reform in education in China. Colleges have been opened in eleven of the provinces in response to edicts ordering the encouragement of Western science. Foreigners have also been engaged by several of the provincial Governments as advisers. The most genuine advance appears to be in Hu-nan, where a Protestant chapel has been opened in the capital, which for so many years was closed to all foreigners, and British gunboats have been up the Hsiang River to Hsiang-tau, and up the Yuan River to Chang-te-Fu.

II. WEI-HAI-WEI (BRITISH).

Early in the year his Majesty's Government announced its intention of using Wei-hai-wei only as a sanatorium and place for small arm naval practice, and of abandoning the idea of fortifying it and keeping a large garrison there. In accordance with this policy orders were given for the reduction of the Chinese Regiment from 1,100 to 300 men, of whom a police force was to be formed. At the close of the year, however, it was determined to maintain the regiment at a strength of 400 men.

The Hon. J. H. Stewart Lockhart was appointed Civil Commissioner of the Colony, and arrived there on May 3.

III. KIAO-CHOU (GERMAN).

Much energy has been shown in railway and mining matters. The railway from Tsing-tao to Wei-hsein was opened on June 1, but progress to Tsing-chou-Fu has been delayed, first by floods which carried away part of the embankments, and afterwards by difficulty experienced in laying the road across a deep morass. At Fang-tzu, near Wei-hsien, a shaft has been sunk sixty feet deep, and coal was sent thence by rail to Tsing-tao in October.

IV. HONG-KONG.

A water famine occurred in April which was only met by drawing on private reservoirs.

The recurrence of the plague led to action being taken on the recommendation of a sanitary commission, and \$1,000,000 were voted towards resumption of property and claims for compensation in the area in question.

The Revenue of 1901 showed an excess of income over expenditure of \$100,000. The expenses entailed by sanitary and

other public works in 1902-3 will be met by a loan of \$2,250,000 and an increase in licence and other fees estimated at \$300,000.

The Hong-Kong regiment was abolished and left for India in October. Work was begun on the new King's Park at Kao-loon.

Sir H. Blake, G.C.M.G., returned to the Colony in September, relieving General Sir W. J. Gascoigne.

Sir W. M. Goodman was appointed Chief Justice; the Hon. F. H. May, C.M.G., Colonial Secretary; and Sir H. S. Berkeley Attorney-General.

V. FRENCH INDO-CHINA.

The most important event of the year was the opening of the railway on February 28 from Hanoi to Haiphong, which crosses the Red River by a bridge 1,620 metres long. The railroad from Hanoi to Nandinh was also completed and ready for traffic by the end of the year.

The construction of a harbour in deep water at Haiphong was authorised at an estimated cost of 21,000,000 francs.

The trade of 1901 showed an increase of 60,000,000 francs on 1900. At the close of 1902 trade was disorganised by the depreciation of silver, and more especially by the adoption by Siam of a gold standard. In consequence of this a commission was appointed by the French Ministers of Finance and Colonies to report on the probable consequences to trade and finance of the currency difficulty.

M. Beau, French Minister at Pekin, was appointed to succeed M. Doumer as Governor-General.

An International Exhibition was opened at Hanoi on November 16, and the Oriental Congress met there by invitation in December.

[The Franco-Siamese Agreement is dealt with by Sir Charles Roe under "Siam" in Chapter V.]

VI. COREA. [See also under "Japan," p. 993.]

Distress was occasioned in the early part of the year owing to the rice crop failure in 1901, when the rainfall was only 4.1 inches, but the trade returns showed an advance in value of 400,000*l.* over 1901. Among exports gold figured for 509,738*l.*

Work was begun on the Söul-Fusan Railway, and on the southern section cars have been running on some ten miles of the line. On the Söul-Wiju Railway work has been done in but a desultory manner.

Prince Yi Chai Kak was sent as special envoy to attend the Coronation in London. An Ambassador, Pak Chia San, was sent to Pekin.

M. Pavloff, the Russian Minister, left in the summer, and M. Waeber returned to Söul in the autumn on a special mission.

A commercial treaty was made with Denmark.

W. R. CARLES.

VII. JAPAN.

In January the veteran Premier of Japan, Marquis Ito, visited England. He was received with great cordiality, being entertained by the Lord Mayor and created a G.C.B. by the King. He subsequently received similar honours at Berlin and Rome. Later in the year Count Matsugata, ex-Premier and Finance Minister, visited England, and Prince Komatsu, G.C.B., came in order to represent the Emperor at the King's Coronation.

The *Mikasa*, the last of six line of battle-ships built for Japan in England, and perhaps the most powerful ship of its class in the world, was completed. Two very large and fast "destroyers" were built by Messrs. Thornycroft for the Japanese Government during the year.

The Budget for 1902-3 showed the following figures:—

	Revenue.	Expenditure.
Ordinary	Yen 224,755,826	Yen 177,641,412
Extraordinary	53,596,616	98,109,782
Totals	Yen 278,352,442	Yen 275,751,194

One Yen = 2s. 0½d.

On January 30, after a year's negotiation, of which the secret was successfully kept, an agreement was signed between Great Britain and Japan.

[Its tenor and its reception in Great Britain are dealt with on pp. 58-60.]

In Japan the British treaty was welcomed with enthusiasm. The Japanese were proud of having concluded an alliance on equal terms with a first-class European Power, and felt guaranteed against any such humiliations in the future as the compulsory retrocession of Liao-tung. On the whole it may be said, in the words of the King's Speech at the end of the session of 1902, that "it will contribute towards the maintenance of the general peace in the extreme East." Still the situation is not without danger. The Japanese are an impulsive nation. More than once in recent times there have been crises in their foreign relations when it required all the influence of their more sober-minded statesmen to restrain them from dangerous bellicose measures. It is doubtful whether Russia will long maintain her present attitude of acquiescence in the growing commercial, financial and political preponderance of Japan in Korea, while Japan, on the other hand, with a strong Navy, a well-organised Army and a powerful ally is certain to resent warmly any affront or aggression on the part of Russia. Nevertheless, the necessity of consulting a pacific ally must have a steadying influence. The Agreement has already borne fruit in strengthening the British position in China and in confirming Japanese preponderance in Korea.

[The reception of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement by Russia

and France is referred to under "China" in the earlier part of the present chapter.]

On July 4 Lord Cranborne, speaking in the House of Lords, said, with reference to the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, "We do not seek alliances, we grant them." Some surprise and irritation were caused by this speech in Japan, which were soon, however, allayed by the explanations of Lord Cranborne's colleagues.

In March the Diet closed its sixteenth session, having been the first to complete the prescribed term of four years from a general election. The elections, which took place in August under the new ballot regulations, passed off quietly and made little apparent change in the position of parties. The Seiyukai, to which Marquis Ito belongs, retained its preponderant position. It soon appeared, however, that this party was no longer satisfied to support a Government which did not adequately represent it. The Diet met on December 9. On re-assembling on December 28, after a short prorogation, they rejected the Budget proposals, notwithstanding a speech from the Throne in which they were strongly recommended. An immediate dissolution was the consequence. This Budget showed a revenue of 253,000,000 yen and an expenditure of 257,000,000 yen. It comprised a scheme of naval expansion involving an annual outlay of 16,500,000 yen for ten years and provided for the construction of three new battleships, three large armoured cruisers and two smaller cruisers. The objections of the majority were not to this programme in itself, but were directed against the means by which it was proposed to raise the money and especially against the maintenance of a high rate of land tax.

In February the Government of Australia arrived at an amicable arrangement with the Government of Japan, by which a question which threatened to become irritating, as to the introduction of Japanese immigrants to Queensland, was settled.

A somewhat similar question which had arisen in British Columbia was settled in June by the Governor-General of Canada disallowing Acts which imposed serious disabilities on Japanese immigrants to that province. His Majesty's Government saw this decision with great satisfaction.

In October a Japanese Government Loan of 50,000,000 yen (say 5,000,000%) was placed on the London market by the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation and Baring Brothers. The subscription for bonds, issued at par and bearing 5 per cent. interest, was fully covered. Smaller 6 per cent. loans to the Yokohama Waterworks and the Osaka municipality were also floated.

The Wakamatsu iron foundry (mentioned in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1901, p. 369), upon which the Japanese Government has expended many millions of yen, has hitherto not proved a success. It is found impossible to produce iron there nearly so cheaply as it can be bought in the market. There is talk of dissolving the company.

There was a notable improvement during the year in the relations between Japan and China. The Chihli and Yang-tse Viceroys are said to rely greatly on the advice of Japanese officials in matters of reform. Japanese military instructors are employed. Japanese capitalists have turned their attention to railway and mining projects in China. New Japanese consulates are to be opened there. Six or seven hundred Chinese students are now in Tokio. Some of them gave trouble and had to be sent back to their own country. They complained that they had not sufficient opportunities for study.

Japan strengthened her hold on Corea during the year. She now largely controls the railways, mines, posts and telegraphs; the import and export trades are in Japanese hands; nearly all the shipping is Japanese. Under a Japanese Government guarantee a railway line is now under construction from Fusan in the south-east to Söul which will pass through much the richest part of the country. There are now 25,000 Japanese residents in Corea.

The increasing attention paid to Siam by Japan has somewhat excited the susceptibilities of Siam's French neighbours.

The Crown Princess gave birth to a second son on June 25.

In July Marquis Saigo died. He was one of Japan's most distinguished generals and had held high offices in the Government. Brave, upright and courteous, he was highly respected both by his own countrymen and by Europeans.

Tokugawa Keiki, the ex-Shôgun or Taikun, was made a prince.

In July news reached Japan that Captain Rosehill, an American citizen, had formed a company and was on his way to Marcus Island, one of the Bonin group, to work the guano deposits there. The Japanese Government at once notified the Government of the United States that this island was Japanese territory, and despatched a war-vessel there. The United States Government have not supported Captain Rosehill's claims.

The question whether houses in the foreign settlements are subject to house tax was much discussed during the year. Many foreigners having refused to pay, the local authorities proceeded to seize the goods of the defaulters. As courtesy was observed on the one hand and good humour on the other, not much ill feeling was created. Ultimately, in August, it was agreed to refer the matter to arbitration by two members of the Hague permanent Court, one to be nominated by Japan and one by France, Germany and Great Britain. No further distraints are to be made in the meantime. The decision will not be given for some time, as the parties are allowed eight months to prepare their cases and six further months to prepare counter-cases.

Sir William Bisset visited Japan to inquire, on behalf of certain British capitalists, into the conditions under which foreign capital could be safely invested in Japanese railways.

It is believed that his visit will result in such amendments of the law as will make this possible. But the dissolution of the Diet will inevitably cause considerable delay. Five months must elapse before the new Diet meets.

W. G. ASTON.

CHAPTER VII.

AFRICA (WITH MALTA).

I. SOUTH AFRICA.

THOUGH the year opened amid the gloom cast by a renewed and successful outburst of Boer activity it closed in peace, with Mr. Chamberlain on South African soil as an eloquent and, apparently, effective exponent of reconciliation and racial unity. The details of the war until the signature of the terms of surrender at Pretoria on May 31 do not call for formal record. They become of small significance in comparison with the political issues which emerged during the final phase of the struggle. We shall, however, indicate the course of military events in this narrative, as an essential part of the larger question of political reorganisation and social reconstruction. For the first five months of the year Lord Milner proceeded with his task as civil administrator, while Lord Kitchener continued to beat out the fires of Boer resistance, restricting week by week, by extending and strengthening the lines of blockhouses, the area in which the Boer commandoes could move. From all parts of the country still occupied by the Boers, who, it was variously computed, had from 9,000 to 12,000 men in the field, reports came in of minor engagements resulting in the death, capture and surrender of parties of the enemy. The rate of depletion varied according to the dash and skill with which this or that commando was led, and the fitness or otherwise of our mounted columns to keep up the chase. The admitted British inferiority in horse management prolonged the process, but the moral of the weekly returns was that the enemy was being surely if slowly crushed.

The determination with which, in spite of daily losses, they carried on the war—commandoes scattering when hard pressed and then reappearing and making spirited attacks when opportunity offered—caused not a little doubt and despondency. In England, as in South Africa, there were not wanting men who feared the struggle would never cease if force alone were applied to the implacable remnant inspired by Steyn, Delarey, Botha and De Wet. Any movement for resort to diplomacy was not, however, countenanced by the Government. The firmness of their resolve that the Boers should of their own volition give up

the struggle was well expressed by Lord Milner in a speech at Johannesburg in January. He advised his hearers not to fidget about negotiations. "It is no use to threaten, no use to wheedle. The only thing is imperturbably to squeeze." In the spirit of these words the distasteful task of killing and capturing the Boer stalwarts went on; but the advantage by no means lay wholly on one side. The Boers by their courage and resource were not only able to lessen the pressure of the "squeeze," but also to turn occasionally and maul the columns which endeavoured to enclose them. So remote did any conclusive result seem to be that Lord Kitchener was glad of even more men than the 250,000 odd he already commanded, and enlisted the services of surrendered burghers, whom he formed into a corps 5,000 strong under General Vilonel, and by the more general employment of loyal burghers as scouts. Whatever military advantage was gained—and the Boers in the field attributed their final collapse largely to the fact that the skill and topographical knowledge of their own countrymen were pitted against them—was offset by the division of Boer manhood into two classes, the *hands-uppers*, who fought with and served the British, and the irreconcilables, who preferred death. An intense hatred of these National Scouts, as they were called, was engendered among the commandoes and among all whose sympathies were with the latter; and their employment has had social and political consequences not yet to be measured. The help they rendered in the field seemed to put the Boer leaders more keenly on their mettle. De Wet, for example, notwithstanding an elaborate essay in strategy by Lord Kitchener, and the concentration of large numbers of troops, was able to escape through the gaps left in our columns in a combined movement in the Orange River Colony. Another "great drive," in which every effort had been made, at least by the Commander-in-Chief, to effect the personal capture of this elusive and redoubtable leader, had failed.

After this "drive" there was a lull, and during the latter part of February the war dragged miserably; but on March 7 Delarey sprang upon a column moving from Vryburg to Lichtenburg under General Lord Methuen, defeated it and took Lord Methuen, who was wounded and had a broken thigh, prisoner. The disaster created a feeling of profound disappointment in England. A brief account of this engagement, in which the British lost three officers and thirty-eight men killed, and five officers and seventy-two men wounded, may be given. Lord Methuen was in charge of a column consisting of 900 mounted troops, 300 infantry, four guns, and one pompom and a convoy. At dawn on March 7 the rear screen of mounted men was rushed by the enemy and overwhelmed. Lord Methuen reinforced them with all the mounted men available and a battery. They maintained themselves against the Boer attack for an hour, during which the convoy was closed up without disorder. The Boers,

however, outflanked the rear guard, and a body of 200 infantry was sent against them. Their attack, however, was so spirited that the mounted troops, consisting for the most part of raw and untried men, fell back upon the infantry and got completely out of hand. They fled in panic, and their retreat speedily became a rout. The guns were thus left unsupported. They were fired until the last man serving them was shot down. Lieutenant Nesham, who commanded them, was hit but refused to surrender, and was killed. Lord Methuen, deserted by his panic-stricken mounted infantry, then found himself isolated with 200 Northumberland Fusiliers and two guns, while farther away, near the waggons, was an isolated force of 100 of the North Lancashire Regiment and 40 Cape Mounted Police. Lord Methuen held out for three hours, though wounded, and his force suffered heavy casualties. The Boers pressed their attack home, and there was no alternative but to surrender. Guns and a pompom were brought against the smaller isolated party, and here also surrender was a necessity.

Delarey's triumph was complete. Chivalrous consideration, however, marked his conduct in regard to Lord Methuen. Being unable to give his captive the proper medical treatment and rest he required—for the Boer force was itself in danger of being caught and overwhelmed—he sent him with all courtesy and attention into Klerksdorp, which was held by the British. The responsibility for this disaster seems to have rested with those in London and Pretoria who gave Lord Methuen a force of mounted men unequal to their work. The instrument entrusted to him broke in his hand. Whether that could have been avoided by greater vigilance in scouting or a better disposition of the troops and the convoy are questions for the military expert. Delarey's act in handing Lord Methuen over unconditionally was politic as well as humane, for at this time the air was full of rumours of peace negotiations. By Lord Kitchener the defeat was regarded as an isolated incident, and the work of clearing the country and keeping the commandoes ever on the run was proceeded with as before, Lord Kitchener's weekly reports showing a steadily rising record of captures and surrenders, and other evidence pointing to the fact that the commandoes were being gradually but surely broken up into ever smaller parties, whose capture or destruction was only a matter of time and patience. The general military position, in fact, was not affected by Delarey's success, and the Boers gained no real advantage from it. Nor did it materially arrest the peace movement in the Boer ranks, where the hopelessness of the struggle from their point of view was better appreciated than by people at home, whose despondency at the continuance of the war had been accentuated by the Methuen disaster.

On March 23 Lord Kitchener's *pour-parlers* with the Boer leaders resulted in the arrival at Pretoria from Middelburg, under a flag of truce, of the members of the Transvaal "Govern-

ment". They then proceeded to Kronstadt in the Orange River Colony for the purpose of opening up communications with Mr. Steyn and General De Wet, who were found at the end of the month with Generals Delarey and Kemp, who had in the meantime sustained a severe repulse at the hands of Colonel Kekewich. On April 9 Mr. Steyn (who was ill from causes soon to lead to physical collapse), De Wet and Delarey sent a flag of truce to Klerksdorp with a message that they desired to come in. They were given quarters in the town and facilities for a conference with the members of the Transvaal "Government".

There were present at this gathering Mr. Schalk Burger, "Acting President of the Transvaal"; Commandant-General Louis Botha, Mr. F. W. Reitz, "State Secretary"; General Delarey and Messrs. L. G. Meyer, G. C. Krogh and L. Jacobsy of the Transvaal; and Mr. Steyn, "President," General De Wet and Messrs. Brebner, J. B. M. Hertzog and C. H. Olivier of the Orange Free State. Their deliberations resulted in the passing of a resolution as follows:—

"The Governments of the South African Republic and Orange Free State having met in consequence of Lord Kitchener's having sent the correspondence exchanged between the Government of his Majesty the King of England and her Majesty the Queen of Holland, concerning the desirability of giving the Governments of these Republics the opportunity of communicating with their authorised envoys in Europe, in whom both the Governments have all along had the greatest confidence; having marked the conciliatory spirit which appears therein on the part of his Britannic Majesty, as well as the desire expressed therein by Lord Lansdowne in the name of his Government to put an end to this struggle; are of opinion that it is now a suitable moment to show their willingness to do all in their power to put an end to the war. And therefore decide to lay certain propositions before Lord Kitchener as the representative of his Britannic Majesty's Government, which may serve as a basis for further negotiations to bring about the wished-for peace."

The resolution further requested a meeting with Lord Kitchener. This was sent to Lord Kitchener, and the Boer leaders then formed themselves into a commission to draft a proposal for submission at the expected conference at Pretoria. They drew up a report embodying the following points: (1) The making of an enduring treaty of friendship and peace by which was understood: (a) arrangement of Customs Union; (b) postal, telegraphic and railway union; (c) fixing of the franchise; (2) dismantling of all forts; (3) arbitration in future disagreement between the contracting parties, the arbitrators to be chosen by both parties, in equal numbers from their subjects, with a final arbitrator to be chosen by the appointed arbitrators; (4) equal rights in regard to education in both the English and Dutch languages; (5) mutual amnesty.

The "Governments" were invited to Pretoria, which they reached on April 12, and on the 13th met Lord Kitchener informally. Accounts of what passed will be found in General De Wet's "Three Years' War" and the Rev. J. H. Kestell's "Through Shot and Flame," the latter having been chaplain with Mr. Steyn and General De Wet, and having acted as secretary. Lord Kitchener made it plain that retention of Boer independence was impossible—that the Boers must accept the award that had followed their appeal to the arbitrament of the sword. He was, however, willing to telegraph the Boer proposal, in the resolution already given, to his Majesty's Government, though he could guess what the answer would be. The proposal, modified in form but not in substance, was accordingly telegraphed, an addition being made to the effect that if it was not satisfactory the Boers "desired to know what terms the British Government would give in order to secure the end they all desired." Mr. Chamberlain telegraphed to Lord Kitchener forthwith that his Majesty's Government hoped the negotiations would lead to peace. "But they have already stated in the clearest terms, and must repeat, that they cannot entertain any proposals which are based on the continued independence of the former Republics, which have been formally annexed to the British Crown. It would be well for you and Milner to interview Boer representatives and explain this. You should encourage them to put forward fresh proposals, excluding independence, which we shall be glad to receive."

Lord Milner, therefore, joined Lord Kitchener in a further conference with the Boer leaders. Mr. Steyn and Mr. Burger contended for some time that it was impossible to act as Mr. Chamberlain's telegram suggested, since they were not qualified under the constitution of the Republics to deal with the question of independence before having consulted the burghers. The deadlock was ultimately overcome by Lord Kitchener suggesting a private consultation among the Boer leaders. This private meeting resolved as follows: "The Government, considering that the people have hitherto fought and sacrificed everything for their independence, and as they constitutionally have not the power to make any proposal touching independence, and as the British Government now ask for other proposals from them, which they cannot make without having previously consulted the people, they propose that an armistice be agreed upon to enable them to do so." On the resumption of the Conference with Lord Milner and Lord Kitchener, Mr. Steyn submitted two requests, (1) that one of the delegates in Europe should be given a safe conduct to come to South Africa, and (2) that an armistice be agreed upon in order to enable the Governments to consult the people regarding the question of independence. Lord Kitchener thereupon telegraphed the nature of the difficulty, and added: "If, however, his Majesty's Government could state the terms that subsequent to a relinquishment

of independence they would be prepared to grant, the representatives, after asking for the necessary explanations, without any expression of approval or disapproval, would submit such conditions to their people." Mr. Chamberlain replied on April 16 in the following terms: "We have read with considerable surprise the message from the Boer leaders contained in your telegram. The meeting has been arranged at their request and they must have been aware of our repeated declarations that we could not entertain any proposals based on the renewed independence of the two South African States. We were therefore entitled to assume that the Boer representatives had relinquished the idea of independence, and would propose terms of surrender for the forces still in the field. They now state they are constitutionally incompetent to discuss terms which do not include a restoration of independence, but ask us to inform them what conditions would be granted if, after submitting the matter to their followers, they were to relinquish the demand for independence. This does not seem to us a satisfactory method of proceeding, or one best adapted to secure at the earliest moment a cessation of the hostilities which have involved the loss of so much life and treasure. We are, however, as we have been from the first, anxious to spare the effusion of further blood, and to hasten the restoration of peace and prosperity to the countries affected by the war, and you and Lord Milner are authorised to refer the Boer leaders to the offer made by you to General Botha more than twelve months ago, and to inform them that, although subsequent great reductions in the strength of the forces opposed to us, and the additional sacrifices thrown upon us by the refusal of that offer, would justify us in proposing far more onerous terms, we are still prepared, in the hope of a permanent peace and reconciliation, to accept a general surrender on the lines of that offer, but with such modifications in detail as may be mutually agreed upon."

Upon having this read to them the representatives again pressed for a visit from one of the delegates in Europe, and for an armistice. Lord Kitchener declined to accede to either proposal, but offered every facility for ascertaining the wishes of the burghers. At length the Boer representatives gave up their ground, and it was arranged with Lord Kitchener that thirty burghers from each Republic should be chosen by them, and should meet the Boer "Governments" to decide the question of peace, at Vereeniging, on May 15, an armistice of one day being allowed at the Boer centres for the choosing of the delegates. On April 18 the Boer "Governments" left Pretoria to arrange for the selection of the delegates. On May 15 they and the sixty delegates gathered at Vereeniging under the safe-conduct provided by the British military authorities. Then, at eleven in the forenoon, in a large tent situated midway between two groups of tents provided for the delegates, a chairman was

selected in the person of General C. F. Beyers. A full report of the gathering is given in General De Wet's book, "Three Years' War," and to this the reader may be referred. It must suffice here to say that, though there was a minority in favour of continuing the war, the majority were in favour of peace at the cost of independence. On the third day of the conference the delegates passed a resolution empowering the "Governments" to conclude peace on the following basis: (1) relinquishment of foreign relations and embassies; (2) acceptance of the protectorate of Great Britain; (3) the surrender of a portion of the territory of the South African Republic; (4) the conclusion of a defensive treaty with Great Britain with regard to South Africa.

Commissioners were sent to Pretoria with this resolution. Lord Milner and Lord Kitchener declined to discuss it, or even to telegraph it to Mr. Chamberlain. The commissioners therefore had no alternative but to accept as a condition precedent of further negotiation the exclusion of the question of independence. There was an adjournment for a few hours for private consultation. On resumption of the meeting, Lord Milner suggested that a document should be drafted on which the burghers could give a "Yes" or "No" vote. There was a good deal of objection to this, wrote Lord Kitchener, but it was finally agreed that Lord Milner should meet two of the commissioners (Smutz and Herzog) for the purpose of drafting such a document. This was done, and on May 21 Lord Kitchener telegraphed home the text of a document for submission to the burghers at Vereeniging. There were twelve clauses, in regard to which Mr. Chamberlain made alterations and substitutions, and requested Lord Milner to inform the Boer commissioners that "if this opportunity of an honourable termination of hostilities is not accepted within a time fixed by you the conference will be considered at an end, and his Majesty's Government will not be bound in any way by their present declarations." In further despatches Mr. Chamberlain said the terms of surrender offered were confined to the burghers of the two annexed Republics. His Majesty's Government were "unable to make any pledges on behalf of the Governments of the Cape or Natal as to the treatment of rebels." Any favourable terms accorded by either of these Colonies would have to be sanctioned by the Colonial Legislature.

Mr. Chamberlain also asked whether any promises had been made to the Boers with regard to the leaders liable to banishment under the proclamation of the previous year. If Lord Milner thought the proclamation could now be disregarded, he had no objection to make. Lord Milner replied that no promises had been made or asked for. The proclamation had, he thought, had a great effect in increasing the number of surrenders, and in inducing the Boers still in the field to desist from further fighting. In the event of surrender banishment

would be tacitly dropped. "It would be a mistake if the Boers now give in in a body and live as British subjects to continue a proscription which would only keep up bitter feelings and tend to prevent the country from settling down."

On May 28 the Boer Commissioners again met Lord Milner and Lord Kitchener, and were put in possession of the terms of surrender as revised and amended by Mr. Chamberlain. They were also handed the following statement:—

"His Majesty's Government must place it on record that the treatment of Cape and Natal Colonists who have been in rebellion and who now surrender will, if they return to their Colonies, be determined by the Colonial Governments and in accordance with the laws of the Colonies, and that any British subjects who have joined the enemy will be liable to trial under the law of that part of the British Empire to which they belong.

"His Majesty's Government are informed by the Cape Government that the following are their views as to the terms which should be granted to British subjects of Cape Colony who are now in the field, or who have surrendered, or have been captured since April 12, 1901:—

"With regard to rank and file, they should all, upon surrender, after giving up their arms, sign a document before the resident magistrate of the district in which the surrender takes place, acknowledging themselves guilty of high treason, and the punishment to be awarded to them, provided they shall not have been guilty of murder or other acts contrary to the usages of civilised warfare, should be that they shall not be entitled for life to be registered as voters or to vote at any Parliamentary, Divisional Council or Municipal election. With reference to Justices of the Peace and Field Cornets of Cape Colony and all other persons holding an official position under the Government of Cape Colony or who may occupy the position of Commandant of rebel or burgher forces, they shall be tried for high treason before the ordinary Court of the country or such special Court as may be hereafter constituted by law, the punishment for their offence to be left to the discretion of Court, with this proviso, that in no case shall penalty of death be inflicted."

"The Natal Government are of opinion that rebels should be dealt with according to the law of the Colony."

The Commissioners thereupon returned to Vereeniging. It will be convenient here to print the Terms of Surrender as submitted by the Commissioners for a "Yes" or "No" vote to the delegates at Vereeniging. They were as follows:—

"His Excellency General Lord Kitchener and his Excellency Lord Milner, on behalf of the British Government, and Messrs. M. T. Steyn, J. Brebner, General C. R. De Wet, General C. Olivier and Judge J. B. M. Hertzog, acting as the Government of the Orange Free State, and Messrs. S. W. Burger, F. W. Reitz, Generals Louis Botha, J. H. Delarey, Lucas Meyer, Krogh, acting as the Government of the South African Republic,

CC

on behalf of their respective burghers desirous to terminate the present hostilities, agree on the following Articles :—

“ 1. The burgher forces in the field will forthwith lay down their arms, handing over all guns, rifles and munitions of war in their possession or under their control, and desist from any further resistance to the authority of his Majesty King Edward VII., whom they recognise as their lawful Sovereign. The manner and details of this surrender will be arranged between Lord Kitchener and Commandant General Botha, Assistant Commandant General Delarey and Chief Commandant De Wet.

“ 2. All burghers in the field outside the limits of the Transvaal or Orange River Colony, and all prisoners of war at present outside South Africa who are burghers, will, on duly declaring their acceptance of the position of subjects of his Majesty King Edward VII., be gradually brought back to their homes as soon as transport can be provided, and their means of subsistence ensured.

“ 3. The burghers so surrendering or so returning will not be deprived of their personal liberty or their property.

“ 4. No proceedings, civil or criminal, will be taken against any of the burghers surrendering or so returning for any acts in connection with the prosecution of the war. The benefit of this clause will not extend to certain acts, contrary to the usages of war, which have been notified by the Commander-in-Chief to the Boer Generals, and which shall be tried by Court-martial immediately after the close of hostilities.

“ 5. The Dutch language will be taught in public schools in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, where the parents of the children desire it, and will be allowed in Courts of law when necessary for the better and more effectual administration of justice.

“ 6. The possession of rifles will be allowed in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to persons requiring them for their protection, on taking out a licence according to law.

“ 7. Military administration in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony will, at the earliest possible date, be succeeded by civil government, and, as soon as circumstances permit, representative institutions, leading up to self-government, will be introduced.

“ 8. The question of granting the franchise to natives will not be decided until after the introduction of self-government.

“ 9. No special tax will be imposed on landed property in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to defray the expenses of the war.

“ 10. As soon as conditions permit, a Commission, on which the local inhabitants will be represented, will be appointed in each district of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, under the presidency of a Magistrate, or other official, for the purpose of assisting the restoration of the people to their homes and supplying those who, owing to war losses, are unable to provide

themselves with food, shelter and the necessary amount of seed, stock, implements, etc., indispensable to the resumption of their normal occupations.

“His Majesty’s Government will place at the disposal of these Commissions a sum of 3,000,000*l.* for the above purposes, and will allow all notes issued under Law 1 of 1900 of the South African Republic, and all receipts given by officers in the field of the late Republics, or under their orders, to be presented to a Judicial Commission, which will be appointed by the Government, and if such notes and receipts are found by this Commission to have been duly issued in return for valuable considerations, they will be received by the first-named Commissions as evidence of war losses suffered by the persons to whom they were originally given.

“In addition to the above-named free grant of 3,000,000*l.*, his Majesty’s Government will be prepared to make advances on loan for the same purposes free of interest for two years, and afterwards repayable over a period of years with 3 per cent. interest. No foreigner or rebel will be entitled to the benefit of this clause.

For an account of what now took place we are indebted to the appendix in De Wet’s “Three Years’ War” (Constable & Co.). Vice-president Burger said they would be asked to discuss this document and then decide, (1) whether the struggle should be continued; (2) whether the proposal of the British Government should be accepted; (3) whether they were prepared to surrender unconditionally. There was a discussion lasting several hours. The majority of the delegates were in favour of ending the war; a few spoke in a contrary sense. General Delarey made a striking speech in favour of accepting the proposals of the British Government, his argument being that if they did not do so the burghers themselves would lay down their arms. “If the meeting insisted on the continuation of hostilities the nation would be driven into *hands-upping*; thus the war would end in dishonour and disgrace.” Landrost Bosman made a speech typical of several others, the burden of it being that the country was desolate and that there were no means available for the burghers to continue the struggle; and “perhaps it might be the Divine will that they should lose their independence.” Commandant Grobler thought surrender the only way out. “At the beginning of the war they had not relied on faith alone; there had also been guns, war material and provisions. But now none of these things were left to them. General J. G. Cethers spoke in a similar sense. General de Wet spoke in favour of continuing the war, giving a succession of reasons, such as the likelihood of the British Government making further concessions or of help coming from Europe or America. “I maintain that this terrible struggle must go on,” he continued; “we must fight on, no matter how long, until our independence is absolutely secure.” General

Beyers, however, found an insuperable difficulty in the spirit of the nation. If the peace proposals were shown to the burghers they would at once accept them ; against that spirit it was impossible to contend.

The meeting was continued the following day, May 30, when the President announced that Mr. Steyn had been compelled, in order to obtain medical assistance, to "put himself in the hands of the enemy," and had resigned his "Presidency" of the "Orange Free State." The discussion was resumed and was continued in much the same manner as before, the majority of the speakers favouring peace and those pleading for a continuance of the struggle giving utterance to feelings rather than arguments. Commandant General L. Botha urged acceptance of the terms. He no longer entertained hopes that Europe would intervene on behalf of the Boers. The deputation to Europe had failed, and had had to hand in its credentials to the Netherlands Government. Some of the burghers had been faithless. As to the military position, what had they gained since June, 1901 ? Nothing. "On the contrary we have been going backward so fast that if this weakening process goes on much longer we shall soon find ourselves unable any more to call ourselves a fighting nation." Their only course was to accept the proposal of the British Government. General J. H. Smuts supported General Botha. As a military question, the war could be continued, for they had "still about 18,000 men in the field," but the longer they maintained the struggle the further the independence for which they fought receded from them. They must not sacrifice the Afrikaner nation itself on the altar of independence. No help would come from Europe. Europe "would go on expressing sympathy until the last Boer hero had died on the field and the last Boer woman had gone down to the grave." There was no hope. "Our country is devastated and in ruins ; let us stop before our people are ruined also." Further discussions revealed the existence of an element in favour of fighting on, but Vice-President Burger made a powerful and reasoned appeal to the delegates to conform to the hard facts of the case.

The meeting was continued the next day (May 31), and "after a time of heated dispute" a resolution was decided upon expressing regret that his Majesty's Government had "absolutely declined to negotiate with the Governments of the Republics on the basis of their independence," and setting forth six groups of facts : (1) the devastation of the country ; (2) the sufferings of the people in the Concentration Camps ; (3) the menace implied by the anti-Boer hostility of the Kaffirs ; (4) the effects of the banishment proclamation ; (5) the impossibility of inflicting damage upon the British forces ; and (6) the destitute condition of the fighting remnant of burghers. "We are therefore," proceeded the resolution, "of opinion that there is no justifiable ground for expecting that by continuing the war the nation

will retain its independence, and that in these circumstances the nation is not justified in continuing the war, because this can only lead to social and material ruin, not for us alone but also for our posterity. Compelled by the above-named circumstances and motives, we commission both Governments to accept the proposal of his Majesty's Government, and to sign it in the name of the people of both Republics. We, the representative delegates, express our confidence that the present circumstances will, by accepting the proposal of his Majesty's Government, be speedily ameliorated in such a way that our nation will be placed in a position to enjoy the privileges to which they think they have a just claim, on the ground not only of their past sacrifices but also of those made in this war. We have, with great satisfaction, taken note of the decision of his Majesty's Government to grant a large measure of amnesty to the British subjects who have taken up arms on our behalf, and to whom we are united by bonds of love and honour, and express our wish that it may please his Majesty to still further extend this amnesty." This resolution was then voted upon and carried by 54 votes to 6.

The conference then decided to nominate a committee to collect funds to provide for the wants of women and children and other destitute persons and orphans, and to send Messrs. C. R. De Wet, L. Botha and J. H. Delarey abroad in order that they might better assist in obtaining donations. The memorable conference then came to an end, Vice-President Burger remarking that they stood there "at the grave of the two Republics," and urging them to be ready to forget and forgive: "That part of our nation which has proved unfaithful we must not reject." The Commissioners thereupon left Vereeniging for Pretoria, and at 11 o'clock on the night of May 31 the terms of surrender were signed by Lord Kitchener and Lord Milner, and by ten Boer delegates—De Wet, Olivier, Hertzog, Burger, Reitz, Louis Botha, L. J. Meyer, Delarey, Brebner and Krogh.

To revert for the moment to the work done in the field, it will be noticed that no armistice was granted, the only understanding being that the British columns should not interfere with the meetings of the delegates. Delarey's forces were so much harried that the losses in killed, captured and surrendered in the two months ending on May 12 amounted to 800 men. North, east, south and west the clearing process continued, but during the actual proceedings at Vereeniging the activity of both sides was sensibly diminished. There were by this time between 6,000 and 7,000 National Scouts in the field, and Boer writers have admitted—apparently for the purpose of concentrating ill-will against them—that they did important service to the British in the final phase of the war.

The early days of June were spent in accepting surrenders. The work was done without a hitch and in the first enthusiasm of peace Boers fraternised freely with the British and speeches

were made on both sides which pointed to a speedy and sure reconciliation, leading to somewhat extravagant hopes that future political difficulties would not be serious. But it would serve no useful purpose to recount in this place the rejoicings universal throughout South Africa at the conclusion of peace. What the war had cost the British nation in flesh and blood alone may roughly be measured by the circumstance that 1,072 officers and 20,870 non-commissioned officers and men had died in the field from wounds or disease, while the Boer losses are never likely to be accurately known. The Boer surrenders numbered over 18,000, thus showing that all calculations as to the number in the field were much below the mark. Peace being concluded Lord Kitchener left for home, the command being taken by General Sir Neville Lyttelton. The retiring commander-in-chief in South Africa was entertained to a farewell banquet at Johannesburg on June 17, Lord Milner making a speech of eulogy and Lord Kitchener formulating some of the lessons of the war and speaking of the Boers as a virile race and an asset of importance to the Empire. Before Lord Kitchener left he issued an address to the troops, which is an essential contribution to the history of the war:—

“The General Officer Commanding-in-Chief wishes to express his best thanks to all general officers, officers, non-commissioned officers and men for the excellent service they have rendered since he first took the command eighteen months ago. The period in question offered few opportunities for those decisive engagements which keep up the spirit of an army and add brilliance and interest to its operations. On the other hand, officers and men have been called upon for increasing and ever-increasing exertions, in the face of great hardships and other difficulties, against dangerous and elusive antagonists.

“The conduct of the troops under these trying circumstances has been beyond all praise. Never has there been the smallest sign of slackness or impatience. It seems to Lord Kitchener that the qualities of endurance and resolution they have displayed are much more valuable to a commander than any dashing or short-lived effort whereby some hard-fought actions may be won in a campaign of ordinary duration.

“The Commander-in-Chief also has special pleasure in congratulating the Army on the kindly and humane spirit by which all ranks have been animated during this long struggle. Fortunately for the future of South Africa, the truth in this matter is known to our late enemy as well as to ourselves; and no misrepresentations from outside can prevail in the long run against the actual fact that no war has ever yet been waged in which the combatants and non-combatants on either side have shown so much consideration and kindness to one another.

“This message would be incomplete if reference were not made to the soldierly qualities displayed throughout the campaign by our quondam enemies, and to the admirable spirit

displayed by them in carrying out the surrender of their arms. Many Boer leaders who at an earlier date recognised the futility of carrying on the devastating conflict beyond a certain point have already for some time served with us in the field, and the help which they rendered us will not be forgotten. Many also of those who continued to struggle to the end have expressed the hope that on some future occasion they may have an opportunity of serving side by side with his Majesty's forces, from whom Lord Kitchener can assure them they will receive a very hearty welcome."

On the 21st Lord Milner assumed office as Governor of the Transvaal, the Executive Council being composed of Mr. W. E. Davidson, Colonial Secretary; Sir Richard Solomon, Attorney-General; Sir Godfrey Lagden, Commissioner of Native Affairs; Mr. P. Duncan, Colonial Treasurer; and Mr. W. J. Wybergh, Commissioner of Mines. The Legislative Council was also appointed. Three days afterwards the Constitution of the Orange River Colony was similarly promulgated, Lord Milner being sworn in as Governor, with Major Goold-Adams as Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Blaine as Attorney-General, and Mr. Browne as Colonial Treasurer. Lord Kitchener left Cape Town on June 23, and by this time the surrenders were complete, and civil government had replaced the purely military *régime*.

At this stage we may conveniently leave the affairs of the two new Colonies to sketch the course of political events in Cape Colony, where, as was explained in last year's issue of this work, the Constitution was in a state of suspended animation, Parliament being again and again prorogued and Ministers conducting their departments as they best could under the *régime* of martial law. In the outlying parts of the Colony Boer and rebel forces continued to keep the field, even until after the signature of peace, but the warfare was purely of a guerilla character and the incidents do not lend themselves to consecutive narrative in a brief compass. It must suffice to say that General Sir John French kept his columns ever on the move, and that despite the skill of the enemy in eluding capture there was a steady depletion of his forces and material.

Meanwhile three events successively engrossed the attention of Capetown—the death of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the imprisonment of the Princess Radziwill for two years on a charge of having forged promissory notes in the name of Mr. Rhodes, and the agitation for the suspension of the Constitution of the Colony. Mr. Rhodes died on March 26, and was buried in the Matoppos on April 18, his funeral being the occasion of a remarkable spectacle and of a demonstration for which the history of South Africa provides no parallel. This is not the place to analyse his character and political aims, but it was felt on all hands that his will furnished a luminous commentary upon the man. [The leading provisions of this most impressive document are treated at p. 104, *English History*.]

Turning to the question of the suspension of the Cape Constitution, a vigorous agitation was set on foot in favour of this course by the Progressive party; and it received a considerable impetus by the publication of an unofficial letter from Lord Milner, advocating the policy of suspension as a temporary measure. A mass meeting was held at Capetown in June, and forty-two members of the Cape Parliament signed a petition for suspension. Mr. Chamberlain decided the matter in a telegram to the Governor, Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson, on July 2. He pointed out that the formal suspension of the Constitution of a responsibly governed Colony was a proceeding for which no precedent existed and which could only be effected by an Act of the Imperial Parliament. It would, he said, be almost impossible for the Imperial Government to give the assurances which the petitioners had asked for as conditions attaching to suspension. Incontrovertible proof should be produced either that the continuance of the existing Constitution was a positive danger to the peace of the Colony and the interests of the Empire, or that the great majority of the white population desired a complete transfer of authority to the Imperial Government. The petitioners were in a minority of less than one-third of the House of Assembly and than one-half of the Legislative Council, and they did not comprise any of the Ministers of the Crown, who were confident that when Parliament met they would be able to command a majority. Only in the event of refusal of the Cape Parliament to pass such legislation as the violation of the Constitution had rendered necessary would serious danger arise to Imperial interests. The despatch proceeded:—

“His Majesty’s Government are aware that the Parliamentary representation of the Colony is on an unsatisfactory basis, and they trust that it may be possible to modify it, but the matter is primarily one of local concern, and his Majesty’s Government feel that they would not be justified in asking the Imperial Parliament to interfere in order to remedy it.

“In speaking of the Act of Indemnity, which is required to cover acts done under martial law and unauthorised expenditure, the petitioners lay stress on the bitterness and racial dissent which would be fomented by debate on these questions. His Majesty’s Government realise the force of this argument, and trust it will be found possible to avoid discussions of such a character, and that it will be tacitly recognised that charges and recriminations with regard to the past can serve no good purpose among those who must in the future live together as members of the same community with common interests in the peace and prosperity of South Africa.

“Considering the whole question of the proposed suspension broadly his Majesty’s Government cannot but feel that to deprive the Cape Colonists, even for a time, of their Constitutional rights, by imposing a system of Crown Colony Government

without giving to the present representatives of the people the opportunity of expressing their opinions on such a great change, is likely rather to produce discontent and agitation than to pacify race hatred. It does not appear to them justifiable to assume beforehand that the Colonial Parliament will refuse to pass the necessary measures for the pacification of the country, and his Majesty's Government agree, therefore, with your Ministers that it is proper in the first place that the Colonial Parliament should be called together as soon as possible, and that the requisite legislation should be at once introduced.

"They have the more readily adopted this view because in addition to the general considerations to which I have referred they are assured that there exists among moderate men of all parties an earnest desire to avoid further strife and to allay the passions excited by the war and by previous controversy. They hope, therefore, that many who sympathised with rebellion will frankly abandon their former attitude, and that all will cordially co-operate with their fellow-Colonists in the work of pacification."

Opinions as to the wisdom of the above decision were naturally divided both in South Africa and in England; but we are concerned here with the practical rather than the academic aspects of the question. The Cape Parliament met on August 20, and passed a measure indemnifying the Government in respect of acts performed under martial law and defaults arising from the violation of the Constitution. The Budget showed a total debit balance for the two years ending July 1 of 2,194,000*l.*, the expenditure having been 19,224,000*l.* and the revenue 17,030,000*l.* Parliament passed an increase of the grant to the Navy from 30,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, however, had to maintain a majority by co-operation with the Bond, which had changed its name to the "South African party"; but in spite of ostensible acceptance of the principle of British supremacy as opposed to that of Afrikaner independence the Bond was still deeply distrusted, in South Africa as in England, and the Premier's alliance with it for the purpose of carrying on the Government drew severe criticism upon him. Bond support was, however, an indispensable alternative to Ministerial defeat. Thus, on the question of filling the nine vacant seats when Parliament met, the Progressive motion that they be filled was only defeated by the aid of Bond votes. Nor was Bond support of a certain nature. The helplessness of the Sprigg Ministry was evident from the fact that on the question of the reorganisation of the Colonial Forces a Bond amendment was carried against the Government, though withdrawn on the Report stage. It will thus be seen that the existence of the Ministry was most precarious, and the success of a continuance of Constitutional Government, at present at least, uncertain. As for the Bond, it remains to be seen whether its real nature and aims have undergone a change, but it may be well

to place on record its own definition of its policy: "The realisation of the unity of the different nationalities in British South Africa and the Federation of the South African Colonies, with due regard to their individual interests and the supremacy of the British Crown."

Broadly speaking, it may be said that the year closed with Constitutional Government at the Cape on its trial—the Gordon Sprigg Ministry existing only by the pleasure of the Bond party in Parliament, and confronted by the Progressives or Imperialists under the leadership of Dr. Jameson. As bearing upon the political situation, and as showing the practical effect of the Bond propaganda in the past upon the people of Cape Colony, it may be added that 3,437 rebels who had surrendered had been disfranchised for life, and 3,554 convicted under the Special Tribunals Act—convictions somewhat extensively revised by a commission under the Lord Chief Justice of England which was sent to South Africa after the peace.

In conclusion, reference may be made in broad outline to affairs in Natal and Rhodesia and to the general question of resettlement in the new Colonies. Martial law was repealed in Natal on October 4. A special session of Parliament was opened on November 13, the Governor, Sir H. McCallum, stating that it had been summoned chiefly for the consideration of railway matters and an extension of the Indemnity Act. The Government was, however, defeated on the 17th on a question of the succession to the Speakership, Sir J. Hulett having resigned that office to lead the Opposition. The Railways and Indemnity Bills were hurriedly passed, and Parliament dissolved. The issue before the electorate was, principally, whether the existing main line to the Transvaal should be doubled or a shorter route chosen for a new line. The general election resulted in the return of twenty Ministerialists and nineteen Opposition members—an exact balance of parties, seeing that the Government had to fill the Speakership. This was the situation at the close of the year, when there were also indications of native troubles in the Vryheid and Utrecht districts, which it had been arranged should fall to Natal as a rectification of frontier after the war. These and other matters were, however, lost sight of amid the enthusiasm caused by the visit of the Colonial Secretary. Mr. Chamberlain arrived at Durban on December 26, and at a banquet given to him by the municipality commenced a series of remarkable speeches, having for their object the furtherance of unity in South Africa. The Natal Ministry enabled him to make the gratifying announcement that the Government were prepared to forego their claims on the Transvaal loan for the repayment of advances made by the Government in the settlement of war compensation claims. These amounted to nearly a million, while the direct war losses of the Colony came to another million. Mr. Chamberlain spoke of this withdrawal of claims as a worthy expression of the

Imperial feeling in the Colony. His speeches produced a deep impression in the Colony, and his appeals for a working union with the Dutch in political and social life, and a subordination of sectional Colonial interests in such questions as railways, Customs and native administration, were received with cordial approval. Mr. Chamberlain spent the closing days of the year in visiting the battlefields of Natal, and at this point the record of his tour closes for the time being.

Of Rhodesia there is little to say, except that the country is peaceful, and that steady, though slow, progress is being made in its development. The revenue for 1901-2 was 435,253*l.*, and the expenditure 710,563*l.* It was stated that the British South Africa Company had decided to spend 2,000,000*l.* on railways in Rhodesia—1,000,000*l.* to be expended during 1903 for the purpose of completing the railway up to the Victoria Falls and across the Zambesi, and the remaining million for an extension northwards for a distance of 300 miles. The principal industrial difficulty is the scarcity of labour—not of native population. The matter is discussed in its various bearings in a Parliamentary paper published in August last. The Blue-book shows that officials of the Administration had attended native Indabas and had brought pressure to bear upon the chiefs to supply labour for the mines. Sir Marshall Clarke, who had investigated the matter, reported that the natives of Rhodesia worked in the mines from direct pressure by the Administration—a pressure only short of force—or the necessity of earning enough to pay taxes. The Native Commissioners were, in fact, the sole recruiting, and in many cases also, the distributing agents for labour for the mines. In a pointed despatch addressed to the Directors of the Chartered Company, Mr. Chamberlain said: “Mr. Chamberlain desires to point out to your Directors that the object of the clauses in the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council dealing with the Native Commissioners was to secure the protection of the interests of the natives and to enable them to look to these officers for the redress of any wrongs they might suffer at the hands of mining companies and others; and that if this object is virtually defeated in the manner described and the peace of the country thereby endangered, it will be necessary to amend the Order in Council and provide (at the expense of the Rhodesian revenues) for the appointment of officers dealing with native officers who shall be directly responsible to the High Commissioner. In the case of the organised importation of labourers from over-sea, it is generally found necessary that the Government of the country requiring the labour should be directly responsible to other Administrations for the recruiting and distribution of the labourers, and there could not in this case be any serious danger to the peace of the country arising from instances of unjust or harsh treatment of the labourer by the employer. In the case of the supply of native labour from within the conditions are different.

The labourer cannot dissociate those who have taken part in obtaining his labour from any ill-treatment he may receive. In the present case of Southern Rhodesia he imagines that it is useless to appeal for redress to those whom he ought to regard as his natural protectors. Ill-treatment by employers may easily result in widespread discontent among the native population generally.

"It is for the British South Africa Company to consider what steps should be taken to provide labour from within Southern Rhodesia not open to the above-mentioned objections: but Mr. Chamberlain would suggest that the proper system for dealing with the indigenous labour is for the actual recruiting and distribution of the labourers to be carried out by an unofficial association acting through licensed agents, while the Government, through its own officers, confines itself to what is necessary for the protection of the labourer, *e.g.*, ensuring that the contract entered into by the native is regular, contains no false representation, and is understood by the native, and that proper treatment is given to the native both before and after he is handed over to the actual employer."

Mr. Chamberlain directed that Government officers should not act as recruiting agents, though with Lord Milner he saw no objection to their explaining to the natives "the advantage, and, so far as the idea can be made comprehensible, the duty of labour of some sort." Amendments of the Labour Ordinance and a new system of recruiting outlined by the Chartered Company were favoured.

In this Blue-book also will be found correspondence on the subject of Asiatic labour for Rhodesia and much besides which has a bearing upon the problem of labour for the Transvaal mines—a problem that became grievously acute during the latter months of the year, not more than 50,000 natives offering themselves for work in the mines, while treble that number could have been absorbed. This was one of the difficulties Mr. Chamberlain went to South Africa to study for himself, and some partial solution of it was expected during 1903. Because of the scarcity of labour the Transvaal mines, upon which a 10 per cent. tax had been imposed by Royal Proclamation on June 9, had not shown the general resumption of activity that had been expected, and at the end of the year proposals for introducing Chinese immigrants under indenture were being considered by the capitalists, the employment of white labour being considered by them to be too costly on a great scale.

With regard to other matters in the new Colonies, it is impossible within the limits of space allotted to this section to detail the work of the Local Commissioners who regulated the repatriation of the Boers and the distribution among them of the 3,000,000*l.* stipulated in the peace terms, or to deal with the breaking up of the Concentration Camps and the return of the prisoners. It will suffice to say that when the year closed

the completion of these matters was within sight, and that, with the abolition of martial law in November, there was an improved prospect of social peace, although the Boer hostility to the ex-National Scouts, and the persecution of predicants who had taken the British side during the war, were ugly signs of disunion. It should be added that several railway and irrigation schemes were brought forward and some of the latter begun.

Some advance was also made in Land settlement, a problem exhaustively dealt with in a Blue-book issued in July, together with a special report on irrigation by Mr. Willcocks, of the Public Works Department of Egypt. Lord Milner's despatch is a conspectus of the question, and outlines a bold and far-reaching plan for utilising the land of the new Colonies and solving political difficulties by the introduction of British settlers. To leave the Boers to relapse into large and negligent owners of land, as they were before the war, would, he argued, be a political calamity; it was our duty and interest to preserve the Boer as a farmer and at the same time to develop the Colonies by the liberal introduction of English agriculturists. Arrangements were made for the formation of a permanent Land Board, and an ordinance passed providing for the setting aside of Crown Lands to be offered to *bonâ-fide* farmers on licence or on lease, the former giving ownership within thirty years. Dr. Jameson, Minister of Lands in Western Australia, was appointed Commissioner of Lands in the Transvaal. The time since the conclusion of peace has, however, been too short for great progress to be made in settlement; the energies of the Governments in the new Colonies have been absorbed in the work of getting the existing white population back to the mines and to the land, in the dispersal of the Concentration Camps, the repatriation of those who surrendered or had been sent abroad as prisoners, in preparing railway and irrigation schemes, and in passing ordinances suited to the new circumstances of the country. These were personally studied by Lord Milner with the thoroughness which distinguishes his character, much of his directing work since the conclusion of peace having been done while he was touring in the new Colonies. When Mr. Chamberlain arrived at Pretoria on January 3, 1903, Lord Milner was therefore able to concert further measures with him based upon wide personal knowledge of local conditions. Their conferences and Mr. Chamberlain's further travels in South Africa fall, however, within the scope of the next volume of the ANNUAL REGISTER.

II. EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

The year has shown a steady advance in the establishment of political security and material prosperity throughout the region—from the Lakes to the Delta. The chief event¹

the opening of the Assuan dam, a great engineering work which is, however, but an instalment of a vaster irrigation project such as was outlined in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1901. Next in importance comes the new treaty with the Emperor Menelik. Before, however, dealing with these events record should be made of a few statistics. The revenue for 1903 is estimated at E. 11,000,000*l.* and the expenditure at E. 10,975,000*l.*—a surplus of E. 25,000*l.*, E. 777,000*l.* being also paid to the Economies Fund and General Reserve. The abolition of the octrois and the remission of the land tax on lands not irrigated by the Nile during 1902 necessitated provision being made for the loss of E. 350,000*l.* revenue. The expenditure showed an increase of E. 230,000*l.*, of which E. 144,000*l.* was due to additional railway expenditure, and E. 77,000*l.* to the half of the reservoirs annuity payable in 1903. The Soudan deficit for 1902 was estimated at E. 268,000*l.* Lord Cromer's view was that steady and normal progress was being made. In Egypt proper the foundations of a civilised community had been laid; no radical change appeared to be required. "Means of locomotion, both by rail and road, have been improved and extended. The institution of slavery is virtually defunct. The *corvée* has been practically abolished. Although both the judicial system and the organisation of the police admit of further improvement, it may be said that law and order everywhere reign supreme. The *courbash* is no longer employed as an instrument of government. The Army is efficient and well organised. The abuses which existed under the old recruiting system have been swept away. New prisons and reformatories have been built. The treatment of prisoners is in conformity with the principles generally adopted in Europe. The sick may be nursed in a well-equipped and well-managed hospital. The lunatic is no longer treated like a wild beast. Means have been provided for enabling the peasantry to shake themselves free from the grip of the money-lenders. A very great impulse has been given to education in all its branches."

Summarising a batch of reports sent from the Soudan by Sir R. Wingate, Lord Cromer remarked: "The main present requirement of the Soudan is to establish railway communication between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea. Steps have been taken to give practical effect to this proposal. A rough survey of the country between the River Atbara and Suakin has already been made, and a practical route, along which a railway could be constructed, has been found, but further surveys are about to be undertaken with a view to discovering whether there are not other routes along which a line could be run, involving smaller engineering difficulties and, consequently, less expenditure. It is anticipated that this question will be solved in a few months. The boundary between the Southern Soudan provinces and Uganda still remains undefined, but relations with the Nile provinces of that Protectorate are still so comparatively undeveloped that the settlement of this question does not press. At

present the advanced post of the Uganda Government is at Gondokoro, whilst the most southern station of the Soudan Government, on the east bank of the Nile, is at Mongalla, a few miles to the north. The post at Kiro, on the west bank, has been withdrawn. A steamer proceeds monthly from Khartoum to Gondokoro, and a small trade in ivory and other products has sprung up. A few merchants and officials from Uganda occasionally make use of the Nile route, and, when facilities for more frequent communication are available, the traffic will probably increase."

The Assuan dam was opened with much ceremony on December 10. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught, the Khedive, Lord and Lady Cromer and a distinguished company were received at the works by Sir W. E. Garstin, Under Secretary of State for Public Works, Sir Benjamin Baker, the engineer, Sir John Aird, the contractor, and others. They were taken by trollies along the length of the structure, and thence to a reserved enclosure by the side of the navigation lock. Here the Minister of Public Works, Hussein Fakhry Pasha, read an address to the Khedive eulogising the foresight of Sir E. Palmer and his successor as Financial Adviser to the Government of Egypt, Sir J. L. Gorst, in making provision for the enterprise, and paying special tributes to Sir W. E. Garstin and others. The Khedive in his reply spoke of the dam, with its supplement, the Assiut barrage, as forming one of the most useful projects ever undertaken in the interests of the country. The Duchess of Connaught then laid the final stone, and the Duke pulled the switch, opening the lock gate, a flotilla of boats, gaily dressed with flags, then passing through. The Khedive operated an electric switch and opened the sluices of the dam. In a speech at the conclusion of the ceremony the Duke of Connaught made a tactful allusion to the presence of representatives of the Powers, and said that although the work had been principally Anglo-Egyptian yet he was aware of the liberality with which the *Caisse* of the Public Debt had provided a considerable portion of the necessary funds. Sir E. Cassel and Sir J. Aird were decorated by the Khedive with the Grand Cordons of the Osmanieh and the Medjidieh respectively, and the King made Sir W. E. Garstin a G.C.M.G., Sir Benjamin Baker a K.C.B., Major R. Hanbury Brown, Mr. Wm. Willcocks and Hussein Fakhry Pasha K.C.M.G.'s, and gave minor honours to others who had been connected with the furtherance of the great work.

Sir Wm. Garstin has calculated that the works will hold up over 1,000,000,000 of cubic inches of water and that their money value to Egypt represents an annual gain to the country of E. 2,680,000*l.*, while the direct gain to the State will be E. 378,400*l.*, besides over E. 1,000,000*l.* expected from the sale of lands hitherto worthless, but now available for cultivation. One-third of the agricultural area of Upper Egypt

will be provided with perennial irrigation—certainty being thus given to the labours of the Egyptian cultivator and corresponding stability to the revenue of the State; and by the reclamation of the desert the habitable area of the country below Assuan will be greatly enlarged. The cost is in round figures under 5,000,000*l.*, which is to be met by Egypt in thirty annual payments, from July 1, 1903, of 157,226*l.* The original plans of the engineers provided for a much larger storage of water; but these would have involved the flooding of the Island of Philæ with the famous temple to Isis, and they had to be modified in deference to antiquarian protests.

The Treaties with the Emperor Menelek have, it will be noticed, an important bearing upon the problem of irrigation, especially having regard to Sir William Garstin's project for utilising Lake Tsana and the fertility of the Blue Nile region. They also provide for the construction of a railway through Abyssinian territory to connect the Soudan with Uganda, and they determine the frontiers of Abyssinia, Eritrea and the Soudan. Practically the whole text of these important documents should be given. The first Treaty, signed at Adis Ababa on May 15, 1902, contains the following Articles:—

Article I.—The frontier between the Soudan and Ethiopia agreed on between the two Governments shall be: the line which is marked in red on the map annexed to this Treaty in duplicate, and traced from Khor Um Hagar to Gallabat, to the Blue Nile, Baro, Pibor and Akobo Rivers to Melile, thence to the intersection of the 6th degree of North latitude with the 35th degree longitude East of Greenwich. *Article II.*—The boundary shall be delimited and marked on the ground by a Joint Boundary Commission. *Article III.*—His Majesty the Emperor Menelek II., King of Kings of Ethiopia, engages himself towards the Government of his Britannic Majesty not to construct, or allow to be constructed, any work across the Blue Nile, Lake Tsana, or the Sobat, which would arrest the flow of their waters into the Nile except in agreement with his Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the Soudan. *Article IV.*—The Emperor Menelek engages himself to allow his Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the Soudan to select in the neighbourhood of Itang, on the Baro River, a block of territory having a river frontage of not more than 2,000 metres, in area not exceeding 400 hectares, which shall be leased to the Government of the Soudan, to be administered and occupied as a commercial station, so long as the Soudan is under the Anglo-Egyptian Government. It is agreed between the two high contracting parties that the territory so leased shall not be used for any political or military purpose. *Article V.*—The Emperor Menelek grants his Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the Soudan the right to construct a railway through Abyssinian territory to connect the Soudan with Uganda. A route for the railway will

be selected by mutual agreement between the two high contracting parties."

The second Treaty is between Italy, the United Kingdom and Ethiopia, and provides for the modification of the Eritrea frontier and of the Soudan frontier in the following Articles:—

"*Article I.*—The frontier Treaty between Ethiopia and Eritrea, previously determined by the line Tomat-Todluc, is mutually modified in the following manner: Commencing from the junction of the Khor Um Hagar with the Setit, the new frontier follows this river to its junction with the Maïeteb, following the latter's course so as to leave Mount Ala Tacura to Eritrea, and joins the Mareb at its junction with the Mai Ambessa. The line from the junction of the Setit and Maïeteb to the junction of the Mareb and Mai Ambessa shall be delimited by Italian and Ethiopian delegates, so that the Canama tribe belong to Eritrea. *Article II.*—The frontier between the Soudan and Eritrea, instead of that delimited by the English and Italian delegates by the Convention of April 16, 1901, shall be the line which, from Sabderat, is traced *viâ* Abu Jamal to the junction of the Khor Um Hagar with the Setit."

While *en route* to India Lord Kitchener paid a flying visit to the Soudan and on November 8 formally opened the Gordon College at Khartoum, which, under the direction of Dr. Currie, the Principal, had commenced its work as the centre of secondary and advanced education in the Provinces. In a remarkable speech Lord Kitchener eulogised the work of Sir Reginald Wingate, the Sirdar, and Governor-General of the Soudan, and spoke of the progress made in organising elementary education. The people were of an excellent type for educational purposes, and he hoped to see Khartoum a prosperous centre of civilisation instead of what it formerly was. He agreed that the funds of the College should be used to advance primary teaching, but he hoped after five years in India to return and find the College established on the lines originally conceived—as a place of higher education, with 300 students under English masters, in training for careers in the Army, in civil life, and in technical work for the State.

Other events of the year are relatively insignificant. As an illustration of an occasional tendency to retrogression and of the certainty of its correction, reference may be made to the fact that a case of torture in the administration of justice was exposed, and the guilty official sentenced to imprisonment. There was a serious epidemic of cholera in Egypt, the deaths numbering over 30,000. Touching the railway question in the Soudan, surveys have been concluded for a line connecting Khartoum and Suakin, following the trade route *viâ* Kassala.

III. NORTH-EAST AFRICA, UGANDA, ETC.

Northern Somaliland and Abyssinia.—Early in the year the Mullah, Abdullah Mohammed, resumed his raiding in the British Protectorate. In May Colonel Swayne and his native levies made a successful rush upon his forces, but the losses sustained in camels and prisoners had little effect upon the Mullah. In July a more severe blow was inflicted, and early in October the Foreign Office reported that he had returned into the Haud desert, and that Colonel Swayne had followed him. The optimistic tenor of this despatch was sharply dispelled by an official report that on October 6 Colonel Swayne had been vigorously attacked and defeated with a loss of Colonel Phillips and Captain Angus and seventy men killed, and Captain Howard and Lieutenant Everett and about 100 men wounded, and had been compelled to retire upon Bohotle. He asked urgently for reinforcements, and troops from Aden and India were at once despatched. It was, however, seen that a much more formidable expedition would be necessary than any that had yet endeavoured to dispose of the Mullah's movements, and Colonel Swayne, having secured the safety of Bohotle and the line of communications with Berbera, was recalled to advise the Foreign Office upon the situation, and the command was given to General Manning, who deferred an advance pending the arrival of more troops. An element of mystery was given to the affair by the supposed co-operation with the Mullah of a European, Karl Inger; but, writing to the *Times* from Buda-Pesth, this gentleman explained that he was not, as Colonel Swayne had thought, in Somaliland. He had, it appeared, been in negotiation with the Foreign Office with the object of avoiding war with the Mullah. He professed to have no interest in the affair beyond that of good-will alike to England and the Mullah, and to be able to settle the quarrel without recourse to force, and, if Colonel Swayne's column should be in danger, to bring it out safely within fourteen days.

During November General Manning advanced in force from Berbera to Gerrara and thence to Bohotle, superseding the garrison there by Indian troops and himself gaining experience of the unreliability of the native levies. He returned to Berbera late in the month, and with the arrival of further troops and special officers devoted himself to strengthening the lines of communication and making preparations for an advance beyond Bohotle, which, it was understood, he would not be ready to undertake for many weeks. In December communications were received from the Mullah, in which he demanded the cession of a port, the recognition of his sphere of influence, and the removal of restrictions upon the importation of arms. At the end of the year further troops were on their way from India, and arrangements were made by which General Viljoen, of the National

Scouts, should take a force of 100 Boers to share in the coming expedition. The Mullah was then encamped at Galkayu Wells, eight miles from Obbia, on the coast of the Italian territory. Italy had co-operated against the Mullah by utilising her war-ships in the prevention of the importation of arms, and had given the use of her territory for the passage of British troops; but her alliance did not extend to military activity. As in the previous operations against the Mullah arrangements were made for the co-operation of Abyssinia, and Colonel Rochefort was attached to a body of the Emperor's troops. Events in *Abyssinia* continued a normal course, except for such menace to the frontier as was implied by the activity of the Mullah. The most important incident as affecting Great Britain was the conclusion of a Treaty, the text of which will be found in the section on Egypt and the Soudan.

In *Uganda, British East and British Central Africa* the year has been comparatively uneventful, save for the further completion of the railway from Mombassa to the Lake Victoria Nyanza. The total cost of the line has been 5,500,000*l.*, the estimates having been exceeded by 2,500,000*l.* The population of Uganda has suffered severely from "the sleeping sickness." Quietude has prevailed among the tribes of all these Protectorates. Despatches published in September showed that the last remnant of the Soudanese mutineers in the lake region had been disposed of, all, with the exception of seven, having been killed or made prisoners. It is significant of the condition of East and Central Africa that Sir Charles Eliot, Commissioner for the former Protectorate, journeyed home in 1902 through East Africa, Uganda, the Upper Nile country and the Soudan, meeting everywhere with courtesy from the tribesmen.

Commander B. Whitehouse has completed his thirteen months' survey of the Victoria Nyanza. He found that on the east side of the lake, where it was supposed that there were only a few islands, there is a forty miles stretch of enclosed water, and that at its mouth there is a valuable tract of high country with a large population. With the opening of the railway there is scope for development of the lake traffic, and steamers are now on the lake which convey passengers from Port Florence, the terminus of the line, to the Government centre, Entebbe and elsewhere. By these facilities troops from India could, if needed, be brought into Uganda in about fourteen days. It should be noted that, on his way to South Africa, Mr. Chamberlain landed at Mombassa and took a short trip on the railway. A concession has been granted to the East African Syndicate to prospect for precious stones and minerals over 100 square miles in the province of Unyoro. A concession has also been granted for working for ten years the pearl fisheries off the coast of East Africa. In British Central Africa Mr. Alfred Sharpe has been appointed Commissioner and Consul-General. Drought wrought havoc with the coffee

crop of the year. With regard to access to the Lake Tanganyika the result of the Harrison expedition is said to be that goods can be taken there *viâ* the Mombassa route in three months less time than *viâ* the Zambesi.

Zanzibar and *Pemba* show further progress in freedom, but, according to the official papers, a serious growth of prostitution among women who have taken advantage of the slavery decrees. The Sultan died in July and was succeeded by Sayyid Ali bin Hamoud, a youth of nineteen.

In *Eritrea* there is little worth recording beyond the frontier treaty with Abyssinia, which is set out in the article upon Egypt and the Soudan. *Italian Somaliland* has been quiet except for the Mullah's retreats into Italian territory. The Italian Trading Company of Benadir has, by convention with Italy, taken over the administration of the country. In *French Somaliland* the railway from Jibutil to Harar is approaching completion, and is expected to tap the trade of Abyssinia to the detriment of the traffic through the British Protectorate. In *Madagascar* development is slow, but the railway from Aniverano is being pushed on to Tananarivo.

In *German East Africa* there has been continuous administrative development. *Portuguese East Africa* presents no features of note other than the resumption of normal conditions consequent upon peace in South Africa. [Some references to German Colonies in East, West, and South-West Africa will be found under "Germany".]

IV. WEST AND NORTH AFRICA.

Nigeria.—Northern Nigeria has continued to attract political and military attention, and much might be written upon the question of frontier delimitation with France, and the attendant expedition to protect the Commissioners from the hostility of the Emir of Kano. The Commission, of which the British members are Lieut-Col. G. S. Elliott, Captains C. H. Foulkes and G. R. Frith and the engineers, is sent to stereotype the arrangements under the Niger Convention with France and its supplementary provisions with regard to the Soudan; but France (whose chief Commissioner is Captain Mohl, of the Colonial Infantry) is understood to seek such a rectification of frontier from the Niger to Lake Chad as would give her the kingdom of Bornu and access to the Benue River, thus making Lake Chad to all intents and purposes a French lake. This, however, is a matter for academic rather than practical discussion, and one of the objects of the expedition prepared during 1902 was to make the British occupation of Bornu effective, circumstances described in last year's REGISTER having made such action imperative. The quarrel with the Emir of Kano has its origin in disputes with the Sultan of Sokoto and ourselves. The Royal Niger Company paid a subsidy to the Sultan of Sokoto; but the British Government discontinued it because the Sultan, whose death occurred in October last, and who is

succeeded by a ruler believed to be more friendly, declined to recognise the British Protectorate and treated Sir F. Lugard's messengers with indignity. The Emir of Kano is a tributary ruler and took the same line as the Sultan; and it would seem that at the great commercial city of Kano—the emporium of the Western Soudan—all the forces in Northern Nigeria opposed to the British Protectorate have gathered during the year. The Emir is believed to have fortified the city and to have collected several thousand mounted men. Diplomacy failed with him, and he sent menacing letters to the nearest British Resident—Captain Abadie at Zaria, where we had a small garrison. In these circumstances it was impossible to send the Boundary Commission through the heart of Hausaland without a strong escort, and a column of 1,200 men of the West African Frontier Force was put at the disposition of Colonel Morland.

As for the development of those parts of the Protectorate in which British rule is no longer questioned, it should be noted that the Province of Yola, which was brought within the governed area during 1901, has remained peaceful, but the commercial resources of the area—about 12,000 square miles—are as yet almost untouched. Sir F. Lugard's latest report does not carry the story of events later than December, 1901. It appears that the revenue and expenditure (Civil and Public Works Department, extraordinary only) for the first complete financial year—March 31, 1900, to March 31, 1901—was as follows: revenue, 135,730*l.*; made up by grant in aid, 88,800*l.*; contribution by Southern Nigeria, 44,750*l.*; and local receipts, 2,180*l.* The actual expenditure (less that on the West African Frontier Force) was 96,407*l.* The Parliamentary grant for the service of the West African Frontier Force was 200,000*l.* In the financial year 1901-2 a reduction of 8,800*l.* was made on the grant in aid, which then stood at 280,000*l.* A beginning was made in the collection of local revenue, which was estimated at 1,500*l.* During the remaining nine months of 1901 (up to December 31) the expenditure had been 154,042*l.*; personal emoluments, 72,778*l.*; other charges, and 32,222*l.* on works and vessels—a total of 265,042*l.*—leaving a fictitious balance of 50,458*l.* for the service of the remaining three months of the financial year up to March 31, 1902. As to trade prospects, Sir F. Lugard points out that the figures for 1901 show considerable progress, chiefly from the settlement of the Impe (Bida) Province and the opening up of the Yola market. Two urgent tasks were before the Administration: (1) to render the trade routes safe from marauders, and (2) to deal with the unrest in Kano and Katsena, which our advance north towards Zaria and the establishment of a new capital in that direction had caused. "Trade cannot, indeed, be established on a satisfactory basis until the Northern Hausa States are included in the 'provinces' of the Protectorate, and the trade routes rendered safe for small traders. Once this is accomplished I look to a great and rapid

development." Such a development, it will be seen, depends largely upon the work of the political officers accompanying the expedition under Colonel Morland.

In *Southern Nigeria* there was further military activity in the suppression of Ju-Ju and the opening up of trade routes, and the most important incidents were the successful completion of the expedition to open up the Aro country and the capture in December of an important chief in the Opobo Hinterland.

In connection with Nigeria mention should be made of the award of Baron Lambergmont, the arbitrator to whom the matter of the *Sergeant Malamme* was referred—the vessel having been seized on the Benue by the British in 1893. The award was that the British Government pay an indemnity of 6,500*l.* The *Waima* incident was also referred to Baron Lambergmont, and in this case he awarded the British Government 9,000*l.* out of a claim of 10,000*l.*

In the *Gold Coast and Northern Territories* things have been quiet, and, thanks to the development of the gold industry, the region has suffered less than was feared would be the case from the errors of the Hodgson régime and the long and costly war. The revenue in 1901 (the latest official figures, for the Colonial Office did not publish the Report for that year until January, 1903) was 693,893*l.*, an increase of 138,340*l.* This included an Imperial grant of 25,000*l.* in respect of the Northern Territories, and 197,700*l.* on account of "Ashanti disturbances." The revenue from Ashanti was 18,838*l.*, an increase of 15,432*l.*, and from the Northern Territories 7,324*l.*, a decrease of 411*l.* The expenditure for the year was 463,459*l.* It appears that the Ashanti disturbances had cost up to December 31, 1901, 367,845*l.* The value of the imports in 1901 was 1,801,027*l.* and of the exports 559,733*l.*—a total of 2,360,760*l.*, an increase over the previous year of 180,351*l.* But for the mining industry, however, trade would have been very depressed. The yield of gold in 1901 was 6,162 oz., of the value of 22,187*l.*, though this was against 10,557 oz., or 38,007*l.*, in the previous year. During 1902 the Gold Coast Railway had been extended to Obuassi, 126 miles from the coast port of Sekondi. The rate of construction of the line to Kumassi is twelve miles a month. Traffic is open to Tarkwa, and the gross receipts of the line are about 3,500*l.* a month.

In *Sierra Leone and Lagos* there have been no events of importance. The Liberian boundary of the former colony is being delimited by Captain Pearson, R.E., and others. During the year there has been some discussion as to the prospects of cotton growing in British West Africa, and the British Cotton Growers' Association has in consequence been formed, and has sent experts to study the question. Sir Alfred Jones, of Liverpool, has favoured the project, and considers that cotton growing may become the staple industry of Southern Nigeria and other parts of the region.

Coming to the British parts of West Africa mention

should be made of an agitation in England against the mal-administration of the *Congo Free State*, whose accusers bring forward a mass of evidence to the effect that the principle of freedom of trade in the Congo basin has been violated and the natives subjected to unjustifiable oppression. An attempt has been made to induce our Foreign Office to set the signatories to the Berlin Act in motion against the State. A strong indictment of the State forms part of Mr. E. D. Morel's new work on "*The Affairs of West Africa*." In May an agreement was signed in Brussels by which Mr. Robert Williams obtained a concession to build a railway between the northern borders of Rhodesia over Congo State territory to Lake Kassall on the navigable reaches of the Lualaba. This line is to connect with the Rhodesian system under an arrangement Mr. Williams had made with Mr. Rhodes, and communication between Cairo and the Cape would thus be effected *viâ* Lualaba, Upper Congo, Lake Albert and the Nile. It appeared that the difficulty of getting the German Reichstag to sanction the plan of building a line to the interior from the coast of German East Africa had led to the abandonment of the original plan of carrying a Cape to Cairo line through German territory.

In *Portuguese West Africa* Mr. Williams also obtained an important concession for a railway from Lobito Bay, near Benguela, to the eastern frontier, connecting with the north and south trunk line. The line, which is to cost several millions, is to be built under a Portuguese company, and as Lobito Bay is four days nearer England than is the Cape, and is said to be a finer harbour than Delagoa Bay, the economic development of Portuguese West Africa and of the interior to the north of our South African possessions is expected to be greatly facilitated by the new railway.

In *Dahomey* the Kotonu-Tehaonron Railway, which is eventually to be carried to Karimama, on the Niger, had been carried over fifty miles out of a total of 377. The work is being done faster than is the case with the British line from Lagos to Ilorin, and the French claim that they will be able to tap the trade of Northern Nigeria. The French are continuing to show great activity and spirit in the development of their West African Empire, and the trade of all their possessions seems to be increasing relatively faster than our own. In the *French Congo* this result has been achieved by a Concessions régime, aimed at the destruction of British firms, and the firms of Messrs. John Holt & Co. and Messrs. Hatton & Cookson have submitted their grievances to the Foreign Office, without effect at the time of writing. In *Senegambia* the French continue to make rapid progress.

In *Algeria* there have been no further important developments beyond the settling of the boundary question with Morocco. The death of El Senussi early in the year seems to have removed, for the time being, the danger of a Tuareg

attack upon French interests, and of a great religious war against "the infidel." On the other hand it should be noted that the Sultan, who strongly objected to the division of the Soudan, so far as that act committed the hinterland of Tripoli to French hands, has established a strong Turkish garrison at Bilma and taken action with the intention of occupying the northern side of Lake Chad. The revenue for Algeria in 1900 was 2,044,412*l.*, and the expenditure 1,454,824*l.* The exports were 9,692,680*l.*, and imports 12,952,720*l.* In *Tunis* the revenue for 1901 was 1,589,109*l.*, and expenditure 1,584,521*l.* Imports were 1,500,482*l.*, and exports 1,565,102*l.*

It is significant of the importance of Africa to France that her total trade in that Continent in the year 1901 was 28,332,000*l.*, as against 27,292,000*l.* in 1900.

Morocco.—The reforming zeal of Mulai Abdul Aziz has led to serious internal troubles in Morocco, and when the year ended it seemed an open question whether the throne would not be wrested from him by Bu Hamára, the leader of a revolt directed not less against the Sultan personally than against the influence of the infidel. Competent witnesses in the country believe the movement to be anti-Christian and anti-European, and though at the time of writing the lives of Europeans have been respected, they have found it advisable to withdraw to the coast. For some years the Sultan had lived in the southern capital, Marakesh, and there had been a relaxation of authority and of tax-gathering rapacity in the north, but early in 1902 he decided to reside at Fez, to carry out in that region the reforms he had already instituted at Marakesh. The tribesmen, however, took alarm at his coming, and either would not or could not understand his aims. He, nevertheless, set to work reforming the prisons and the administration of justice, and for a time it seemed that things would go well, important Berber tribes, believed to be ripe for revolt, coming into the city to do him homage and pay their taxes. This action, however, was probably a *ruse* in order to gain time, for in October it was announced that inconclusive negotiations had been carried on between the Sultan and the Berbers, that the latter had thrown off the mask of allegiance, and that the Sultan had sent a force out from Fez against them. The rebels were under the leadership of a soldier who had been in the Sultan's service—one Omar Zarhuni, otherwise "Bu Hamára"—and there was a conflict, in which they were worsted. Thinking the disturbance at an end the Sultan went to Kabal in November to recruit his health, which had suffered from the malarious climate of Fez; but in his absence, while he was suppressing disorder in the Zimmur district, the revolt assumed formidable proportions. Late in the month he learned that his troops had suffered a sharp defeat fifty miles to the east of Fez, that Omar Zarhuni had installed himself at Tesa with a force variously estimated at from 20,000 to 30,000 men, and had set up a Government of his

own. Returning hastily to Fez the Sultan concentrated his forces there and sent them against the rebellion. At this point the news becomes too uncertain to be trusted, but a correspondent of the *Times* at Tangier seems to have arrived at the true facts. His story is to the effect that the Sultan's troops found the enemy in too great force for the road to Tesa to be opened, and that, on the night of December 22, the rebels successfully rushed the Government camp, capturing all the munitions of war, money, stores and other material. The defeated army retreated upon Fez, which they reached in a deplorable condition on the morning of December 24. There was no alternative for the Sultan, in the demoralised state of his army, but to prepare to withstand a siege, and he endeavoured to repair the ruined fortifications of the city. The position at the end of the year was that he was using every effort to recover his authority in the north, that the rebels had thus far refrained from attacking Fez, and that he was still powerless to move from his position. In order to silence the report that the leader of the revolt was in reality his brother Mulai Mohammed the Sultan had Mulai brought into Fez from the palace in which he had been imprisoned at Mekinez; but this seems to have been an act of doubtful policy, Mulai being received in Fez with enthusiasm in significant contrast with the unpopularity there of the Sultan himself. These events caused much discussion in the European Press, and there was a general apprehension that, in the event of the Sultan's overthrow, the Moroccan question would become acute; but none of the Powers more directly concerned showed any disposition to do more than await developments.

V. MALTA.

The agitation on the language question, described in last year's REGISTER, was brought to an end in January by the withdrawal of the proclamation of 1899 for the suppression of the official status of the Italian language fifteen years hence. This concession by Mr. Chamberlain to local and Italian sentiment produced a better state of feeling and the Legislative Council voted a month's supplies for educational purposes. Mr. Chamberlain, however, warned the Maltese that if the policy of refusing votes for administrative purposes were persisted in the Imperial Government would be compelled to modify the Constitution accordingly—a menace which it has not been found necessary to carry into effect, the Legislative Council thereafter voting the necessary supplies.

H. WHATES.

CHAPTER VIII.

AMERICA.

I. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

UNBOUNDED prosperity, abundant crops, industrialism carried on at its highest tension, the multiplication of trusts, a great strike of the anthracite coal miners of Pennsylvania, a narrow escape from death of President Roosevelt almost on the anniversary of the day on which his predecessor was shot down, a general election for Members of the House of Representatives, and two speechmaking tours by the President, in which he urged legislation to control and properly regulate the trusts, were the chief features of 1902 in the United States.

The most important political event of the year was the general election for Members of the House of Representatives, which resulted in a victory for the Republicans, who retained their control by a decreased majority. In the election of 1900 the Republicans had a majority of 45; in the election of 1902 their majority was reduced to 30. The Democrats attempted to make the Philippines the great issue before the country, and especially the atrocities said to have been committed by the American army in the islands. They laid the foundation for this by a series of extended debates in Congress during the session which closed early in July, and endeavoured in every way to rivet the attention of the country on the alleged brutality and inhumanity of officers and men, and the wanton murders of the natives. It was discovered by the statements of some returning soldiers that, in order to extract information from the natives, soldiers had resorted to the methods of the Spaniards when in control of the islands, and that the favourite Spanish mode of torture, the "water cure," had been made use of by the Americans. The method of administering the water cure is to place the victim flat on his back face up, and with his mouth held open by a wedge force him to swallow several quarts of water. It was not denied by the Republicans, who defended the army, that the water cure had been used in isolated cases, but it was pleaded in defence of the army that it was in revenge for the unprovoked and barbarous murders of American soldiers, that no officer of high rank had countenanced inhuman punishment, and that while the water cure was painful it did not cause death. This statement, however, was denied by the Democrats, who asserted that more than one Filipino had died under torture. It was also asserted by the Democrats that unnecessary cruelty had been displayed by high officers in conducting the campaign.

For a time the country was considerably aroused by the orders said to have been given to Major Waller by his superior officer, Brigadier-General Jacob H. Smith, who was in com-

mand in Samar. Major Waller, of the Marine Corps, who commanded an expeditionary force in Samar, was accused of having wantonly murdered non-combatants, and when brought before a court martial pleaded in extenuation that he carried out the orders of General Smith, who directed him to make of Samar a howling wilderness, and to spare neither man, woman, nor child over the age of ten. Waller was said to have literally obeyed these orders, and in doing so violated the army regulations and the rules of civilised warfare. He was acquitted by the court martial on the ground that he had simply obeyed the orders given to him by his superior officer, and had he refused to carry them out he would have been guilty of disobeying the commands of his legal superior in the face of the enemy, which is punishable by death. When the evidence adduced by the court martial was made public, President Roosevelt ordered a court martial at Manila to try General Smith on charges of cruelty, which court martial in July found General Smith guilty, and the President reprimanded him and immediately placed him on the retired list. This action of the President was cited by the Republicans as evidence that the President would not countenance cruelty or disregard of the laws of civilised warfare, and was held by the Democrats as vindicating the charges they had brought against the army of excessive cruelty and unnecessary harshness. They believed that it would help them in the coming election.

They found, however, that they had mistaken the sentiment of the country. On August 22 President Roosevelt began a tour of the New England States, a tour which, it was announced in advance, was to be non-political, and in which the President would make no partisan addresses. During the course of that tour, which lasted three weeks, the President spoke several times a day, discussing the duties of citizenship and the responsibilities of the United States. He paid special attention to the Monroe Doctrine; the obligation imposed on the United States, as a result of the war with Spain, to make Cuba prosperous by granting her special trade concessions; the duty of the United States to improve the material and moral condition of the Philippine Islands; and the necessity of curbing and properly controlling the trusts. It was noticeable to close observers that while the people followed with the greatest avidity whatever the President said about the trusts and the tariff, they were only languidly interested when he mentioned Cuba, and almost indifferent in regard to the Philippines.

The Democrats attempted to revive public interest in the Philippines, and to raise the cry of "Imperialism," which they believed would drive voters from the Republican party, and bring back to their own party those Democrats who opposed Mr. Bryan. The attempt was a lamentable failure. In all parts of the country, and especially in the West, there was a strong feeling in favour of Congress enacting legislation limiting

the power of the trusts, and revising those tariff duties which were oppressive. The Republican party, in effect, pledged itself to do both these things, and the keynote had been struck by the President. The Democrats, therefore, found themselves with what might have been their most powerful weapons taken from them by their adversaries, and they were able to make only a half-hearted campaign. The personality of the President was undoubtedly the greatest factor in enabling the Republicans to retain their control. The unique character of Mr. Roosevelt, the belief of the people in his courage, integrity and determination to do right, irrespective of consequences, appealed to their imagination and made him their hero. He appeared to them unlike any other man who had heretofore held a high political position. He seemed to be less of a politician and more of the idealist, and those qualities caught the popular fancy. The one thing probably that did more than anything else to make Mr. Roosevelt the idol of the masses was his settlement of the great coal strike.

On May 12 the miners in the anthracite district of Pennsylvania went on strike because the masters refused to grant them an increase of wages and to make certain concessions in regard to their hours of labour and conditions of employment. The strike continued during the summer without attracting marked attention, but at the beginning of autumn, when cold weather suddenly made the country realise that winter was coming on, and it was threatened with a coal famine, people became apprehensive. On October 3, acting on the advice of some members of his Cabinet and other close political advisers, President Roosevelt invited the mine owners and the representatives of the miners to Washington to attend a conference, at which he presided, to see if their differences could not be adjusted. At this conference the masters flatly declined to have anything to do with Mr. John Mitchell, the president of the Miners' Union and the leader of the strikers; and in substance accused the President of interfering in matters that did not properly concern him, and of neglecting his duty by not sending Federal troops into the mining region. Parenthetically it may be added that for many weeks previously several regiments of the National Guard of Pennsylvania had been doing military duty in the mining region, and the President had no power to send United States troops to Pennsylvania until appealed to by the Governor, who had made no such request, and, on the contrary, had announced himself able to maintain order and protect property. The masters asserted that they were unable to re-open the mines because of the terrorism exercised by the strikers, and that the men who had been brought in from outside were afraid to work because they thought that their lives were in danger. When the official account of this conference was published intense indignation was aroused, and the mine-owners were charged with having insulted the President and shown them-

selves indifferent to the public welfare. Two days later the entire Militia force of the State of Pennsylvania was mobilised and sent to the coal regions, and on the following day the President appealed to the strikers to return to work, and to trust to the pressure of public opinion to remedy the wrongs of which they complained. The miners, after deliberate consideration of the President's appeal, declined to accept it, and an attempt was then made by some important political leaders to induce the mine-owners to accede to the demands of the men. This conference also resulted in failure, and public opinion was worked up to the highest pitch. The President, however, had not ceased his efforts to bring about peace. He had been in active communication, through confidential agents, both with J. Pierpont Morgan, whose position in the financial world enabled him to exercise a dominating influence on the corporations controlling the mines and railroads, and with John Mitchell, with the result that on October 15 the President announced that both sides had agreed to refer the dispute to a commission to be appointed by him, and pending the decision of the Board of Arbitration the miners would return to work at the old scale of wages. The country had feared that if the strike continued it would be attended by riots and bloodshed, and a sigh of relief was breathed when the men returned to work. The President was given the credit for having brought about a truce.

In New York State, where a Governor, in addition to members of Congress, was to be elected, the campaign was fought with the utmost vigour on both sides. Mr. Odell, the Governor, was renominated by the Republicans, and Mr. Coler, formerly Controller of the City of New York, by the Democrats. At the beginning of the campaign the Republicans were confident they would win in a walk-over, but as election day drew near they became panic-stricken, and admitted that the result would be uncomfortably close. That their fears were not exaggerated was shown when in a total vote of 1,384,116 Mr. Odell was elected by a majority of only 8,803; two years before his majority had been 111,126. In addition to almost meeting defeat, the Republicans lost ground in the Congressional election. Mr. Odell's slender majority and the recovery of lost ground by the Democrats in the Congressional districts, encouraged them to believe that the political pendulum is swinging backwards, and that in the Presidential election to be held in 1904 they will once more come into power.

On September 3 the President miraculously escaped death. While driving near Pittsfield, Massachusetts, a trolley car collided with the carriage in which he sat and demolished it, killing the Secret Service man on the box and one of the horses. In the carriage were the President; Mr. Crane, the Governor of Massachusetts; and Mr. Cortelyou, the President's secretary. They were all badly bruised and shaken up and sustained slight cuts, but none of them was seriously injured. Two weeks

later the President started on a long Western trip, which ended suddenly at Indianapolis on September 23, because it was discovered that his leg had been more seriously injured when he was thrown out of the carriage than he had imagined at the time. The doctors found it necessary to perform a minor surgical operation, and recommended that he should immediately return to Washington, where he could obtain better attention and have complete rest. The President was confined to his room for a couple of weeks and completely recovered from the injury.

On the day the tour was brought to an abrupt termination the President made a notable speech, in which he advocated a cautious revision of the tariff. "What we really need in this country," he said, "is to treat the tariff as a business proposition and not from the standpoint of the temporary needs of every political party." He pointed out the unwisdom of making radical changes in the tariff at frequent intervals, because such changes necessitated a readjustment of the nation's business. "We need a scheme which will enable us to provide a reapplication of the principle to changed conditions," he continued, after speaking of the necessarily rapid shift of industrial needs in a country like the United States, and the consequent necessity of readjusting its economic policy with the least possible friction. "Of course, such a scheme would have to be formulated by Congress, but, of the two or three practicable methods which present themselves, my personal preference would be for action which would be taken after preliminary inquiry by and upon the findings of a body of experts of such high character and ability that they could be trusted to deal with the subject purely from the standpoint of our business and industrial needs."

The chief political event of the year, in addition to those already mentioned, was the passage by the House of Representatives of the Bill providing for the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, which was amended by the Senate, giving the President authority to purchase from the French Panama Canal Company all its rights and concessions for the sum of \$40,000,000, provided that a suitable treaty could be negotiated between the United States and Colombia for the right of way for the construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, and in the event of such treaty not being possible then the United States should negotiate with Nicaragua and Costa Rica for the construction of the Nicaragua Canal. Negotiations with Colombia were at once begun, but had not terminated with the end of the year. Much of the time of Congress was taken up in an effort to secure the passage of a reciprocity measure with Cuba, admitting the products of Cuba at a lower rate of duty than those imposed on products from other countries. The House passed a Bill, but the Senate had not acted on it at the time of adjournment. A treaty ceding the Danish West Indies to the United States was on January 24

signed at Washington by the Secretary of State and the Danish Minister, and was subsequently ratified by the Senate. Denmark, however, withheld its ratification, and at the end of the year the islands had not been transferred.

On March 10 Mr. Long, the Secretary of the Navy, resigned from the Cabinet and was succeeded by Mr. William H. Moody, formerly a Representative in Congress. This was the only change during the year in the Cabinet, which was constituted as follows: Secretary of State, John Hay, of Washington; Secretary of the Treasury, Leslie M. Shaw, of Iowa; Secretary of War, Elihu Root, of New York; Attorney-General, Philander Chase Knox, of Pennsylvania; Postmaster-General, Henry C. Payne, of Wisconsin; Secretary of the Navy, William Henry Moody, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Interior, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, of Missouri; Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson, of Iowa. Congress repealed the inland revenue taxes imposed at the time of the breaking out of the Spanish War to provide additional revenue for carrying on the war, which reduced taxation by about 15,000,000*l.* per annum. On the recommendation of the President Congress appropriated 40,000*l.* for the relief of the Martinique sufferers. On June 30, after a long struggle in Congress, the Bill granting civil government to the Philippines was passed by the Senate and became a law, and on July 3 the President issued an order establishing civil government throughout the Philippines under the direction of the Philippine Commission, and proclaimed amnesty to political prisoners.

Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune*, was appointed by the President to be Special Ambassador of the United States at the coronation of the King; General James H. Wilson, a distinguished officer on the retired list, was selected to represent the Army, and Captain Charles C. Clark, the commander of the *Oregon* on her memorable trip around the Cape, and who fought her at the Battle of Santiago, to represent the Navy. Captain Clark, for personal reasons, declined the appointment, and Rear-Admiral John C. Watson was designated in his place. Mr. Andrew Carnegie continued his announced purpose of giving away his fortune in founding libraries and promoting educational institutions. His largest single gift of the year was \$10,000,000 for the promotion of advanced scientific research. A corporation to be known as the Carnegie Institution was formed in Washington, the deed of gift permitting the trustees to make such use of the donation as they might see fit to carry out the purposes of the donor.

Two of the most interesting international episodes of the year were the attempt of Germany to cast odium on Great Britain in connection with the Spanish American War and the visit of Prince Henry of Prussia. On January 21 the German Foreign Office officially denied that Germany either proposed or supported a proposition for intervention in behalf of Spain before

or during the war, and insinuated that Great Britain, while professing ardent friendship for the United States, secretly intrigued in behalf of Spain. In answer to a question put by Mr. Henry Norman, Lord Cranborne, on January 20, had stated that the British Government had willingly joined in a Note expressing the hope of a peaceful settlement on terms acceptable to the United States. Subsequently the British Foreign Office made a statement which amounted to a virtual charge that France, Germany and Russia were ready to join in a concerted movement to overawe the United States in case England would consent. The active agent in the matter was Austria. On February 11 Lord Cranborne in the House of Commons denied that Great Britain made any attempt to hinder the United States, whereupon the German Government published a telegram said to have been sent by Dr. Holleben, the German Ambassador, in April, 1898, containing a proposition which he alleged had been made to the members of the diplomatic corps by Lord Pauncefote. The controversy attracted great attention in the United States, as Lord Pauncefote had always been extremely popular in America, and it was clearly seen that it was an attempt on the part of Germany to curry favour with the United States and to reflect on Great Britain. The plot, for such it must be called, failed of its purpose, and when Lord Pauncefote was taken ill the highest officials and members of the Government from the President down called at the British Embassy to inquire as to his condition, and to assure him of their unbounded faith in his sincerity and their gratitude for the inestimable services he had rendered the United States prior to the outbreak of the war. On May 24 Lord Pauncefote died. As a mark of respect to the memory of a man whom Americans esteemed for his high character and great ability, as well as an evidence of the good feeling prevailing between the United States and Great Britain, the President, members of the Cabinet and other high officials attended the funeral, and the same military escort followed the body to the cemetery as the regulations prescribe at the burial of a former President. The United States tendered a war vessel for the conveyance of the body to Great Britain, but this offer was declined by the British Government, and a British man of war brought home the body of the distinguished diplomatist.

Prince Henry of Prussia arrived in the United States on February 22, nominally to witness the launching of the racing yacht built for the Emperor William, but really to endeavour to promote more cordial relations with the United States. Two days after his arrival he paid his formal respects to the President in Washington and dined at the White House. The next day the *Meteor* was launched, Miss Alice Roosevelt, the daughter of the President, christening the boat. Prince Henry spent the next two weeks in visiting various parts of the country, and was received with the respect due to his station and the curiosity that the visit of a Prince always arouses in the United States,

but his presence did not provoke enthusiasm, and had little if any effect in cementing the relations between the United States and Germany.

On May 20 the American occupation of Cuba ceased and the United States notified the nations of the world of the establishment of the Cuban Republic. Diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba were at once established.

The usual revolutions in countries bordering on the Caribbean Sea, and in South and Central America caused the United States to send vessels to those waters to watch the progress of events and protect the interests of American citizens. On September 7 the Haitian revolutionist gunboat *Crête-à-Pierrot*, the so-called flagship of Admiral Killick, was sunk by the German cruiser *Panther*, an act that aroused the greatest resentment in the United States, as it was regarded as unnecessarily brutal, wanton, and uncalled for. A revolution in Colombia made it necessary for the United States to send the battleship *Wisconsin* and the cruiser *Cincinnati* to Panama, and a battalion of marines was landed on the Isthmus to keep transit open in accordance with the treaty obligations of the United States. It was necessary for the American Government to take over the management of the railway across the Isthmus and to guard the entire route. This led to friction with Colombia, who protested that the United States was helping the revolutionists. Marines were kept on duty until order was restored, when they were withdrawn without having had to fire a shot.

Early in September Sir Robert Bond, Premier of Newfoundland, arrived in Washington to open negotiations for a treaty of reciprocity between his Colony and the United States. This treaty was signed on November 8, and sent to the Senate for its ratification immediately after it reassembled. It was still pending at the end of the year. On September 15 the international tribunal of arbitration at the Hague began the hearing of the "Pious Fund" case, involving the possession of a large amount of money in dispute between the United States and Mexico, this being the first case brought before that court. A decision was rendered on October 14 in favour of the United States.

On September 13 Sir Michael H. Herbert, K.C.M.G., presented his credentials to the President, as his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador, in succession to the late Lord Pauncefoot.

On September 17 Secretary Hay addressed a note to the Powers signatories of the Berlin treaty, urging that Roumania be compelled to ameliorate the condition of the Jews.

Towards the latter end of September the excessive demands for money produced a serious stringency in the money market that excited general apprehension and caused fears of grave financial and commercial disturbances. The Treasury Department adopted extraordinary measures to tide over the emergency, and before the autumn was over matters had resumed their normal condition.

In October King Oscar of Sweden, who was accepted by Great Britain, the United States and Germany to assess the damages to foreigners in Samoa arising from the landing of American and British troops, and for the destruction of British and American property by the rebels, decided that Great Britain and the United States were liable because they were not justified in landing troops. This decision aroused great irritation in the United States, as it was the enunciation of a principle which, if accepted as a precedent, would seriously restrict the assertion of American rights in foreign countries in case of revolution or riots in which the lives and property of Americans were placed in peril, and would practically amount to a Government being unable to protect its own citizens when the local Government was powerless or unwilling to afford protection. The United States expressed a willingness to pay whatever damages might be assessed, but it refused to be bound by the principle or to recognise it as a precedent that might be incorporated into the laws of nations, as it could be held liable for enormous damages in case it became necessary to land American troops for the protection of its own interests or those of its citizens.

Congress reassembled on December 2. The President's message is too long to be quoted in full, but some of its most important passages are as follows :—

"We still continue in a period of unbounded prosperity. This prosperity is not the creature of law, but undoubtedly the laws under which we work have been instrumental in creating the conditions which made it possible, and by unwise legislation it would be easy enough to destroy it. There will undoubtedly be periods of depression. The wave will recede; but the tide will advance. This nation is seated on a continent flanked by two great oceans. It is composed of men the descendants of pioneers, or, in a sense, pioneers themselves. . . . Such a nation, so placed, will surely wrest success from fortune.

"As a people we have played a large part in the world, and we are bent upon making our future even larger than the past. In particular, the events of the last four years have definitely decided that, for woe or for weal, our place must be great among the nations. We may either fail greatly or succeed greatly; but we cannot avoid the endeavour from which either great failure or great success must come. . . . Ours is not the creed of the weakling and the coward; ours is the gospel of hope and of triumphant endeavour. We do not shrink from the struggle before us. There are many problems for us to face at the outset of the twentieth century—grave problems abroad and still graver at home; but we know that we can solve them and solve them well, provided only that we bring to the solution the qualities of head and heart which were shown by the men who, in the days of Washington, founded this Government, and, in the days of Lincoln, preserved it."

Then he urged upon Congress the necessity of enacting

suitable legislation for the regulation of the trusts. He called attention to the necessity of discriminating between those aggregations of capital that were for the interests of the country and those that were injurious. "We must be careful," he said, "not to stop the great enterprises which have legitimately reduced the cost of production, not to abandon the place which our country has won in the leadership of the international industrial world, not to strike down wealth with the result of closing factories and mines, of turning the wage-worker idle in the street and leaving the farmer without a market for what he grows. No more important subject can come before the Congress than this of the regulation of inter-State business. This country cannot afford to sit supine on the plea that under our peculiar system of government we are helpless in the presence of the new conditions and unable to grapple with them or to cut out whatever of evil has arisen in connection with them." The President referred to the agitation to reduce the tariff as a means of curbing the trusts, and argued that this would be ineffective. "The only relation of the tariff to big corporations as a whole is that the tariff makes manufactures profitable, and the tariff remedy proposed would be in effect simply to make manufactures unprofitable. To remove the tariff, as a punitive measure directed against trusts, would inevitably result in ruin to the weaker competitors who are struggling against them. The question of the regulation of the trusts stands apart from the question of tariff revision."

Referring to the Philippines the President called attention to the fact that civil government had been established, and that "the people taken as a whole now enjoy a measure of self-government greater than that granted to any other Orientals by any foreign Power, and greater than that enjoyed by any other Orientals under their own Governments, save the Japanese alone."

The President paid a high tribute to the courage and efficiency of the Army, and added: "Taking the work of the Army and the civil authorities together it may be questioned whether anywhere else in modern times the world has seen a better example of real constructive statesmanship than our people have given in the Philippines."

The message strongly advocated an increase of both the *matériel* and *personnel* of the Navy. "In battle the only shots that count are the shots that hit," the President said, in asking for ample appropriations for gun practice. Continuing, he said: "There should be no halt in the work of building up the Navy, or in providing every year additional fighting craft. We are a very rich country, vast in extent of territory and great in population—a country, moreover, which has an Army diminutive indeed when compared with that of any other first-class Power. We have deliberately made our own certain foreign policies which demand the possession of a first-class Navy. The

Isthmian Canal will greatly increase the efficiency of our Navy if the Navy is of sufficient size; but if we have an inadequate Navy, then the building of the canal will be merely giving a hostage to any Power of superior strength. The Monroe Doctrine should be treated as the cardinal feature of American foreign policy; but it would be worse than idle to assert it unless we intend to back it up, and it can be backed up only by a thoroughly good Navy. A good Navy is not a provocative of war; it is the surest guarantee of peace.

"There is not a cloud on the horizon at present. There seems not the slightest chance of trouble with a foreign Power. We must earnestly hope that this state of things may continue, and the way to assure its continuance is to provide for a thoroughly efficient Navy. The refusal to maintain such a Navy would invite trouble, and if trouble came would insure disaster."

On December 3 the United States was officially notified that Great Britain and Germany had begun punitive measures against Venezuela. The seizure of Venezuelan gunboats by British and German cruisers, the German commander later sinking three of them, caused a ferment in the United States; most of the adverse criticism being directed against Germany, as newspapers and public men were possessed of the idea that Germany was hostile to the Monroe Doctrine and the attempt to coerce Venezuela veiled more sinister designs. On December 13 President Castro offered to submit the claims of the allies to arbitration, and Great Britain and Germany were informed that their acceptance of Venezuela's offer would be gratifying to the United States. President Roosevelt declined the offer to act as arbitrator made to him by the allies and suggested that the case be referred to the Hague tribunal. The year closed with negotiations in progress with this end in view.

The suspicion of Germany entertained in the United States, and the fear that in the near future the United States will have to compel Germany by force of arms to respect the Monroe Doctrine, found their expression in the bitter comments of the Press. Germany, many leading newspapers declared, must be regarded as the open foe of the United States, as Germany's aim and ambition was to colonise in South America, which the United States could not permit, as it would be a defiance and violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Although the German Government in 1901 had informed the American Government that it might be compelled to employ force against Venezuela to secure justice for German creditors (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1901, pp. 422-3), but it had no intention of seizing territory, no faith was attached to the sincerity of this disclaimer. In a ~~correspondence~~ ^{contrast} to the hostility displayed against Germany ~~was~~ ^{it} shown for England, and the opinion from ~~the~~ ⁱⁿ case the United States and ~~Germany~~ ^{United States} could count upon

the material support of Great Britain. The only regret expressed was that British Ministers should have been so maladroit as to have formed an alliance with Germany and thereby have risked estranging American sympathy. Fortunately no harm was done, as the moderation of England's course met with hearty approval in the United States, and the knowledge that the alliance was as obnoxious to Englishmen as it was to Americans allayed the lingering resentment which was aroused when the alliance was first made public.

The most notable death of the year was that of Mr. Thomas B. Reed, former Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The area of the United States, not including foreign possessions, is (census of 1900) 3,616,484 square miles, with a population (exclusive of dependencies) of 76,303,387 as compared with 63,069,756 in the previous decade. The population consists of 66,990,802 whites, and 9,312,585 coloured persons, under that head being enumerated negroes, persons of negro descent, Chinese, Japanese and Indians. The dependencies have a population of 8,083,683, made up as follows: Philippine Islands, 6,961,339 (estimated); Porto Rico, 953,243; Hawaii, 154,001; Guam, 9,000; American Samoa, 6,100.

During the fiscal year 1902 648,743 immigrants arrived in the United States as compared with 487,918 in 1901. The principal countries sending emigrants to the United States were: Italy, 178,375; Austria-Hungary, 171,989; Russia, 107,347; Sweden, 30,894; Ireland, 29,138; Germany, 28,304; England, 13,575.

The regular Army of the United States, including coloured troops, is limited to a maximum strength in peace of 100,000 enlisted men, but at the present time 3,820 officers, line and staff, and 59,866 enlisted men, exclusive of native troops in the Philippines and Porto Rico, constitute the military establishment.

At the close of the year 1902 the United States Navy comprised 223 vessels of all classes in commission or available for service, and sixty-three vessels under construction. The vessels in commission or in reserve were 12 battleships of the first class, 1 battleship of the second class, 2 armoured cruisers, 16 protected cruisers, 4 unprotected cruisers, 16 harbour defence vessels, 21 gunboats, 16 torpedo boat destroyers, 36 torpedo boats, 8 submarine boats, and auxiliaries, colliers, supply ships, tugs, etc. Under construction were 7 first-class battleships, 8 armoured cruisers and 7 protected cruisers. Congress is expected to make the usual appropriations for new construction, in accordance with the recommendation of the President and the Secretary of the Navy. These appropriations will not be made until early in the year 1903, and will not be available until the beginning of the new fiscal year, July 1, 1903.

The two vessels for which tenders were invited in August indicate the belief of American naval authorities that vessels of



The principal exports and their values were: breadstuffs, \$195,717,728; animals, \$33,839,293; cotton, raw and manufactured, \$324,741,746; iron and steel and manufactures of, \$97,892,036; leather and manufactures of, \$30,551,072; oils, \$84,800,070; provisions and dairy products, \$182,628,790; tobacco, \$40,163,749; wood and manufactures of, \$51,836,458.

The chief purchasers of American goods were: Great Britain, \$523,773,397; British North America and all other British possessions, \$193,487,985; Germany, \$174,264,495; France, \$70,497,327; Italy, \$33,135,512; Denmark, \$14,812,900; Spain, \$15,976,788; Central and South America and Mexico, \$85,446,761; Chinese Empire, \$22,698,282; Japan, \$21,622,603; Belgium, \$43,515,112; the Netherlands, \$74,576,164; Sweden and Norway, \$9,530,137; Russia, \$13,414,790.

Great Britain continues to be the best customer of the United States. Nearly one-third (30.21 per cent.) of the entire foreign trade of the United States is with the United Kingdom, and 54.36 per cent. of America's exports are absorbed by Great Britain. Almost one-half of the entire foreign trade of the United States is with Great Britain and her Colonies, and more than 60 per cent. of American exports are marketed in Great Britain and the British possessions.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the fiscal year 1902 showed that the total receipts of the Government from all sources were \$562,478,233, and expenditures \$471,190,858, leaving a surplus of \$91,287,376. The receipts from Customs were \$254,444,709; from internal revenue, \$271,880,122. The principal expenditures were: War Department, \$112,272,216; Navy Department, \$67,803,128; Pensions, \$138,488,560; interest on public debt, \$29,108,045; civil establishment, \$113,469,324; Indians, \$10,049,585.

The public debt of the United States on November 1, 1902, amounted to \$2,175,246,168; but of this only \$915,370,230 was interest-bearing debt, the balance being debt on which interest has ceased since maturity, and United States notes and gold and silver certificates, which is considered as "debt" because it is an obligation, but for which the Treasury holds an equivalent amount of metallic money. The Treasury held in cash on November 1, \$1,302,695,753, which left a cash balance, exclusive of reserve and trust funds, of \$206,421,878. The *per capita* circulation, November 1, was \$29.36.

The latest report of the Comptroller of the Currency, September 15, showed there were 4,601 national banks in operation, having an aggregate paid-up capital of \$705,535,417; carrying deposits subject to cheque of \$3,209,273,893; surplus fund, \$326,393,953; loans and discounts, \$3,280,127,480. State banks (5,397), loan and trust companies (417), savings banks (1,036), and private banks (1,039) had combined resources of \$7,355,110,843, and held individual deposits of \$6,005,847,214. These figures are only approximately accurate because of the

in Rome to discuss with the Pope the disposition to be made of the lands of the Friars. Negotiations were continued in Manila on his return, and it was announced in September that the basis of a satisfactory settlement had been reached.

In some of the districts of the islands there was more or less open rebellion during the year. In February the rebel chief Lukban was captured in Samar, and the announcement was made that the province of Batanzas in Luzon was pacified. Malvar, Aguinaldo's successor, surrendered in April, and in the same month Guevarra, a prominent rebel chief in Samar, was captured. The Moros in Mindanao openly defied the authority of the United States and it became necessary to send a strong force against them. Some sharp fighting followed, which resulted in the complete success of the American arms, and a treaty of peace was concluded between the United States and the Sultan of Bacolod. There was renewed trouble with the Moros in Mindanao in the autumn of the year, and the Ladrones caused the authorities considerable anxiety. The Ladrones are professional thieves and marauders much resembling the Dacoits of Burmah. The Central Government adopted stringent measures to suppress them. A constabulary force was organised, and by the provisions of a special law highway robbery committed by three or more persons was made a capital offence. An official return made by the Secretary of War in June showed that the total cost of the war in the Philippines was \$170,326,586. A garrison of 17,000 United States troops is maintained in the islands.

The fall in the price of silver caused serious commercial disturbances, and Congress was urged to enact remedial legislation. In November the price of silver caused the Government of the islands to raise the rate of exchange to \$2.50 Mexican or \$1.00 American gold, and to counteract this Governor Taft urged the adoption of a currency system with a silver dollar worth fifty cents gold. The imports to the Philippines from the United States for the nine months ending in September were valued at \$3,618,712 and the exports from the Philippines to the United States at \$6,879,930. The seat of the civil government is Manila. The Governor-General is Wm. H. Taft, of Ohio, and he is assisted in administering the islands by a Vice-Governor and Secretaries of Finance, of Public Instruction, and of the Interior, who compose what is known as the Philippine Commission, and are subject to the authority of the President and such laws as Congress may from time to time enact. On December 18 the House passed a Bill reducing the duties on goods imported from the Philippines to 25 per cent. of the Dingley tariff rates.

Affairs in Porto Rico call for little comment. The island during the year was prosperous and peace prevailed, former Spanish subjects as well as natives seemingly being satisfied with the new order of things, and interested more largely in the

great deal of damage and caused considerable distress to the natives.

Tutuila, Manua and some smaller outlying islands became the property of the United States as a result of the termination of the Samoan condominium, by which Great Britain, Germany and the United States ceased to exercise joint control over the Samoan group, Great Britain withdrawing entirely from the islands, Germany and the United States dividing them. Tutuila gives the United States a naval base in the Pacific with a magnificent harbour, Pago Pago, said to be one of the best in the Pacific, and the only good harbour in the entire Samoan group. The Germans were anxious to obtain possession, but the United States held it under treaty rights, and would not surrender their great advantage. The commerce of the islands is insignificant, amounting during the year to less than \$40,000. The Governor is Captain Uriel Sebree, United States Navy.

The territory of Hawaii has offered few problems for serious consideration by the Home Government during the year. Hawaii is on the same basis as the Territories of the mainland, and is governed in the same way. It has a governor appointed by the President, a Legislature consisting of two Chambers, and a Delegate in Congress, who is without a vote. Practically universal manhood suffrage prevails, the requirements being a year's residence in the Territory, registration in the electoral district, and ability to read and write the English or Hawaiian languages. The currency system is that of the United States. Elections were held in November, the Republicans electing a large majority of the Legislature, and also electing their candidate for delegate in Congress. The delegate, Prince Kalaiana'ole, is a native Hawaiian and a descendant of the former kings of the island. Politically the Hawaiians, like the people of the United States, are divided into the Republican and Democratic parties. An attempt was made to organise a Home Rule Party, but it met with little success.

The commerce of Hawaii is valuable and constantly growing, practically all of it being with the United States, and all of its imports coming from that country. The finances of the Territory are in good condition, and the Territorial treasury has a substantial cash balance on hand. The American authorities are increasing the school system as rapidly as possible, and the number of native Hawaiian children who now read, write and speak English is gratifyingly large. Vigorous efforts have been made to stamp out leprosy, and the death rate from that scourge shows a marked decrease during the last few years, largely due to improved sanitary conditions and the segregation of the lepers. The Governor of Hawaii is Sanford B. Dole, and the seat of government is Honolulu.

A. MAURICE LOW.

II. CANADA.

The welcome close of the South African War marked the early part of 1902. The two last contingents, despatched within the year, returned without having taken any serious part in the conflict. One fine military performance by Canadian soldiers was reserved for this year to close the honourable record of Canada's part in the Imperial line of battle. On March 31 a small number of Canadians, under Lieutenant Bruce Carruthers, beat off overwhelming odds at Hart's River, showing splendid determination under the most terrible losses. In Canada many mourn their dead; but all alike share in the pride of military work well and bravely done for the Empire.

The Alaska boundary question still remained unsettled. Some disappointment was expressed that this matter was not dealt with when the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was abrogated.

The Message of the President of the United States was of interest to Canadians mainly in regard to its renewed declaration of the "Monroe Doctrine." The interpretations of this "Doctrine" that emanated from some sources during the year, setting up large and vague claims of dominance over the two American continents, were regarded in Canada with distinct disapproval. The attitude of the United States Government with regard to the Anglo-German dispute with Venezuela indicated a return to the original meaning of the "Monroe Doctrine," to which no exception would be taken in Canada.

The coal strike in Pennsylvania was of great importance to the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, which are dependent on that region for their supply of anthracite coal—a very vital necessity. The settlement of the strike in October came only just in time to save the two great industrial Provinces from a serious disaster. As it was, coal became scarce and dear, and there was much inconvenience and some suffering. Considerable contributions to the strikers' funds were forwarded by Canadian labour organisations.

The Dominion Parliament opened on February 13. The subject that occupied by far the greatest amount of time and interest during the session was the transportation question. Three important railway bills were brought forward—one authorising the issue by the Canadian Pacific Railway of \$20,000,000 additional common stock; another for a charter to the Canadian Northern Railway, granting powers to construct a transcontinental line; and a third authorising the Government to appoint a commission composed of three persons, with large judicial powers, to take the place of the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. In the course of the debates, clear evidence was elicited of the inadequacy of the present railway facilities for handling the Western crops, and the various complaints of the inequalities and excesses of freight rates charged by the

railways clearly indicated the necessity of a strong commission to deal with the complicated problems involved.

The attention of the House was called to the operations of capitalists in the United States in buying controlling interests in competing lines of railway, with a view to consolidation. It was pointed out and admitted that it was possible that such a fate might conceivably overtake the Canadian Pacific Railway system, but the reply was made that foreign ownership was unobjectionable as long as it was controlled effectively by Parliament, which possessed ample powers for the purpose.

The Budget was brought down to the House on March 17 by Mr. Fielding, the Minister of Finance, who, in moving Supply, observed that it was his "happy privilege to present to the House another chapter in the continued story of Canada's prosperity." The revenue for the fiscal year 1900-1 was \$52,514,701, as against \$51,029,994 in 1899-1900, showing an increase of \$1,484,707, which was made up as follows: Customs, \$51,136; Excise, \$450,190; Post Office, \$235,969; Railways, \$439,219; Dominion Lands, \$129,295; Miscellaneous, \$178,895.

The expenditure on Consolidated Fund, Capital, and Special Accounts for 1900-1 showed an increase, as compared with 1899-1900, of \$5,265,399, which was thus made up: Consolidated Fund, increase \$3,891,088; Capital,—Railways, increase \$605,116; Canadian Pacific Railway, increase \$8,742; Dominion Lands, increase \$69,590; and "Special,"—Railway Subsidies, increase, \$1,786,608; against Capital,—Canals, decrease, \$278,995; Public Works, decrease, \$82,843; Militia, decrease, \$94,965; "Special,"—South African War and Halifax Garrison, decrease, \$638,942. The net increase on Capital and "Special" together was \$1,374,311.

The debt on June 30, 1901, was \$268,480,003, as against \$265,493,806 on June 30, 1900—an increase for the year of \$2,986,196.

The aggregate foreign trade of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902, was \$414,517,358, as against \$386,903,157 for the year 1899-1900—an increase of \$27,614,201.

The exports of domestic produce for the years ending 1901 and 1902 respectively, were as follows:—

	1901.	1902.
The mine	\$39,982,573	\$34,947,574
The fisheries	10,720,352	14,059,070
The forest	30,003,857	32,119,429
Animals and their products	55,489,527	59,245,433
Agriculture	24,977,662	37,238,165
Manufactures	16,012,502	18,462,970
Miscellaneous	44,642	32,599
	<hr/> \$177,231,115	<hr/> \$196,105,240

showing an increase for 1902 of \$18,874,125.

The estimated revenue for the year 1901-2 was \$56,800,000, and expenditure \$51,000,000.

A Bill was passed granting Mr. Marconi the sum of \$80,000

to construct a wireless telegraphic station on the coast of Nova Scotia.

The Government, in answer to inquiries, stated that no progress had been made in regard to the establishment of a fast Atlantic line of steamers.

The session was prorogued on May 15.

Early in June, the Canadian contingent of some 600 officers and men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Pellatt, of the Queen's Own Rifles, left for England to take part in the Coronation ceremonies. In Canada, a general holiday was fixed for the Coronation Day, and every preparation was made for a loyal celebration of the event. The news, received on June 24, of the King's sudden and serious illness was a shock to the whole country. The holiday was cancelled, and every evidence of loyal solicitude and sorrow was shown, and the genuine attachment of the Canadian people to the British Crown once more clearly manifested. The first Coronation contingent returned in July, and at the ceremonies of August 9 their place was taken by a smaller representative force of men.

The Coronation, the illness of the King, the presence in England of so many Canadians, and the various conferences, formal and informal, at which Englishmen, Canadians and other Colonists have met on common ground—all this, following upon the experiences of the South African War, has certainly given a new reality in the minds of the Canadians to their connection with the Empire.

None the less, the year has brought some disappointments to keen Imperialists in Canada as elsewhere. The cold tone in which the Canadian Government replied Feb. 26 to the invitation of the Imperial Government to the Colonial Conference, discouraging the discussion of projects of common defence, and Sir W. Laurier's protest in the Dominion Parliament in the spring against allowing Canada to be drawn into the "ortex"—or "curse"—of Militarism, prepared the way for the refusal of the Canadian Premier at the Conference to propose any direct contribution from Canada to the Imperial Navy. This line of policy met with a good deal of unfavourable criticism during the year in the Opposition Press of Canada, and though Liberal journals generally made the best of it—as by arguing that there could not be a sharing in the defence of the Empire without a sharing in its controlling councils, and that for that, our Imperial Federation, the time was not yet ripe—there is reason to believe that Canadian citizens generally, are by no means gratified by the Dominion's conspicuous abstention even from the mildest kind of participation in Imperial defence to which the other self-governing Colonies have pledged themselves. On the other hand it is also true that there would have been a much stronger disposition in the Dominion towards participation in the burdens of Imperial defence if Canadian representatives had found it possible to

persuade the public and the Government at home to give Canada some fiscal preference in return for the very substantial preference allowed to British goods in her tariff. On behalf of the British Empire League in Canada, Colonel Denison, its President, an ardent Imperialist, addressed meetings in England in the early spring and summer in favour of a plan for providing an Imperial Defence Fund by preferential duties against foreign goods at all British ports. From a somewhat different point of view a Conference of the Dominion Board of Trade held in Toronto, in June, and dominated by manufacturers with high tariff opinions, passed a resolution strongly urging "that Great Britain can best serve the interests of the Empire by giving the products of her Colonies a preference in her markets as against the products of foreign countries, it being believed that such preference will stimulate trade and develop colonial enterprises, and, moreover, serve to make the Colonies attractive, not only to the large number of British subjects emigrating annually from the British Isles, but also to the surplus population of other countries, and at the same time benefit Great Britain by largely freeing her from dependence upon foreign countries for her food supplies." The failure of the predominant body of British home opinion, official and unofficial, to fall in with proposals of the kind in question—the gravity of the arguments against which from the home point of view were, perhaps, not fully appreciated in Canada—caused distinct disappointment in the Dominion, and the Premier encountered some unfavourable criticism on his return for having agreed to the continuance of the "one-sided" preference of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rd per cent.—given by the Canadian tariff to goods from the Mother Country. To some extent the hands of the opponents of that preference have probably been strengthened.

On July 26 Lord Dundonald arrived in Canada to take command of the Canadian Militia and received a hearty welcome.

The remarkable progress of 1901, financial, industrial and agricultural, was more than equalled in 1902. The crops all over the country, even when compared with the preceding phenomenally good season, showed large increases. The total grain crop of the Province of Manitoba was over 100,000,000 bushels, as compared with 85,000,000 in 1901, wheat being 53,000,000 from 2,040,000 acres, as compared with 50,000,000 from 2,011,000 acres. The average yield of wheat in 1902 was twenty-six bushels per acre.

The total product of grain in the North-West Territories for 1902 was estimated at 36,000,000 bushels, as compared with 23,000,000 in 1901. More important even than the increasing quantity of agricultural produce grown in the North-West is the fact of the rapid growth in the immigration of settlers. In 1901 it was estimated that about 50,000 came into the North-West. In 1902 over 100,000 came in. Of that number about 50,000

were from the neighbouring States of the American Union, and, as far as can be ascertained, they were chiefly good farming people, with sufficient capital and experience. The tide of immigration in North America is apparently turning northward.

The manufacturing industries are for the most part doing exceedingly well. The establishment of the Dominion Steel Company at Sydney, Nova Scotia, and of Mr. Clergue's combination of industries at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, was recorded in the ANNUAL REGISTER of 1901. The very large present demand and the enormous prospective demand for steel rails make it a matter of the greatest importance that these two companies should manufacture them; but at present neither is doing so. The problem they have to solve is that of discovering the exact treatment required by the special ores at their disposal in order to produce the best quality of steel rails. The allied industries organised by Mr. Clergue under the name of the Consolidated Lake Superior Company cannot be said to have yet justified their very large capitalisation.

A feature of the last two or three years has been the formation of companies to obtain electrical power from the Niagara Falls. A new company was in process of formation in 1902 with a capital of \$5,000,000.

Wages were high throughout the year and employment plentiful. The westward movement of the national centre of population is illustrated by the growth in importance relatively to Montreal of Toronto and Winnipeg. This is especially the case as regards Toronto, which has become a very important financial centre.

In finance there are two specially important features to notice, both arising out of the rapidly increasing saving power of the country. One is that large new enterprises are being financed in Canada and in the main with Canadian money. Another feature is that large quantities of Canadian securities, especially Canadian Pacific Railway Stock, which had gone abroad in the ownership of foreigners, have been repurchased by Canadians. This, taken in connection with the increase in bank and post-office deposits, indicates a large gain in savings for the year. This increase in deposits is the more notable in view of the fact that, besides the sums withdrawn for investments of the special description mentioned, large deposits were also taken out for speculation in the New York stock market; and, in the heavy fall in values that culminated in December, large sums were lost. In bank, railway, industrial and miscellaneous stocks, exclusive of mining, the transactions on the Montreal Stock Exchange increased from 1,300,437 shares in 1901 to 2,015,898 in 1902. On the Toronto Exchange the increase was from 575,815 shares in 1901 to 1,682,645 in 1902. It cannot be said, however, that these unsuccessful stock operations have crippled industry or trade in any perceptible degree.

The banks had a highly satisfactory year, with business

sound and growing, and a steady demand for money at rates ranging from 5 per cent. to 7 per cent. Their note circulation during the latter months of the year just about reached the amount of their paid-up capital, to which it is limited by law. Two new banks and about 110 new branch offices were opened during the year.

The railway earnings for the year were the largest in the history of the country, the gross earnings of the three great roads (the Canadian Pacific, the Grand Trunk and the Inter-Colonial) amounting to \$75,675,842. All the Canadian roads in 1902 found themselves unable to keep pace with the growing needs for locomotives and rolling stock. These facts have a special significance in view of the large increase in railway mileage projected.

The application made to Parliament by the Canadian Pacific Railway at the beginning of the session for the right to issue \$20,000,000 new common stock embraced among its stated purposes: New rolling stock and locomotives, \$9,000,000; double tracking, etc., west of Lake Superior, \$6,000,000; and new elevators, improvement of terminals, etc., \$3,000,000.

The land sales of the Canadian Pacific Railway for 1902 amounted to 2,420,000 acres, for which the Company realised \$8,140,000, as against \$2,640,000 for 31,922 acres sold in 1901.

The Canadian Northern Railway, having already some 1,200 miles of its line in operation, has obtained powers to construct a trans-continental line, and proposes to build a vast system stretching from a point about midway between Vancouver and Fort Simpson on the Pacific coast, through the Yellowhead Pass in the Rockies, across the vast grazing and wheat-producing areas of Alberta and Saskatchewan; and from its present eastern terminus at Port Arthur, almost in a straight line to the City of Quebec, with branch lines connecting the main line with Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal; and finally a line from Quebec to some Atlantic seaport available for winter trade.

The most important railway announcement of the year was that of the projected Grand Trunk Pacific, to be built through Northern Ontario to Winnipeg, following the Saskatchewan Valley to some point north of Edmonton; then on in a north-westerly direction along the Peace River Valley, through the Peace River Pass in the Rockies, across Northern British Columbia to Fort Simpson on the Pacific coast, a point some 600 miles north of Vancouver. A charter was to be applied for at the next session of the Dominion Parliament asking for extensive powers, including the right to conduct operations in the mining and timber industries, as well as to engage in the hotel business and various other enterprises. It was understood that the Grand Trunk Pacific was to be an independent organisation, affiliated with the Grand Trunk Railway System, and having its headquarters in Canada.

These two railroad propositions entail the building of some
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6,000 or 7,000 miles of railway, and the expenditure of \$200,000,000 or \$250,000,000, spread over the next five or six years. In addition to the two Pacific lines having more or less defined routes projected, yet another was under charter, to have its terminus in Quebec. Those who remember the dismal prophecies with which the building of the Canadian Pacific was accompanied years ago on the part of many who seemed in a position to form a reliable judgment, will be chary of casting doubt on the possibilities of these projects proving financial successes. At the same time, it did not appear in the least probable that all this vast increase in railway mileage would be accomplished in so short a time as five or six years.

The mining of precious metals for the year showed a substantial falling off. Gold mining in the Yukon district, which reached its maximum in 1900 of \$22,275,000, declined in 1901 to \$18,000,000, and the estimated output for 1902 was about \$12,000,000. In regard to these figures, however, it is the opinion of competent judges that the fall in the price of labour and other elements in the cost of mining in the Yukon make it probable that the small "bonanza" area hitherto exploited can all be worked over again at a profit, so that the country will remain an important gold-producing centre for many years.

Gold mining in British Columbia has declined in the Rossland district, but it is developing rapidly to the southward in what is called the Boundary Country, where the output for 1902 more than equalled that of 1900 and 1901 together.

The nickel mining industry in the Sudbury district of Western Ontario declined in 1902. Almost the entire range of ore is in two or three hands, and comparatively little is being done.

Coal mining in Nova Scotia and in the Crow's Nest district in the Rocky Mountains shows immense promise. In the former case the increase in output for the year was about 30 per cent. In the latter two serious setbacks were experienced: a strike that lasted from May till September and an explosion that rendered an important mine unproductive for six months, but great progress was looked for in 1903.

It had been well recognised that the Dominion Cabinet were not altogether at one on the tariff question, and that Mr. Tarte, the Minister of Public Works, had some advanced protectionist ideas; but it was a matter of general surprise that he selected a time when the Premier and the Minister of Finance were absent in England to start a regular campaign for higher protective duties. He made a series of energetic speeches advocating a higher tariff, especially directed against an anticipated attempt on the part of the United States producers to flood the Canadian markets with goods at ruinously low prices. On the return of Sir Wilfrid Laurier from England Mr. Tarte had an interview with him, which resulted in his sending in his resignation (Oct. 20). In his letter accepting it (Oct. 21) Sir W. Laurier intimated that he had informed the Governor-General that he

was obliged to demand Mr. Tarte's resignation. He went on to comment in severe terms on that statesman's action in making the public utterances he had without any communication with his chief or any previous understanding with his colleagues. Sir Wilfrid said that he did not wish at the moment to discuss the economic theory advocated by Mr. Tarte. "To remain a member of the Government," wrote the Premier, "and at the same time to advocate a policy which has not yet been adopted by the Government, was an impediment to the proper working of our constitutional system, and implies a disregard for that loyalty which all those who are members of the same Administration owe to each other and have a right to expect from each other."

The Ontario Provincial elections, which took place on May 29, resulted in a majority of five for Mr. Ross's Government. A good part of the session of the Provincial House was taken up with discussions in regard to the question of the prohibition of the liquor traffic. They resulted in a Bill authorising the settlement of the question in the Province by a referendum, to be held in the autumn. It was stipulated that, in order to pass a prohibitive measure, it would be necessary for the prohibitionists to obtain not only a majority of votes on the occasion, but also that they should poll a number of votes equal to a majority of votes cast at the Provincial general elections of 1898. This requirement called for the casting by them of some 213,000 votes. The referendum took place on December 4, with the result that 199,549 voted in favour of the Liquor Act, and 104,346 against, showing a majority for prohibition of 95,203. Thus, although they failed to obtain the requisite number of votes to pass the prohibitory law, they achieved a decided triumph; and it appeared clear that some limited measure in the direction of Provincial prohibition was imminent.

On November 1 the new Pacific cable went into operation, and congratulations were exchanged. This is the striking result of long negotiations, and is a highly important link in the chain of Imperial interests.

On December 1 Mr. Marconi achieved his triumph, and from his station in Nova Scotia messages were actually despatched to England.

On April 5 the Rhodes bequest for Oxford scholarships was announced, and the subsequent selection of Dr. Parkin, of Upper Canada College, to arrange the details of the scholarships was received with general approval, and it was felt that, although Dr. Parkin's resignation from the Principalship of Upper Canada College was a severe loss to both the College and to Canada, the selection was an excellent one, and a compliment to Canada as well as to Dr. Parkin. On December 23 it was announced that Mr. H. W. Auden, of Fettes College, Scotland, had been appointed to the Principalship of Upper Canada College.

On May 10 Dr. Grant, of Queen's University, Kingston, died after a long illness. In his lifetime he had achieved much, alike for the College with which he was connected, for Canada and for the cause of Imperial unity in general. He was looked upon as one of Canada's most highly valued citizens, and his loss was sincerely mourned.

On June 21 a strike of the employés of the street railway of Toronto occurred. The entire service was stopped for some three days, and soldiers were called out to keep the peace. After some violence the matter was settled on June 24.

On December 28 a terrible disaster occurred on the Grand Trunk Railway at Wanstead, some few miles west of London, Ontario. Twenty-eight persons were killed and thirty-four injured.

During the year religious fanaticism manifested itself in a curious, and to the authorities embarrassing, form among a portion of the Russian sectarians called "Doukhobortsi," who came from the Caucasus and settled in the North-West. Having brought themselves into a reduced physical condition by the practice of a rigid form of vegetarianism, and having discarded the use of garments made from dead animals, they became subject to hallucinations, and started in large numbers from their villages on a pilgrimage to some indefinite point. The Government first took charge compulsorily of the (1,100) women and children and let the men march on, but in the end increasing severity of weather and the feeble condition of the men made it imperative they should be compelled to return by train to the villages whither the women and children had already been transported. Resistance ended in passive acquiescence, and at the end of the year the Doukhobortsi remained quietly in their villages.

III. NEWFOUNDLAND.

[The figures and statistics given below apply to the twelve months ending with June 30 of the year referred to.]

The period under review was marked by a steady improvements in the returns of the industry and trade of the island.

The exports of codfish—the staple produce of the colony—amounted to 1,288,955 quintals, as compared with 1,233,107 quintals in 1901—an increase of 55,848 quintals. The prices obtained were good.

The seal fishery produced for export 3,945 tuns of oil and 528,150 skins, of the respective values of \$379,445 and \$420,869. The corresponding figures for 1901 were: Tuns of oil, 4,652, value, \$424,632; skins, 327,163, value, \$282,895.

In the whaling business four companies were in full operation, and a fifth will shortly be established. Plant of the most improved and modern type was erected at two of the factories for the reduction of the offal into manure.

From the Belle Island properties belonging respectively to the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company and the Dominion Iron and Steel Company there were increased outputs of iron ore. The Pitt Cove Copper Mine continued in active work.

The development of certain oil properties was taken in hand, but as yet no appreciable returns are recorded. The opinion of experts, however, remains that there are possibilities of value for this industry.

Iron pyrites continued to be extracted from the re-opened mine at Pilley's Island. Chrome iron is being worked in St. George's Bay.

Slate in some quantity has been quarried, and certain shipments have been made to England. The industry attracted attention during the year.

Prospecting for gold continued, and there is the probability of the erection of crushing plant at Rose Blanche, which is situate in the Channel district.

The lumber and pulp industries showed a marked advance as compared with other natural resources, and sales to capitalists of two not inconsiderable properties were effected at remunerative prices.

The total exports amounted in value to \$9,552,524, and the imports to \$7,836,695, as compared with \$8,627,576 and \$7,497,147 respectively for 1901. It is noteworthy that these latter figures were greater than any in previous years, and the increase on them is satisfactory.

The revenue was \$2,193,536, of which Customs contributed \$2,008,194. The expenditure was \$2,129,465, showing a surplus of \$64,061. The public debt at June 30, 1902, stood at \$19,647,217, entailing an annual charge of \$737,243.

In legislation there was the usual provision for the renewal of the Treaties, or *Modus Vivendi* Act, for one year—a measure which has now passed annually for some time. There were also several Acts of domestic utility, including those framed for the regulation of the whaling industry, and the protection of large game.

In order to give the necessary authority to certain negotiations for reciprocal trade concessions, as between the Governments of Portugal and the Colony, a measure was passed legalising the reduction of the duties on produce from that country, in exchange for a similar reduction on cod fish imported there from Newfoundland. The year, 1902, however, closed before the necessary sanction of the Cortès to these arrangements had been obtained.

In October an Arbitration Court, wherein the Newfoundland Government was ably represented by the Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, K.C., M.P., gave its award on the claims of the railway contractor, Mr. R. G. Reid, which amounted to upwards of \$2,000,000. The award assigned to Mr. Reid \$853,500, and this was accepted as final by both parties.

In August the Premier, the Right Hon. Sir R. Bond, after having attended the Colonial Conference in London, proceeded to Washington, where he succeeded so far as concerned the negotiation of a reciprocity treaty as between the Colony and the United States Government, which was accepted alike by the Imperial, the Colonial and the American Governments. The American Senate, however, has lately refused to ratify it. The terms of this arrangement were, with some few modifications, similar to those of the agreement known as the Bond-Blaine Convention, which was negotiated in 1891, but which never received the assent of the Imperial Government.

The desire of the Colony to share in the obligations of Imperial defence has during the past three years taken shape in the enrolment of a number of men, and in their formation into a body known as the Royal Naval Reserve. This scheme, the first to have practical effect in any Colony, has been well received. In the autumn of 1900, and again in November, 1901, fifty men volunteered as reservists and cruised for six months' training in one of the vessels of the North-American and West-Indian Squadron. One hundred have done the same in 1902. A training ship, H.M.S. *Talisman*, is now stationed in St. John's harbour, where as many as 600 men are to complete their training. The hardy fishermen of Newfoundland make excellent reservists, and as soon as some difficulties of inception have been overcome, there should be no lack of volunteers from among them ready and willing to take their part in the defence of the Empire.

IV. MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

This and the remaining Sections of this Chapter are by E. WHITEL.

Mexico has continued its peaceful and progressive course under President Porfirio Díaz. In the year ending June 30, 1902, the total value of imports was \$11,428,847 and the exports of Mexican produce \$18,434,436, the latter an increase of \$6,000,000 over the figures for the preceding year. The estimated expenditure for the year ending June 30, 1903, was \$60,428,840, including \$22,214,895 on Debt. The revenue continues to expand and the financial position of the Republic is steadily improving. The mining industry has been stimulated by the further introduction of American and French capital, and the output of minerals, chiefly silver and copper, is now of the value of about \$10,000,000 annually. Several new copper mines have been opened during the year. The completion of the harbour works started out by Sr. Porfirio Díaz has made Vera Cruz invulnerable to dangers of shipping, one of the safest harbours in the American Continent. The great departments of administration, justice, and public instruction, and in the matter of railways Mexico now holds the premier position in Latin America. The programme of the American treaty is the completion of existing roads to the Pacific and to southward

lines connecting with the Tehuantepec National Railway and onwards towards Guatemala—a line expected to become Continental, traversing the Republic from north to south. In addition there is a project for more direct communication between Mexico and Tampico, uniting the port of Acapulco with the capital and with the northern frontier.

In his annual Message to Congress in August President Diaz announced measures for stimulating the export trade, and expected much good to result from the sending of a Commercial Commission to Central and South America in the interests of Mexican cotton and woollen industries. The improvement of the capital has continued, and Mexico is now one of the finest and best-managed cities in the western hemisphere. President Diaz completes his present term of office in November, 1904, but he has been Dictator practically since 1875, and would retire only by his own wish. In that event Señor Limantour, the Financial Minister, is marked out by his abilities and reputation as a probable successor.

In *Ecuador* and other Central American Republics and in the British Colony of *Honduras* there have been few developments worthy of record; but *Nicaragua* and *Colombia* (which has been engaged in a sanguinary revolution, terminated by a peace on December 10 and a general amnesty) have necessarily been affected by the Isthmian Canal project undertaken by the United States. Negotiations have proceeded with both Republics, and are referred to in the section relating to the United States.

H. WHATES.

V. THE GUIANAS AND THE WEST INDIES.

In British Guiana and the British West Indies the general position may be summarised by saying that the Colonies are waiting for the benefits that may be expected to accrue from the operation of the Sugar Bounties Convention; that in *British Guiana* there has been no marked development in gold and diamond mining, and that there and in the various islands the policy of extending the system of negro peasant proprietorship still languishes. Reports from the various islands show that the struggle against adverse influences is maintained—satisfactorily in the case of Trinidad and Jamaica for example, where other industries than sugar are being vigorously pushed, but not so in the smaller islands. British capital is needed for the development of this group of Imperial estates, and nowhere more than in the vast interior of Guiana, but the Colonial Office has thus far failed to guide any in that direction. The event of the year which overshadowed all others was the eruption of Mont Pelée in Martinique and of the Soufrière in St. Vincent on May 7 and 8. The whole of the northern portion of *Martinique* was devastated and the town of St. Pierre utterly destroyed, 30,000 people losing their lives. The effects of the eruption of the Soufrière were thus described in a telegram from Governor Sir

R. B. Llewelyn at *St. Vincent* on May 13 : " Arrived yesterday and found state of affairs much worse than given in reports forwarded by Administrator. Country on east coast between Robin Rock and Georgetown apparently struck and devastated similarly to *St. Pierre*, and fear that practically all living things within that radius have been killed, probably 1600 ; exact number never will be known. Managers and owners of estates with their families and several better class people killed ; 1,000 bodies found and buried ; 160 sent into hospital in Georgetown ; probably six may recover ; details too harrowing to describe. I have got the coasting steamer from *St. Lucia* running up and down Leeward coast with water and provisions ; 2,200 received relief. I have asked Governor *Trinidad* to lend me medical officer and ordered one from *Grenada*. *Indefatigable* remains. All neighbouring British Colonies giving assistance generously. The awful calamity is now realised and every effort is being made to grapple with it. All the best sugar estates in the Carib country are devastated and the cattle dead." ¹ The disaster to the British island was not comparable in magnitude to that which had overtaken the French Possession, but was more terrible than any known in the history of the island. Later accounts showed that the loss of life was at least 2,000, while 5,000 persons were rendered destitute. Relief measures for both islands were promptly put into operation, and a Mansion House Fund started for assisting the British island, over 50,000*l.* being raised in a few weeks. Further eruptions occurred during the year in both islands, and it was doubtful whether *Martinique* would not have to be abandoned altogether. One of the most remarkable incidents of the *Martinique* eruption of May 8 was the destruction of the shipping in the roadstead by a great wave of molten lava, a British vessel, the *Roddam*, alone escaping, though seventeen of her crew lost their lives. The captain, though terribly burned, managed to bring his damaged vessel with a few hands to *St. Lucia*.

In *Jamaica* there was some negro rioting at Montego Bay, and a movement for federation with Canada has to be noted.

The Address of the Governor to the Legislative Council showed an estimated deficit of 4,530*l.* The sale of the *Danish West India* Islands to the United States has fallen through, the Danish Legislature declining to sanction the bargain (see under " Denmark," p. 353). Alike in *Hayti* and *San Domingo* there have been internal disorders, and in the former Republic a rebel Admiral, named Killick, took forcible possession of arms from a German vessel, and his ship, the *Crête-à-Pierrot*, was sunk forthwith by the German gunboat *Panther*. The revolutionary troubles arose out of the resignation of General Simon Sam from the Presidency, and their outcome at the end of the year was that a General Nord had been proclaimed President.

¹ For other particulars as to these calamities see under " Geology " in the " Science of the Year."

The affairs of *Cuba* and *Porto Rico* are referred to in the article on the United States.

H. WHATES.

VI. SOUTH AMERICA.

The revolutions in *Venezuela* and *Colombia* continued an obscure and uncertain course during 1902, and in the case of the former State led to further serious international complications, the grievances of various Powers mentioned in last year's record culminating in joint action by English and German warships. The English grievances were of two kinds—wrongful interferences with British subjects, and the non-performance of certain commercial obligations to investors and others. The German grievances, so far as they were known, fell within the latter category, as did also grievances entertained by Italy, France and the United States. The English personal wrongs were chiefly cases of interference with sloops trading between Trinidad and the mainland, Venezuelan warships seizing the craft and inflicting wrongs and indignities upon captain and crew, under the belief or pretence that they were engaged in conveying arms and supplies to the revolutionists. Diplomatic remonstrance having failed in obtaining reparation from President Castro's Government, Lord Lansdowne in July threatened that his Majesty's Government would take forcible steps in the matter. President Castro's reply was in the nature of a counter protest because the *Ban-Righ*, a vessel which had left London in the previous year, had passed into the hands of the revolutionary party, and had inflicted injury upon the Government. He declined, in effect, to discuss the British claims pending the settlement of the *Ban-Righ* question. Lord Lansdowne, therefore, concerted with Germany a blockade of the Venezuelan coasts.

The circumstances under which this alliance was entered into, and the nature of the compact, are referred to in the English History section. For the purpose of this narrative it suffices to say that it was agreed with Germany to seize the Venezuelan fleet and blockade the coast.

A final opportunity was given to Venezuela to avert these measures of coercion, but President Castro again pressed the *Ban-Righ* matter and certain complaints he had alleged against the Trinidad authorities of favouring the revolutionists. English and German warships having been brought to the scene, a Note in the form of an ultimatum was presented at Caracas by the English and German Ministers on the afternoon of December 3. The Ministers then repaired to La Guayra and went aboard cruisers belonging to their respective nationalities. No answer being forthcoming to the ultimatum, four Venezuelan warships in the harbour were seized. President Castro retaliated by the seizure of British and German subjects in Caracas, but liberated them upon the remonstrances and representations of

Mr. Bowen, the United States Minister at Caracas. President Castro issued a furious manifesto denouncing the action of the two Powers as "barbarous, ignoble, cowardly and perfidious," and, landing parties having been put ashore for the protection of foreigners, complained that "the insolent feet of foreigners had profaned the sacred soil of Venezuela"; and he massed Government troops on the mountains behind La Guayra to resist any further measures. It was not, however, the intention of the allied Powers to enter Venezuela, and, the fleet of the Republic being in safe custody, action was restricted to the enforcement of the blockade.

On December 13 it was announced that Mr. Bowen had forwarded to the State Department at Washington a request by President Castro that arbitration should be proposed to England and Germany. Meanwhile United States and Italian warships were in Venezuelan waters, the French Government standing aloof, their claims having been referred to arbitration under a Protocol agreed upon in February. With regard to the suggestion for arbitration it was stated that the two Powers were agreeable to that course if President Roosevelt would consent to act; but opinion in the United States was unfavourable to this method. Later in the month it was reported that President Castro had given Mr. Bowen a free hand to effect a settlement with the Powers, and it was suggested that a mixed Commission might be formed to control the Venezuelan Customs and pay off the claims. President Castro's position was that his Treasury was empty, and that in view of the revolution which he had been endeavouring to suppress he was powerless to meet the demands the fleets sought to enforce. At the end of the year the position was that Mr. Roosevelt had declined to act personally as arbitrator and had suggested a reference by all parties to arbitration under the Hague Convention, the Monroe doctrine being excluded from consideration by that Tribunal. The States concerned agreed to this solution, but President Castro pressed for the immediate raising of the blockade, and at the end of the year the negotiations were proceeding.

Argentine Republic and Chile.—The most important event for these Republics was the settlement of the boundary dispute under the reference to the arbitrament of the British Sovereign. Early in the year Sir Thomas Holdich and a staff were despatched to survey the Southern Andes, where they spent several months, returning to England in the autumn. The award of King Edward was issued on November 27, and for the purposes of reference the geographical points should be placed on record:—

"Article I.—The boundary in the region of the San Francisco Pass shall be formed by the line of water-parting extending from the ^{ready erected} on that pass to the summit of the ^{and Tres Cruces.} Article II.—The basin of

Lake Lacar is awarded to Argentina. *Article III.*—From Perez Rosales Pass, near the north of Lake Nahuel Huapi, to the vicinity of Lake Viedma, the boundary shall pass by Mount Tronador, and thence to the river Palena by the lines of water-parting determined by certain obligatory points which we have fixed upon the rivers Manso, Puelo, Fetaleufu, and Palena (or Carrenleufu); awarding to Argentina the upper basins of those rivers above the points which we have fixed, including the valleys of Villegas, Nuevo, Cholila, Colonia de 16 Octubre, Frio, Huemules, and Corcovado; and to Chile the lower basins below these points. From the fixed point on the river Palena, the boundary shall follow the river Encuentro to the peak called Virgen, and thence to the line which we have fixed crossing Lake General Paz, and thence by the line of water-parting determined by the point which we have fixed upon the river Pico, from whence it shall ascend to the principal water-parting of the South American Continent at Loma Baguales, and follow that water-parting to a summit locally known as La Galera. From this point it shall follow certain tributaries of the river Simpson (or southern river Aisen), which we have fixed, and attain the peak called Ap Ywan, from whence it shall follow the water-parting determined by a point which we have fixed on a promontory from the northern shore of Lake Buenos Aires. The upper basin of the river Pico is thus awarded to Argentina, and the lower basin to Chile. The whole basin of the river Cisnes (or Frias) is awarded to Chile, and also the whole basin of the Aisen, with the exception of a tract at the head-waters of the southern branch, including a settlement called Koslowsky, which is awarded to Argentina. The further continuation of the boundary is determined by lines which we have fixed across Lake Buenos Aires, Lake Pueyrredon (or Cochrane) and Lake San Martin, the effect of which is to assign the western portions of the basins of these lakes to Chile, and the eastern portions to Argentina, the dividing ranges carrying the lofty peaks known as Mounts San Lorenzo and Fitzroy. From Mount Fitzroy to Mount Stokes the line of frontier has been already determined. *Article IV.*—From the vicinity of Mount Stokes to the fifty-second parallel of south latitude, the boundary shall at first follow the continental water-parting defined by the Sierra Baguales, diverging from the latter southwards across the river Vizcachas to Mount Cazador, at the south-eastern extremity of which range it crosses the river Guillermo, and rejoins the continental water-parting to the east of Mount Solitario, following it to the fifty-second parallel of south latitude, from which point the remaining portion of the frontier has already been defined by mutual agreement between the respective States. *Article V.*—A more detailed definition of the line of frontier will be found in the report submitted to us by our tribunal and upon the maps furnished by the experts of the Republics of Argentina and Chile, upon which the boundary

which we have decided upon has been delineated by the members of our tribunal and approved by us. Given in triplicate under our hand and seal, at our Court of St. James's, this 20th day of November, 1902, in the second year of our reign.

"EDWARD R. & I."

The award was represented to be satisfactory to both sides. Chile considered that she had obtained the larger portion of the disputed territory, while Argentine thought the richer and more valuable lands had fallen to her. Meanwhile an important treaty had been arranged between the parties, consolidating good relations. It provided that all future disputes should be referred to the arbitration of the British Government, or, in the event of a rupture with Great Britain, to the Swiss Government. Mutual conditions were also settled for a limitation of armaments for a period of five years. The Treaty of Arbitration was to be operative for ten years after ratification, which occurred in August. Argentine delegates visited Chile, arriving at Santiago on September 18, the anniversary of Chilian Independence, and the enthusiasm with which they were received was confidently interpreted as a further sign that fears of a rupture between the two Republics need no longer be entertained.

Other political events are of minor importance, but agitation is now begun in Argentina in connection with the Presidency, Señor Roca's term expiring in October, 1904. In opening Congress on May 8 President Roca gave some particulars of the financial position of the country. The revenue had exceeded the estimates by \$6,000,000 paper. The services of the external debt would be scrupulously continued. External debt stood on December 31, 1901, at \$386,451,295 gold, and the nation also owed \$20,858,371 gold in bonds, so the total foreign debt, other than provincial debts, stood in round figures at \$400,000,000 gold. The internal debt was \$81,410,983 paper and \$3,268,000 gold. The Budget Estimates for 1903 showed an expenditure of \$29,496,172 gold and \$95,206,215 paper; and revenue was estimated for 1903 at \$44,021,371 gold and \$61,800,000 paper. But Argentine finances are unintelligible even to experts, and those who understand them best are the severest critics of their management. The dishonesty of Argentine municipalities in repudiating debt—the reference is to Cordoba and Santa Fé—remains unremedied. A petition has been presented through the British Foreign Office to President Roca asking him to bring the defaulting corporations to account, but it has led to no result so far. Considerable irritation was also caused against Argentina by the failure to bring to justice the murderer of Mr. Barnett, an English subject in the Province of Cordoba, the representations of the Foreign Office having thus far had no effect.

Commercia Argentina has been somewhat depressed, though
the statistics for the first nine months of 1902 show a decrease of
imports and exports. Immigration has fallen off,

and here it may be mentioned that many of the settlers in the Welsh Colony of Chubut have left the country for Canada, under facilities given by the Dominion at the solicitation of Mr. Chamberlain. There have been awkward labour troubles in Buenos Ayres during the year, and the general administration of the country cannot yet be regarded as even moderately satisfactory. With regard to the cattle trade, arrangements were made at the close of the year for reopening British ports to Argentina live cattle, under safeguards imposed on Argentine exporters by the Government at the instance of the British Minister for Agriculture.

The trade of *Chile* has improved with the certainty of peace with Argentina. In opening Congress in June President Riesco stated that the revenue of the Republic in 1901 was \$110,059,497, which with a surplus made a total of \$128,636,326. The expenditure, including an amount carried to the Conversion Fund, was \$131,913,990—a deficit of \$2,277,664, or, with sundry additions, \$2,809,338. The revenue for 1903 was estimated at \$107,000,000 and the expenditure at \$105,665,546. But since then there have been reductions of expenditure on armaments in consequence of the understanding with Argentina. The general elections were due in March, 1903, and it was hoped that they would result in a stable Government and put an end to the many changes of Ministry which of recent years have had so bad an effect upon the fortunes of the Republic.

In *Uruguay* there has been the customary political unrest, and in July a plot was frustrated for the assassination of President Cuestas, whose term of office expires in 1903. The popular candidate is Señor Don E. MacEachen, who has several times been a Minister of State. The trade for the first nine months of 1902 showed a considerable increase, but there has since been a fall. In *Peru* little of consequence has happened beyond the reference of the Acre territory question, as between Peru and Brazil, to arbitration by the Argentine Republic.

Brazil has remained peaceful, and though the year closed with the prospect of trouble in the Acre region, where the Bolivian Republic has leased territory to an American syndicate under conditions regarded as infringements of Brazilian rights, the outlook for the Republic is more hopeful. Dr. Campos Salles' Presidential message to Congress in May last was a final pronouncement, and chiefly devoted to a financial review of the work done during his term of office. The Budget, as voted, showed an anticipated surplus for 1902 of about 2,000,000*l*. The total revenue was put at 42,876,667 milreis in gold, and 257,461,000 milreis paper; and the expenditure at 33,592,000 milreis gold, and 237,921,000 milreis paper—figures which those who can find their way through the mazes of Brazilian finance declare attest, with others, the improvement in the financial position of the country. The election of a successor to Dr. Campos Salles passed off quietly in March, and Dr. Rodrigues

Alves assumed office in that month. He is regarded as a sound financier and cautious statesman, whose previous work as Minister of Finance and Governor of the San Paulo Province justifies confidence in his integrity and ability. In his manifesto to Congress he outlined a programme of electoral and financial reform, of rigid economy in administration, of much-needed improvement in the sanitation of Rio de Janeiro, and of the attraction of capital and immigrants. His Cabinet was composed of Senhor Leopoldo Bulhoes, Minister of Finance; Senhor Seabra, of the Interior and of Justice; Senhor Lauro Muller, of Industry; Marshall Argollo, of War; Vice-Admiral Julio Noranha, of Marine; and Baron de Rio Branco, for Foreign Affairs—the last-named being a successful and popular statesman, well known in Washington and in Europe for the skill with which he managed sundry frontier questions referred to outside arbitration. A general election will take place in 1903.

As to the dispute with Bolivia, which had alienated a territory as large as Great Britain to an American syndicate, which was to administer and exploit it on the lines of a British Chartered Company, Brazil demanded a rescission of the concession, claiming, in common with Peru, international rights in the area, and having a considerable Brazilian population there. The demand was not complied with. Brazil then endeavoured to effect a purchase of the Acre territory, or, failing that, an exchange of territory, and agreed with Peru to arbitrate upon any differences regarding the region as between Peru and Brazil. The Bolivian Government, however, would have none of these proposals. The next development was in collisions between the Brazilians in the territory and Bolivian troops, and at the end of the year the Bolivian Government were sending more forces into the Acre region, while Brazil was concentrating troops in the native States of Mallo Grosso and Amazonas.

H. WHATES.

CHAPTER IX.

AUSTRALASIA.

I. THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.

THE second year of the Commonwealth was one fruitful of incidents bearing upon the welfare and unity of Australian Federation. That great scheme, which had been ushered in under auspices so brilliant, in its working disappointed the expectations of the people. The hope that it would tend to a larger life was not fulfilled. The doubts and fears of those who believed that the experiment in unity was premature found only too much appearance of justification. While at the beginning of 1902 it might be said that only one State (Queensland) was discontented, before the end hardly a single State had failed to

discover some solid ground for dissatisfaction with the Central Government.

Queensland felt herself aggrieved by the legislation on coloured labour, as dooming one of the most promising of her native industries to extinction. New South Wales, the leading Colony in the Federal movement, found much reason, before the second year of Confederation was ended, to be out of humour with a Government which made her contribute the largest share to the support of a fiscal system to which she had been opposed. South Australia believed her internal rights of navigation to be endangered by the Federal attempt to divert the water-course of the river Murray into irrigation canals for the general benefit. Western Australia and Tasmania had each her separate and individual grievance, in the neglect of some local interest or in encroachment on the part of the Federal power. A leading Australian journal, in recalling the history of the past two years, asked in sarcastic tones, "Who thinks now of celebrating the advent of the Commonwealth?" and declared that "any proposal of the kind would be laughed to scorn." The enthusiasm which attended the birth of the Constitution was said to have been killed. "Every one of the States is dissatisfied with the result; each has grievances of its own, and if the vote were to be taken again it would be an emphatic 'No'."

Unfortunately there is but too much reason to fear, making all allowances for local and party feelings, that this picture of the situation at the end of 1902 was substantially true. It was contended, however, that the faults from which the Commonwealth was suffering were not inherent in Federation, but had sprung from "mismanagement and mistaken ideas"—from the public affairs having been entrusted to the wrong hands, and from an overdue deference on the part of those who are in office to the views and interests of particular sections of the people.

The statesmen of Queensland, a State which entered the Union most reluctantly, were the first to give open expression to their discontent. In a speech delivered by Mr. Philp during the general election, on March 7, the Premier declared that Queensland had been "too impetuous and rash in accepting Federation." One of the State's best industries had been assailed. Sir Edmund Barton had not risen to the occasion. He was "the tool of the Labour party," and had failed in his great charge as Premier of the Commonwealth. On a subsequent occasion, referring to the serious deficit in the revenue, the Queensland Treasurer averred that the Commonwealth legislation had been "most disastrous to Queensland." Open threats of separation were ominously made by members of the State Government. In these sentiments there can be no doubt that Ministers were upheld by the great majority of the people of Queensland.

There was a very general belief on the part of the Opposi-

tion that it was the policy of Sir Edmund Barton which caused a change of sentiment, unfavourable to the accomplished Union, among the Australian people. But it seems reasonable to conclude that the failure of Federation, assuming it to have failed—which, perhaps, is a rather premature assumption—is not due wholly, if in any great part, to the personal conduct of those who have been in charge of public affairs. The fact that the people did not cease to attribute the usual personal and party motives to their Ministers under the Federal Constitution may be taken as in itself a proof that the Commonwealth Government had not risen superior to the ordinary Colonial Governments in public estimation—that the Commonwealth Parliament was believed to be swayed by the same petty and class motives as those which were familiar to the public in the process of local Colonial government. That Sir Edmund Barton is unduly influenced by the Labour party, which has, by chance and the dexterous management of its voting power, acquired more than its proper share of representation in the Commonwealth Parliament, may or may not be true. But that such a charge should be made, and have popular acceptance, is in itself an evidence of the small respect in which Federal institutions are held.

The extraordinary affair of the Six Hatters was a proof of the extent to which the local party, called of "Labour," is inclined to carry its pretensions. A party of English workmen, themselves all members of their regular trade union, were prevented from landing in Sydney from an English ship, because they had come under contract to work in their trade in the Colony. They were treated as "undesirable immigrants," and subjected to restraints upon their freedom. Sir Edmund Barton, upon being appealed to, at first proclaimed his entire powerlessness. The law had to be carried out. That workmen should be prohibited from coming to the Colony under engagement with an employer was decreed in the Act for the exclusion of coloured and other objectionable labourers. After a few days, however, moved by the excitement among the labouring classes themselves, the Prime Minister was able to discover a way out of the difficulty, and to restore the Six Hatters to liberty. But the incident left a very unpleasant feeling in the public mind as to the danger to which the liberty of the subject in Australia is exposed through the arrogant claims of the Labour party. That such an episode should be possible in the oldest city of Australia, the mother of Colonial Parliaments and the cradle of Federation, in the second year of the Commonwealth, augured but ill for the larger life and ampler air which the six States, when united in one central Government, had hoped to attain. The Labour party, to the last, was found protesting against the free admission of the English hatters as dangerous to the interests of the native industry, there being hatters enough in the Col-

The general belief that the establishment of a Federal Government, while widening and clearing the political atmosphere, would tend to simplify administration and to promote economy and a more direct public control over affairs, has not yet been realised. What, it is painfully recognised, Australia has undoubtedly achieved is one more Parliament with two more Houses, making seven Parliaments and fourteen Houses in all engaged in the legislative business—adding to the conflict of authorities and swelling the cost of government. A public return of the number and the cost of the various legislative bodies gives some startling figures. To the total population of 3,881,000 there were forty-eight Ministers, costing 54,560*l.* a year, and 752 members of Parliament, with salaries in the aggregate of 163,700*l.* These sums do not include the Presidents' and the Speakers' salaries (there are seven Presidents and seven Speakers) nor the salaries of the staff of officers—the last amounting to 44,424*l.*—nor the value of members' railway passes, nor their electoral expenses. There is also an item of 46,538*l.* for Parliamentary printing. The total cost of Australian Government, including the Governors' salaries, is a little over 500,000*l.* a year. There is but slight prospect of any reduction of these figures; so far they have been swelled by Federation. The individual States, however, as will be noticed later on, are in some cases beginning to stir themselves in the matter of the extravagance of the present legislative and administrative arrangements. The movement in favour of the simplification of the complicated Parliamentary system seems likely to spread through all the States, and was one of the most hopeful features in the political outlook at the end of 1902.

South Australia, hitherto a silent member of the Commonwealth, started some claims and grievances of her own—claims which conflict with those of other States, and grievances with which they can have little sympathy. The great river Murray, after a slow and devious course of more than 2,000 miles, passing the boundaries of Victoria and New South Wales, empties itself into the sea at Port Adelaide. It is, therefore, claimed as a South Australian river. But an Inter-State Commission on Irrigation, in which South Australia was represented, had proposed to make the water-course of the Murray the main feature in a scheme of continental irrigation. The Murray is by nature a drain, and an ideal feeder of navigable and irrigation canals. But to South Australia it is also the great highway along which the produce of the interior, of three States at least, is carried cheaply to the coast. The Inter-State Commissioners declare that their scheme of utilising the Murray for watering the dry plains of the interior will not affect its value as a navigable river. The South Australians, however, are strongly of a contrary opinion; they insist that the Murray is their own river, any tampering with the water of which would be a national injury. They protest against the recommendations of the Inter-State

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Commission as "vitally unconstitutional," and as calculated to "disturb the harmony of the Commonwealth." Finally, a unanimous vote was passed in the South Australian Parliament declaring that the scheme of the Commissioners will be "resisted with the utmost determination."

There was some friction also between the Commonwealth Government and the State Government of New South Wales regarding a matter of national defence. The Federal Government decided that Dawes Point, within the harbour of Port Jackson, was a necessary spot to fortify against the common enemy. But New South Wales, through her Ministry, regards Dawes Point as an essential feature in the amenities of her capital, and will not have it disturbed by guns. A compromise was arrived at, by which another spot has been chosen for the site of a battery; but not until after some angry correspondence.

Finally, Western Australia found more than one point on which the working of the Federal Constitution conflicted with her wishes and interests. Sir John Forrest, her leading statesman, who is Minister of Defence in the Federal Government, was brought to confess that he was "not happy and satisfied with his position in the Commonwealth."

The Federal Government, as directed by Sir Edmund Barton, being dependent on the Labour party, did not attain to any increase of popularity by its measures. The Commonwealth Parliament, which met for business on January 21, was chiefly occupied during the year in the settlement of the import duties, the final result, after several months' debate, being a compromise between the Protectionists and the Free Traders. The tariff, which left the House of Representatives in March, was described as "a thing of shreds and patches," marked by no settled policy, which pleased neither party.

In the Upper House all the items were re-discussed and several important changes made, mostly against the wish of Ministers. Composite duties were wholly abandoned. Considerable reductions were made on some important imports. The duty on machinery was lowered from 25 to 12½ per cent. A duty of 3*d.* a pound on tea, originally proposed in the Government Bill but struck out in committee, was re-imposed by a combination of the Free Trade and Moderate votes against the Ministry. A bonus on the native industry in iron, or rather for the creation of such an industry, was one of the concessions to the Protectionists, in return for their submission to what was supposed to be a moderate tariff, though it was shrewdly suspected that one reason for the pliability of the majority on the tariff was that the Labour party hoped, through a failure of the revenue at the Custom Houses, to arrive at a land tax. Sir Edmund Barton, during the process of the discharge, was charged with purposely miscalculating the efficacy of the tariff, with a view to favour the cause of Protection.

As a general result of the long and heated controversy in the Senate the tariff, as finally settled, proved to be a compromise between the extreme proposals of the Protectionists and the demands of the moderate party. The tariff, as returned by the Senate to the House of Representatives, may be said to favour neither Protectionists nor Free Traders, the duties to be levied in the Protectionist port of Melbourne being lower than those which existed before Federation, while in the Free Trade port of Sydney they will be higher. Considerable confusion, both in the Federal and State revenues, has already been created by the unification which was supposed to make the fiscal system more simple. Two of the States, New South Wales and Western Australia, will receive, under the scheme of distribution, more revenue, while the other States will receive considerably less, to the disturbance of their respective Budgets.

Among the most important labours of the Federal Parliament during the year was the passing of a new Commonwealth Electoral Bill through the House of Representatives, with the object of unifying and consolidating the electoral laws, containing several novel features, as Vote by Post, Exhaustive Ballot and Proportional Representation for the Senate. The new Bill also proposed to admit 700,000 women to the franchise for both Houses. None of these things had been demanded by the people, nor any one of them made a public question. One of the effects of the enfranchisement of women, for which the women did not ask, would be to give a preponderance of female votes in some important constituencies, as in Melbourne and in Sydney.

A Commonwealth contingent of troops for South Africa left Melbourne on February 12.

The news of the military execution of two Australians, Lieutenants Hitchcock and Morant, for outrages committed on Boer prisoners, created some excitement in the States. It was made the subject of questions and of a short debate in Parliament. Public opinion, on the whole, approved the sentence, and upon the knowledge of the facts the Imperial authorities were held to be justified.

Sir Edmund Barton left Melbourne on May 6 for London, to represent the Commonwealth at the King's Coronation. He returned to Australia in November, giving an account to his own constituency at Maitland of his visit to England (Nov. 24). On Coronation Day there were great loyal demonstrations and festivities throughout the States.

The Federal Budget was introduced by the Treasurer, Sir George Turner, on September 20. The total year's revenue to June 30 was declared to be 11,000,000*l.* All the States, it was announced, excepting New South Wales and Western Australia, whose tariffs had been increased under the Federal fiscal system, would receive less for their shares than in 1901.

Lord Hopetoun's resignation of the office of Governor-

General was announced to the Senate on May 14, the news being received by the general public with as much surprise as regret. Lord Hopetoun's decision, it was understood, was taken in consequence of the vote of Parliament fixing 10,000*l.* a year as the limit of his allowances—which was less by 4,000*l.* than he had received. Lord Hopetoun left Brisbane for England on July 16. He was succeeded by Lord Tennyson, the Governor of South Australia, who was sworn in at Melbourne on July 17—accepting the office for twelve months.

Sir Edmund Barton, in a speech at Sydney on his return from England, declared himself in favour of preferential tariffs, and spoke of what had been done in the matter at the Conference of Colonial representatives in London.

The news of the conclusion of peace in South Africa was received by the whole community with acclamation. The Federal Parliament passed a vote of congratulation to the Mother Country on June 3.

The great drought which has afflicted Australia for seven years, especially the inland districts of New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria, causing great injury to the pastoral and agricultural interests, and a loss of many millions of sheep, finally broke up in the beginning of December. Since then there were heavy rains throughout the interior, to the great relief of all the producing interests. Meetings were held in Sydney and Melbourne in aid of the sufferers by the drought, at which a large amount of money was subscribed.

The Pacific cable, 7,898 miles in length, uniting Australia with Europe *viâ* Canada, was opened on November 3.

There was an exodus of 3,650 males from Australia to South Africa in the first eight months of 1902.

New South Wales.—The expectation that, by the institution of a Federal system, the political life of the constituent States would be, if not extinguished, at least considerably shorn of interest, was, in the second year of the Commonwealth, only partially realised. In the older Colonies, though they were foremost in promoting Australian unity, there was still much individual activity in directions not always in harmony with the Federal spirit. In New South Wales the Government continued to display much independence in the conduct of its affairs. Although debarred by the Federal Constitution from dealing with fiscal questions, the State, under the direction of Mr. See and Mr. O'Sullivan, the leading members of the Ministry, exercised to the full the privilege left to the States of managing their finances. The New South Wales Government, like that of the Commonwealth, chose to consider itself dependent on a Labour party, and all its acts indicated that there was in the policy of developing and advancing what is called the public interest at the expense of the general public. Mr. O'Sullivan, the Secretary for Public Works, 1 that the object of the Government

was to find employment for the working classes. He confessed that during the two years the Ministry had been in office, out of a total of over 7,000,000*l.* spent on public works, 5,000,000*l.* had gone in wages. Mr. O'Sullivan scarcely thought it necessary to prove that these expensive public works were required for the public benefit, and that the State could afford them. It was the amount of money expended, out of taxes and loans, on wages for which he took credit. The State being at liberty to borrow money and to pledge its future, unfettered by any Federal rule, there is no check on this policy of profligate expenditure to keep up an unnatural standard of wages and of living, except in public opinion.

There were signs of the awakening of this public opinion. Following the example of some of the neighbouring States New South Wales took up the cry of reform, which was directed, as in Victoria, at the extravagant and wholly unnecessary expense of the Parliamentary system. At several public meetings resolutions for a reduction in the number of paid legislators were enthusiastically carried. The Assembly, now consisting of 125 members, was proposed to be reduced to 80 or 60, a number believed to be sufficient for a State with a population of less than 1,500,000, which was fully represented in the Federal Parliament.

The newly formed Arbitration Court delivered an important judgment on a question brought before it by the Australian Workers' Union. A rule of the Union which provided that members must vote and work at elections for candidates chosen by the Union under a penalty of 5*l.* was declared to be "contrary to public policy" and "legally unenforceable." At an election for Balmain, one of the suburbs of Sydney, which is a Labour stronghold, the Trades' Council sustained a severe blow by the triumph of Mr. Law, whom they opposed for having voted against the Solidarity Labour platform.

In the Assembly the Women's Suffrage Bill was once more passed by a majority of 51 to 10.

A great banquet was given to Mr. Seddon, the New Zealand Premier, at Sydney, on April 19, at which the Federal Ministers were present. Speeches in praise of Mr. Seddon's patriotic conduct in the Boer War and in favour of preferential trade with the mother country were made and enthusiastically applauded.

The great drought came to an end, heavy rains, which have extended to the other Colonies, giving much relief to the pastoral and agricultural interests.

Victoria.—The chief event of the year was a change of Government, amounting almost to a revolution, of a kind wholly unprecedented in Australian history, with issues full of promise for the future of the community. It was a revolt of the people against what was supposed to be popular government—a reaction in favour of reform and retrenchment, against

the excessive expenditure in the public departments, and the extravagance of the Parliamentary system. Begun without political encouragement, independently of party, in one of the rural districts, the agitation for administrative economy and electoral reform quickly spread throughout the State. A meeting at St. Armand, attended almost entirely by farmers, on March 15, was unanimous in complaining of the cost of Government. There were, it was contended, too many members of Parliament, who, for their own ends, encouraged extravagance in the public departments. Resolutions were passed for reducing their number, and insisting on retrenchment in the spending departments.

The cry was taken up in all of the agricultural districts and quickly spread to the large cities and the metropolis, to the alarm of what hitherto was the popular party, the Trades' Council and its dependents in the Ministry. For the first time an issue was presented to the people which was free from all partisan and interested motives. The climax of the agitation was arrived at in Melbourne, where, at a great meeting in the Town Hall, resolutions were passed in favour of reform and economy. A reduction in the number of representatives in the State Parliament was one of the first practical measures advocated. Victoria was declared to be over-governed. The 95 members of the Assembly were pronounced too many. While the cost of Government had increased, the earning power of the community had diminished. The expenditure had risen in four years by 1,555,000. Through the profligate borrowing for public works, not wanted and mostly unproductive, each head of a Victorian family was saddled with a debt of 230l. In spite of the old age pensions, which had cost the State four times as much as had been calculated, there was an increase in the charitable votes.

Not the least remarkable sign in this agitation was that it rose and spread spontaneously, without prompting or direction from any of the usual political agencies. The Press seemed to have been both surprised and embarrassed by the rapidity and force of the movement. The organs of the Government, hitherto claiming to belong to the "popular party," did not know what to make of a rising which looked like Demos turning against Democracy. The associated powers of the Trades' Hall and the large body of the paid servants of the public, with whom were united in a strange alliance, for the first time, the civil servants of the State, including County Court judges, and gentlemen of position, made efforts to resist and to ridicule the new movement. Of how little importance it was deemed by the Government and the regular Opposition was seen in the Ministerial question which occurred in June. On the 3rd of this month the Government gave notice of a vote of censure against the Government on a wholly minor issue. The Ministers had resigned in May—one of them, Mr.

M'Culloch, in November—yet they continued in office without making the fact public.

On this question the vote was taken, which resulted in the Government being beaten by 45 to 42—the whole Labour Party supporting the Ministry. The decision of the Assembly, as afterwards appeared, would have been more emphatic had the issue been one of general want of confidence.

Mr. Peacock resigned the next day, and Mr. Irvine was sent for to form a new Ministry, which he did, with himself as Premier and Attorney-General; Mr. Shiels, Treasurer; Mr. M. K. M'Kenzie, Minister of Lands; Mr. Murray, Chief Secretary and Minister of Education; Mr. Bent, Minister of Railways; Mr. G. H. Cameron, Minister of Mines; Mr. J. W. Taverner, Minister of Agriculture; Mr. R. Reid, Minister of Public Works, and two others without portfolios.

The composition of this Assembly, of which several members were new to office and others not identified with the cause of Reform, proved that the leader of the new Government had not realised the weight and significance of the popular movement in favour of economy and retrenchment. Mr. Irvine, himself a leading barrister, quickly rose to a due appreciation of the situation, throwing himself heartily and energetically into the agitation for Reform. At a public meeting of his constituents held at Nhill on June 18 the new Premier announced his policy. His first step was the reduction in the numbers of the Council and the Assembly, the first to 28, the other to 56—making a saving in salaries of 11,400*l.* The number of Ministers was reduced to seven. Further reforms in the direction of economy were promised.

At a bye-election for Footscray, a working-men's constituency, on June 14, Mr. Donald, who stood for the "Kyabram (Reform) Progressives," defeated Mr. Lemmon, the nominee of the Trades' Hall.

A great meeting of public servants, including members of the Civil Service and the railway employes, was held in Melbourne on August 10, to protest against retrenchment. Angry speeches were made, among which was one by a County Court judge, with open threats of a general strike.

The coalition of the public servants with the trade unions only gave renewed force to the Reform agitation. Mr. Irvine, at Nhill, on September 20, made a vigorous speech, justifying his action by the condition of the public exchequer. There had been a large deficit in the past year, and a still larger was expected. The State, he declared, amidst tumultuous cheering, "must retain the control of its servants."

The Labour Council, on the other hand, pronounced for increased expenditure with higher taxes, if necessary, with the avowed aim of "the gradual nationalization of the means of production, distribution and exchange." To tax heavily and spend freely was declared to be the artisan's ideal. To econo-

mise was to reduce the wages fund. Was there not a land tax in reserve to supply all the deficiencies of revenue?

For the first time in the history of Victoria these arguments failed to convince the people. A general election was held on October 1, with results which astonished even the most ardent friends of reform. The Irvine Ministry obtained a signal triumph at the polls—the Opposition being virtually demolished, or, as in some other of the States, absorbed into the Labour party. Fifteen of Mr. Peacock's supporters lost their seats. Ministers received a majority of at least twenty.

Mr. Irvine lost no time, at the meeting of the new Parliament, in giving effect to his policy. A Bill for the reduction of members of the House, with a lowering of salaries, was moved in the Assembly. A still more drastic measure, containing a principle novel in the history of Australian Parliaments, was proposed. This Bill, giving public servants special representation, was read a second time on December 5, by a majority of 49 to 38—the lessened number in favour of the Government showing that some of Mr. Irvine's own supporters were opposed to so violent a change. The Constitutional Reform Bill, embodying this and other reforms, was postponed till 1903.

The financial statement, though it announced a revenue the largest ever known, admitted a deficit, first estimated at 437,000*l.*, afterwards increased to 650,000*l.* The Old Age Pensions had cost 280,000*l.* over the estimate. The receipts for the year ending June 30 were 6,995,753*l.* The expenditure was 7,433,364*l.*

Mr. Gillies was appointed Speaker of the new Assembly at the meeting of Parliament on October 14.

The announcement of a design to confer the title of Lord Mayor on the chiefs of the municipalities in Melbourne and Sydney provoked a protest from the Victorian Government. Such a title, it was contended, would make the local Mayors "Right Honourable," and so put them above the President and the Speaker.

The effects of the great drought were severely felt in the back country. The yield of Victorian wheat in 1902 showed a decrease of nearly 6,000,000 bushels, equal in value to 1,000,000*l.* sterling. The area of wheat cultivation was reduced by 260,000 acres. An appeal to "the millionaires of Europe" for help to the distressed agriculturists made by Madame Melba, the singer, was discountenanced by the Press and held to be injurious to the credit of the State. It was ultimately withdrawn.

The proposal of the Corowa Irrigation Conference for erecting a weir on the Murray and a reservoir above Albany, was denounced by the people of Sydney as an attempt to annex the Riverine district to Victoria.

The emigration of able-bodied males from the State to South Africa was continuing at an alarming rate. The Government declined to give details.

South Australia.—South Australia, once foremost in the confederating movement, was not free from the centrifugal impulse which was the chief feature of the year's history among her neighbours. There also was a notable uprising of the people against the Labour and Socialist party. At the general election held simultaneously for both Houses on May 3, when for the first time the women voters outnumbered the men, the party in favour of reform and retrenchment was triumphant. The members of the Assembly were reduced from 54 to 42, of the Council from 24 to 18. The Socialistic land settlement scheme, after costing 100,000*l.*, was abandoned. The Treasurer reported a deficit of 239,176*l.*, attributed, as in some of the other States, to the partial operation of the Federal Tariff.

In other directions there was a very significant change in the public feeling and a marked decline in the enthusiasm for the Commonwealth.

In 1901 the South Australians were anxious to get rid of their cumbrous and costly appanage, the Northern Territory, which was offered to the Commonwealth Government. Indeed, it was confessed that one chief motive for the Federal vote in South Australia had been the hope of transferring this useless possession—rendered all the more useless by the popular demand for “a white Australia”—to the Commonwealth.

In 1902, however, there was a complete change in popular opinion. At a great meeting in Adelaide the offer of the Northern Territory to the Federal Government was voted to be “entirely unauthorised by the people.” So far from wishing to get rid of it the State Government declared it to be a most valuable national possession, with the use of which no other State should interfere. They had found a use for it which would be greatly to the benefit of the State in a scheme which would “infuse life-blood into the whole of Australia.” This was a project for a trans-continental railway continuing the State line from the South Australian frontier to Port Darwin—a distance of 2,000 miles from Adelaide. Some 1,200 miles were to be constructed to complete the communication from sea to sea. The railway would cost 6,000,000*l.*, an expense which it was proposed to meet by the issue of land grants to the extent of 90,000,000 acres along the line.

This scheme, which involves certain issues likely to bring about a collision of State with Commonwealth interests, was very favourably received by the South Australians, and seemed likely to be pressed with all the force and energy at the command of the State.

A monument to Captain Flinders, the great Australian discoverer and circumnavigator, in the shape of a commemorative tablet on a white stone column, was erected on the summit of Mount Lofty, near Adelaide.

Queensland.—In Queensland, whose attitude towards the Commonwealth has been already referred to, the chief concern

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of the year was the drought, which inflicted serious loss on the pastoral, the chief producing, interest. All other questions, even those arising out of Federation, were merged in this, the greatest calamity from which the Colony had ever suffered. The loss to the pastoralists was reckoned at 16,000,000 of sheep and 3,000,000 of horned cattle. Partial rains fell at the close of the year, though less in quantity than in the southern States.

The Government was occupied with measures of relief, the chief of which was a new Land Act, in which the old policy of restricting the letting of Crown lands for pastoral purposes was to a large extent reversed. Increased facilities were given to the pastoral tenants; leases were granted on more favourable terms, and their holdings enlarged. In the case of inferior lands, the maximum of 20,000 acres was extended.

A general election was held on March 11. In the result the relative strength of parties was not greatly altered. The Philp Ministry secured a good working majority, the Opposition being practically confined to the Labour party, which, owing to the electoral system and the influence of the prejudice against colour, was stronger in this State than in any other.

The sugar planters proposed to defeat the Kanaka Act by substituting East Indians for Pacific Islanders. Many of the former, it was believed, could pass the legal test by being able to speak fifty words of English.

A remarkable point arose in the working of the Kanaka Act. Under the old system those returning to the islands, on the completion of their term of contract, mostly re-shipped for the Colony after a brief interval. But under the new Act they cannot return; "and so," it was said, by the opponents of the measure, "they are either eaten or fall into slavery"—a result exhibiting a conflict between humanity and the humanitarian sentiment alleged to be the motive of the Act. A petition to the King, protesting against the forcible removal of the Kanakas from their new homes in Queensland, was presented to the Governor on June 14.

The Treasurer, in making his financial statement on July 16, reported a deficit of 247,000*l.*, which rendered necessary the imposition of new taxes. He attributed the financial failure to the Commonwealth legislation, which had been most disastrous to Queensland.

The Kenniffs, father and two sons, who had been guilty of several murders and outrages, were, after a long chase, captured at Mitchell, 370 miles from Brisbane, on June 23.

The new Governor, Sir Herbert Chermiside, arrived in November.

Western Australia.—In Western Australia the public mind was chiefly occupied by the thought of a railway from Coolgardie to Esperance Bay, on the south-east coast of the Colony. This would shorten the distance from the gold fields to the Eastern States by 600 miles. The scheme was opposed by those who

had vested interests in the ports of Perth and Fremantle, but it was warmly advocated by the mining community.

Mr. George Leake, Premier and Attorney-General of the State, died of pneumonia on June 24. He was succeeded by Mr. W. H. James.

Tasmania.—A vacancy in the representation of the State in the Commonwealth Parliament was filled by the return of Mr. Hartnoll by a majority of 341 over his Protectionist opponent.

The Treasurer made his financial statement on July 24. New taxes were proposed to meet the increased expenditure under Federation. A house tax was substituted for the income tax, with a tax on foreign "combines".

II. NEW ZEALAND.

Untroubled by Federal cares and ties, and happy in the possession of Mr. Seddon, whom his patriotic Imperialism had advanced into a greater figure than ever, New Zealand had a year of tranquil prosperity—singular among the Colonies of Australia in a surplus, an advancing revenue, and an increasing population.

At the opening of the year Mr. Seddon delivered a fervid patriotic speech at Wellington in defence of the British cause and Army and against Continental calumnies. He declared that New Zealand, which had sent eight contingents to the war, was prepared to send a ninth if necessary. The enthusiasm for the Prime Minister affected even his political opponents. This one robust personality overshadowed all, and in Seddonism—not always a word in favour—was merged, to a degree unprecedented in Colonial history, every act and movement of the State.

At Christchurch on April 5 there was held what was described as the greatest meeting in all the history of the Colony, when, with absolute unanimity, his opponents joining with his friends in the enthusiasm, a national testimonial was presented to Mr. Seddon, with a purse of 2,500*l.*, in recognition of the Prime Minister's conduct during the war. Six days afterwards Mr. Seddon left for London, having a "send-off" marked by an extraordinary effusion of popular feeling.

The Parliament, which was opened for business in July, did nothing of importance—in the absence of Mr. Seddon—and was prorogued in October.

At the general election held on November 26 the Government was enabled to secure a majority of twenty, although the Opposition was slightly increased in numbers. There was much cross voting on the Prohibition ticket. Several Pro-Boers were badly beaten. The popularity of Mr. Seddon, acquired by his loyalty to the mother-country and to the Empire, was sufficient to cover all errors of domestic administration and to atone for some wild legislation, aimed at the realisation of that social

PART II.
CHRONICLE OF EVENTS
IN 1902.

JANUARY.

1. Issue of an authorised edition of Lord Rosebery's Chesterfield speech with a prefatory note in which the author appealed for "spade-work" on behalf of the policy expounded in that utterance, which appeared to him to have met with much general approval.

— Round Table Conference at Fulham Palace on Confession and Absolution continued and concluded.

— Rioting at Bethesda, the men employed at the Penrhyn slate quarries being attacked by large crowds of strikers. Hussars summoned from Bangor.

3. Announced that an anonymous philanthropist, who shortly afterwards was revealed as Sir Ernest Cassel, had placed 200,000*l.* at the disposal of the King, who had decided that the sum should be applied to the erection of a sanatorium for the open-air treatment of tuberculous patients in England.

— The Marquis Ito (ex-Premier of Japan) entertained at luncheon, with a distinguished company, by the Lord Mayor (Sir J. C. Dimsdale, M.P.) at the Mansion House.

— Protracted Ministerial crisis at Sofia ended by formation of a Cabinet under M. Daneff, entirely composed of members of the Zankoffist or Russophil party. The Sobranye, having refused a Ministerial demand for two months' supplies, was immediately dissolved.

4. Publication in *The Times* of Mr. Rudyard Kipling's poem, "The Islanders," severely satirising the British people for their excessive devotion to field sports and other pleasures, and their unwillingness to face the sacrifices necessary for national security.

— Under Rugby Union rules the Devon football fifteen defeated the Rest of England by one goal and two tries to nothing.

5. About 2.30 A.M. an explosion, due to fusion of electric lighting

wires, occurred (following on several on the previous afternoon in the same quarter) in a conduit-box on Ludgate Hill, with the result that for the rest of the night Newgate Street, Smithfield, Ludgate Hill and the neighbourhood were in total darkness.

7. The Chinese Court returned to Peking, the Emperor and Empress-Dowager being attended by 1,000 noblemen, and passing for four miles between double lines of kneeling soldiers.

8. In the Reichstag Count von Bülow (the Imperial Chancellor) expressed sympathy with the disapproval caused by Mr. Chamberlain's allusion to the German Army in the war of 1870, but said, quoting words from Frederick the Great: "Let the man alone, and don't excite yourselves, he is biting at granite." This speech was generally applauded by the German Press.

— At a convention of the United Irish League in Dublin, Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., who presided, said that the League had 1,230 branches throughout Ireland in active work.

— The jury at the inquest on the victims of the Liverpool Overhead Railway disaster returned a verdict of "Death from accidental suffocation," adding the expression of the opinion that a great oversight had been committed in the storing of sleepers in a dangerous position.

10. At a special meeting of the Court of the Victoria University a resolution was carried favouring the constitution of the three colleges of the university at Liverpool, Manchester and Leeds into three separate universities, leaving open the question whether that at Leeds should not be a federal one including colleges in other towns.

11. Speaking at Birmingham, Mr. Chamberlain said he neither withdrew nor qualified anything he had said. He did not want to give lessons to a foreign Minister, nor would he accept any at his hands.

— Speaking at Belfast, Mr. Wyndham (Irish Secretary) said that the Unionist Government would never introduce the element of compulsion into the purchase and sale of land.

— Under Rugby Union football rules Wales beat England at Blackheath by a penalty goal and two tries to a placed goal and one try.

14. Published in *London Gazette* a petition, influentially signed, to the King for the incorporation of a new "British Academy for the Promotion of Historical, Philosophical and Philological Studies." Petition referred to a committee of the Privy Council.

— On the motion of the Premier of the Australian Commonwealth (Mr. Barton), seconded by Mr. Reid, Leader of the Opposition, the Federal House of Representatives at Melbourne unanimously passed a resolution expressing its "indignation at the baseless charges made abroad against the honour of the people and the humanity and valour of the soldiers of the Empire."

16. The King, accompanied by the Queen, opened Parliament in person. In opening the debate on the address Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman intimated that the policy of the Liberal party in regard to Ireland was unchanged.

16. Reinforcing drafts of the Grenadier, Coldstream and Scots Guards, with other details, to the number of 40 officers and nearly 2,000 men embarked at Southampton for South Africa.

17. A distinguished party, including Princess Louise, the Duke of Argyll, and Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain, met in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey to bid farewell to fifty women teachers about to start to take up educational work in South Africa.

18. At the Central Criminal Court Dr. Frederick Edward Traugott Krause, a Boer prisoner of war, on parole, who had joined the English bar, was found guilty of having attempted, by letters written from London, to solicit Cornelius Broeksma to murder Mr. John Douglas Forster, in the Transvaal, and was sentenced by the Lord Chief Justice to two years' imprisonment.

20. A spinning mill at Belfast collapsed while in full operation. Twelve women and girls were killed and between twenty and thirty injured.

22. The first anniversary of the Accession of King Edward VII. celebrated by services in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral, also generally in the country by services, the firing of Royal salutes, church bell-ringing, etc. Very generally also memorial services were held with reference to Queen Victoria and various evidences afforded of public veneration for her memory.

— The confirmation of Canon Charles Gore as Bishop of Worcester took place in the Church House, Westminster. Mr. Kensit and other persons, including counsel on behalf of the Church Association, lodged objections, but the Vicar-General (Mr. Cripps, K.C., M.P.) ruled that as they related to doctrine they could not be considered by the Court, and he therefore refused to hear the opposers.

23. The third test cricket match between Mr. McLaren's English eleven and an Australian eleven ended in a victory for Australia by four wickets. Scores: England, first innings, 388; second, 247. Australia, first innings, 321; second (for 6 wickets), 315. (At Adelaide.)

— The Bank rate lowered from 4 to 3½ per cent., the reserve being 24,699,000*l.*, and proportion to liabilities 49½ per cent.

24. Polling at the bye-election for Hampstead, vacant by the retirement of Mr. E. Brodie Hoare (C.), resulted in the return of Mr. T. Milvain, K.C. (C.), by 3,843 votes against 2,118 for Mr. G. F. Rowe (L.)—majority, 1,725. At the two last general elections Mr. Hoare had been returned unopposed, and in 1892 by a majority of 1,609.

— In the King's Bench Division the Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Darling granted a rule *nisi* for a *mandamus* to the Archbishop of Canterbury to hear and consider certain objections which his Vicar-General had refused to hear or consider on the occasion of the confirmation of Canon Gore as Bishop of Worcester on the 22nd inst.

25. The Prince of Wales was cordially welcomed on arriving at the railway station at Berlin by the German Emperor and Princes staying in the German capital.

16. Lady Cromer laid the coping-stone of the Nile barrage works at Assiut.

17. At Marlborough Street Mr. H. Geale, fishmonger, was fined forty shillings and costs under the Act of 1900 for the Prevention of Cruelty to Wild Animals in Captivity for permitting unnecessary suffering to 700 Prussian carp, many of which had died in a glass tank in his shop, from asphyxiation through insufficient supply of water.

— Labour riots at Barcelona, in which several persons were killed and wounded. State of siege declared. Some 80,000 men were said to be out of work, and all business suspended.

18. The fourth "test" match was won by seven wickets by an Australian team at Sydney against Mr. McLaren's English eleven.

19. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, at Leicester, condemned the "clean-slate" policy.

20. Letter published from Lord Rosebery accepting his "definite separation" from Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.

21. The golden wedding of the Archduke Rénier and Archduchess Marie was celebrated at Vienna with great pomp.

22. A picture, "Cattle and Sheep," by C. Troyon was sold at Christie's for 7,000 guineas.

23. Dr. Gore's consecration as Bishop took place in Lambeth Palace Chapel.

— Prince Henry of Prussia arrived at New York and was received with much cordiality.

25. Dr. Gore was enthroned as Bishop of Worcester.

— The celebration of the centenary of Victor Hugo's birth began in Paris.

27. In the final contest for the Amateur Championship at billiards Mr. A. W. Good defeated Mr. S. S. Christey, the holder, by 311 points in a match of 2,000 up.

28. The Waterloo Cup won at the Aitcar Coursing Meeting by Mr. G. F. Fawcett's greyhound, Farndon Ferry.

MARCH.

1. Announced that the final revised census returns show the population of India to be 294,266,701.

3. The London Water Bill was read a second time.

4. The fifth "test" match between England and Australia at Melbourne ended with victory for the Australians by thirty-two runs.

— The Duke of Bedford was appointed Knight of the Garter and the Marquis of Waterford Knight of St. Patrick.

— Lord Avebury addressed the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, reviewing the British trade of the past year.

5. The Prince and Princess of Wales travelled from the Duke of Beaufort's seat (Badminton), where they had been staying two days, to

Avonmouth through Bristol. At Avonmouth the Prince cut the first sod of the new dock and was present at a luncheon, after which he spoke, wishing prosperity to the port of Bristol.

5. The Boer delegates were received as private citizens by President Roosevelt, who heard their statement but said that the United States could not and would not interfere in the struggle in South Africa.

6. Mr. Stephen Phillips' tragedy "Paolo and Francesca" was produced by Mr. George Alexander at St. James's Theatre and was very favourably received.

— The Postmaster General received a deputation to urge the increase of underground telegraphic communication with the North of England and Scotland in view of the frequent interruptions caused by gales. He expressed sympathy with the difficulty, but said that at present the cost of laying such wires, which would be 700,000*l.*, made it impossible to consider the scheme.

— The Belgian-American liner *Waesland* sunk in collision with the Houston liner *Harmonides* off the Anglesey coast. The crew were saved.

7. The King and Queen left London for Dartmouth, where the King laid the foundation stone of the new Britannia Naval College.

8. The King and Queen proceeded to Devonport, where the Queen launched the new battleship *Queen*.

11. Prince Henry of Prussia left America for Germany.

12. The Prince and Princess of Wales visited Manchester from Knowsley and opened Whitworth Hall, presented to Owens College by the late Dr. Christie.

14. The South Island section of the ninth New Zealand contingent left New Zealand for the Cape, being accorded an enthusiastic greeting on their departure.

15. Mr. John Redmond, M.P., speaking at St. Patrick's Day celebration at Bolton, said that the great problem before England was to keep the population in Ireland, and this the policy of the present Government failed to do.

— Under Association rules an International Match between Wales and Scotland was played at Greenock and won by Scotland by five goals to one.

17. St. Patrick's Day was celebrated by a special parade of the Irish Guards, at which each man was presented with a bunch of shamrock provided by the Queen.

— The Admiralty announced the final abandonment, after long search, of all hope of H.M.S. *Condor* being still afloat.

19. The Prince and Princess of Wales visited Bushy-Park, Teddington, where the Prince opened the National Physical Laboratory, which has been erected partly by subscription and partly at the cost of the nation.

— Mr. Asquith spoke at a meeting in furtherance of a scheme for promoting the emigration of women to South Africa, and pointed out the openings which exist there for women's work.

Paul's Cathedral, which was attended by representatives of the King and Queen and an enormous number of persons, many thousands being unable to gain admittance.

10. A scheme for organised research into the origin and treatment of cancer adopted by the Royal College of Physicians was approved by the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons. A fund of 100,000*l.* is to be raised, for equipping and maintaining laboratories devoted to cancer research, and to assist the research in existing hospitals.

14. The Budget was introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with increase in the income tax, stamp duty on cheques doubled, and import duty on corn imposed.

15. An explosion occurred, through the misfire of one of the barbette guns on board the battleship *Mars*, killing two officers and nine men, and wounding seven others.

— M. Sipiaguine, Minister of the Interior, was assassinated at St. Petersburg by one of the Kieff students who were expelled last year.

16. A proclamation issued by the Lord Lieutenant enforcing certain provisions of the Crimes Act in several districts of Ireland.

17. The full text of the despatches from Sir R. Buller and Lord Roberts relating to the action at Spion Kop was published.

— Issue of 32,000,000*l.* in Two and three-quarters per cent. Consols at 93½.

19. The French Chamber of Commerce in London held their annual banquet. M. Paul Cambon presided and spoke, emphasising the importance of commercial relations between England and France.

21. The King received the Crown Prince of Siam and conferred on him the insignia of Knight Grand Cross of the Victorian Order on his attaining his majority.

23. The Princess of Wales visited the East End of London, receiving a most cordial welcome from large crowds.

— Mr. Balfour distributed prizes and scholarships to successful candidates in the commercial examinations founded by the London Chamber of Commerce, and urged the necessity for combining practical training with broad culture.

24. The Australian Commonwealth has decided to admit letters from any part of the British Empire with a penny stamp.

26. Grave discontent reported from several provinces in Russia owing to famine and administrative oppression, also general resistance to the new military law in Finland.

28. The result of the general election in France was announced, giving the Ministry a clear majority of 100 votes.

29. The agreement restoring to China the Pekin-Tien-tsin-Shan-hai-kwan Railway was signed in Pekin by Sir E. Satow, Yuan Shih-kai and Hu Yu-fen.

30. The two days' sale at Christie's of Mr. Dunn-Gardner's collection of silver and silver-gilt was finished. The total of 287 lots realised 39,020*l.*

30. Princess Radziwill was sentenced at Cape Town to two years' detention in a House of Correction for having forged promissory notes in Mr. Rhodes's name.

— The Two Thousand Guineas Stakes, at Newmarket, won by Mr. R. S. Sievier's Sceptre, 8-st. 9 lb. H. Randall. Fourteen ran.

MAY.

2. The final round in the Amateur Golf Championship at Hoylake won by Mr. C. Hutchings Royal Liverpool by one hole from Mr. S. H. Fry Mid-Surrey.

3. The Royal Academy Banquet was held. The Prince of Wales spoke, dwelling on his impressions of art in the Colonies. Lord Selborne, the Lord Chancellor, Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace and others also spoke.

5. A letter from Sir H. Fowler was published, setting forth his views on the Irish question, in which he declared for Lord Rosebery's Irish policy.

7. The annual demonstration of the Primrose League was held in the Albert Hall. Lord Salisbury presided, and spoke of the Government policy in South Africa and the contrast in Egyptian and Irish matters since the foundation of the League seventeen years ago.

8. News was received of the total destruction of the town of St. Pierre, in Martinique, and its shipping, by the eruption of the volcano Mont Pelée.

9. At Bangor the Prince of Wales was installed as Chancellor of the University of Wales, and the Princess received the honorary degree of Doctor of Music.

10. At Bury (Lancashire), for the Parliamentary vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. J. Kenyon C., Mr. G. Toulmin (L.) was returned by 4,213 votes against 3,799 given for Mr. H. Lawson (U.)—majority, 414. This was the first time that a Liberal had been returned for Bury since 1886, when Sir H. now Lord James was elected as a Liberal Unionist without opposition. In 1900 Mr. J. Kenyon had a majority of 849 over Mr. Toulmin.

13. The sale at Christie's of the Gibson-Carmichael collection of pictures, enamels, furniture, carvings, etc., was finished, 49,273*l.* being realised for 272 lots.

14. Lord Rosebery presided at the Presentation Day of the London University, paying a tribute to the memory of preceding Chancellors.

17. The enthronement of King Alfonso XIII. took place with much ceremony at Madrid. Don Carlos issued a protest against King Alfonso's accession, declaring his own right to the throne.

— A match for the Amateur Tennis Championship was played, resulting in victory for the holder, Mr. E. H. Miles.

19. A heavy rain visited Sind, the most destructive ever experienced there. It cut away forty miles of the Sind Railway and destroyed many men and stock.

20. President Loubet arrived at Kronstadt and was most cordially received by the Tsar.

— Further volcanic eruptions were reported from Martinique and other West Indian islands. The Mansion House Fund for the relief of distress in St. Vincent amounted to 28,000*l*.

21. M. Waldeck-Rousseau reported to have resigned the Premiership of the French Cabinet, chiefly on the ground of ill-health. The formal tender of resignation did not take place till June 3.

22. The King, with the Queen and Princess Victoria, opened the Royal Military Tournament at Islington and watched the performance. All the officers in charge of the various departments were presented to the King.

— The Lord Mayor opened the new operating department of the London Hospital, which has been built at the cost of 13,000*l*., provided by an anonymous donor.

23. President Loubet left Russia, carrying the good wishes of the Tsar for the prosperity of France.

24. Lord Pauncefoot, British Ambassador to the United States, died at Washington. President Roosevelt and other leading Americans and the American Press expressed great regret.

28. A service in memory of Lord Pauncefoot was held at Washington and was attended by the Ambassadors of other countries, the President and members of the United States Cabinet and other distinguished persons.

30. The King presented colours to the Irish Guards on the Horse Guards Parade at the usual birthday ceremony of trooping the colours. The colours were consecrated and saluted by the troops.

31. At Birmingham the first test Cricket Match of the English season between English and Australian teams ended in a draw. Play much interrupted by rain.

JUNE.

1. The news of the conclusion of peace in South Africa was received in London, and was made public by the posting of Lord Kitchener's message at the War Office and Mansion House about 5 P.M. There were demonstrations of public rejoicing in the streets up to a late hour.

2. Peace rejoicings were general throughout Great Britain and all over the Empire. The terms agreed to were announced in both Houses of Parliament, and the leaders of the Opposition in both Houses expressed their congratulations.

4. Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords and Mr. Balfour in the Commons brought up a message from the King asking for a vote of 50,000*l*. to Lord Kitchener.

— The race for the Derby was won by Mr. J. Gubbins's Ard Patrick 9 st. (J. H. Martin). The favourite, Mr. Sievier's Sceptre, came in fourth. Eighteen ran.

5. It was announced in Paris that M. Combes has accepted the task of forming a new Ministry.

— In both Houses of Parliament votes of thanks to the Army were proposed and passed. Mr. W. Redmond and other Irish members made violent demonstrations in opposition.

— The open Golf Championship was won by A. Herd, the Huddersfield professional, with an aggregate score of 307.

6. Mr. Chamberlain opened the Colonial Troops Club in Dover Street, for the convenience of colonial non-commissioned officers and troopers who will be in London for the Coronation. Major-General Eaton presided and said that the forming of the club was entirely due to Miss Brooke Hunt.

— The race for the Oaks was won by Mr. R. S. Sievier's Sceptre (H. Randall). Fourteen ran.

8. The King and Queen and other members of the Royal Family attended the Thanksgiving Service at St. Paul's Cathedral for the conclusion of peace. There was an enormous crowd both inside and outside the Cathedral.

9. A disastrous fire occurred on the premises of the General Electric Lighting Company in Queen Victoria Street, by which nine lives, all of young girls employed on the premises, were lost. The lack of proper apparatus for the Fire Brigade was much criticised.

10. The Bishop of London announced the wish of the Queen to give medals and a tea to 10,000 maids-of-all-work in London in celebration of the Coronation.

— At a meeting of Old Etonians it was resolved that the memorial to Etonians who have fallen in the war should take the shape of a library and hall at Eton, with a record of names in the college chapel and a memorial monument.

13. The King received at Buckingham Palace addresses of loyalty and congratulation on the conclusion of peace from the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London and the London County Council.

— Lieutenant-Colonel Denison, president of the British Empire League in Canada, addressed the London Chamber of Commerce on "the Food Supply and Defence of the Empire."

14. The King and Queen went from Waterloo to Aldershot, and in the evening were present at a torchlight tattoo on the recreation ground at the camp.

— The Prince of Wales reviewed 12,000 lads of the Boys' Brigades on the Horse Guards' Parade.

— At Christie's a full-length portrait by Romney of Miss Sarah Rodhard, afterwards wife of Sir Eyre Coote, fetched 10,500 guineas.

15. The King was confined to his room, as was reported, by an attack of lumbago, following on a chill.

16. The King—said to be better—travelled from Aldershot to Windsor by road, and the Queen, in his place, reviewed some 31,000 troops at Aldershot.

16. At the annual dinner of King's College, London, the Bishop of London, presiding, announced that the Council had decided to abolish all religious tests for posts connected with the college, except in the case of professorships or lectureships in the faculty of divinity.

— Lord James of Hereford, as general chairman of the Coal Conciliation Board, declared a reduction of 10 per cent. in miners' wages, from the first making-up day in July.

17. At a banquet given by the Royal Asiatic Society the Maharajah Sindhia, of Gwalior, said that he and other Indian Princes present had come to England to testify to their undying loyalty to his Majesty the King-Emperor.

— Lord Kitchener addressed a telegram to Generals Botha, Delarey and De Wet, highly complimenting them on their unflagging energy and unfailing tact in promoting the loyal fulfilment by the burghers of the agreement to surrender.

18. A deputation from the Institution of Electrical Engineers waited upon Mr. G. Balfour, President of the Board of Trade, and urged the appointment of a Royal Commission on the subject of electrical industrial development.

19. The Ascot Gold Cup won by the favourite, the Duke of Portland's William the Third, 4 yrs., 9 st. (M. Cannon). Eleven ran.

21. It was stated by the King's private secretary to-day that there was "not a word of truth" in certain alarming reports which had been current as to the health of his Majesty, who received this afternoon Lieutenant-Colonel H. I. Hamilton, bringing the peace despatches from Lord Kitchener.

— Lord Milner assumed office as Governor of the Transvaal.

23. The King and Queen travelled from Windsor to London. They drove in an open carriage to Buckingham Palace and were received with much enthusiasm.

— A great number of Royal and other distinguished guests for the Coronation arrived in London.

— Prince Komatsu of Japan was entertained by the Lord Mayor at a *déjeuner* at the Mansion House.

24. Great consternation was created by the announcement that the King was suffering from severe illness which made a surgical operation immediately necessary, and that the Coronation was therefore indefinitely postponed. It was stated later that the operation had been successfully performed, and the King's condition was satisfactory.

25. Great crowds gathered all day round Buckingham Palace waiting for the bulletins which were posted on the gates and which continued to report good progress through the day.

— Many of the Royal guests left London.

— Lord Milner arrived at Bloemfontein and was sworn in as Governor of the Orange River Colony.

— A long list of Coronation Honours was announced.

25. Intercessory services on behalf of the King were held in many churches. That in St. Paul's Cathedral was attended by several members of the Royal Family and by representatives of foreign countries, India and the Colonies.

26. The Prince and Princess of Wales entertained at Marlborough House 1,300 children from various London institutions.

— Some rioting at Watford on the part of a mob of roughs, to express disapproval of the abandonment of the Coronation festivities.

28. The bulletin issued at 10.30 A.M. pronounced the King to be out of immediate danger.

30. Coronation bonfires were lighted in several parts of the country in response to a signal discharged from the Great Wheel at Earl's Court.

— The Conference of Colonial Premiers with Mr. Chamberlain began at the Colonial Office.

— The Indian Princes and Colonial and Indian troops visited the fleet at Spithead.

— At Wimbledon Mr. H. L. Doherty defeated the holder, Mr. A. W. Gore, of the Lawn Tennis Gentlemen's Singles Championship by three sets to one.

JULY.

1. The Prince of Wales reviewed the Colonial troops now in London on the Horse Guards' Parade in presence of the Queen and other members of the Royal Family, the foreign Princes still in England and an enormous crowd of spectators.

2. The Prince of Wales held a review on the Horse Guards' Parade of the contingents of Indian troops now in London in presence of the Queen and several members of the Royal Family. The troops represented all arms of the Imperial Army in India. The King desired it to be made known to his soldiers from the Colonies and India that he had heard with pleasure from his sick-room the expressions of the welcome of his people to their loyal comrades.

4. A brilliant ceremony took place at the India Office in the reception given to the Indian Princes who came to London for the Coronation. The Prince of Wales, representing the King, received the homage of the Indian Princes.

— In the Tennis Singles Match between Oxford and Cambridge Mr. Baerlein (Cambridge) easily beat Mr. Hoare (Oxford).

5. The King's dinner to 500,000 of the poor of London was given at different centres. Members of the Royal Family visited most of the dinners.

— The third test match between England and Australia played at Sheffield ended in a victory for Australia by 143 runs.

— The University match ended in a victory for Cambridge by five wickets. Score: Oxford, first innings, 206; second, 251. Cambridge, first innings, 186; second (5 wickets), 274.

7. Five hundred maids-of-all-work were entertained at tea at the Queen's expense.

-- Mr. Chamberlain inspected representatives of the West African Frontier Force. In the afternoon he was thrown out of a hansom cab and received a severe wound on the head.

8. Further parties making up 750 maids-of-all-work were entertained as the Queen's guests.

9. The following list issued by the Treasury of pensions, amounting in the aggregate to 1,200*l.* per annum, granted during the year ended March 31 last under the provisions of the Civil List Act, 1901 :—

Miss Emma Brierly.—In consideration of the merits of her father, the late Sir Oswald Brierly, marine painter to her late Majesty, and of her inadequate means of support, 50*l.*

Mrs. Elizabeth Cole.—In recognition of the services rendered by her late husband, Police Sergeant William Cole, on the occasion of the dynamite explosion in Westminster Hall in the year 1885, 80*l.*

Mr. Henry Austin Dobson.—In recognition of his distinguished literary attainments, and of his eminence as a poet, 250*l.*

The Rev. Dr. John Hunt.—In consideration of his theological writings and of his straitened circumstances, 100*l.*

Mrs. Emma Rose Mackenzie.—In consideration of the writings of her late husband, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, the historian of the Highland Clans, and of her inadequate means of support, 50*l.*

Mrs. Elizabeth Reid.—In consideration of the literary merits of her late husband, Captain Mayne Reid, the novelist, and of her straitened circumstances, 50*l.*

Mrs. Mary Crawford Fraser.—In consideration of her literary merits and of the public services of her late husband, Mr. Hugh Fraser, as her late Britannic Majesty's Minister in Japan, 100*l.*

Mr. William Henry Hudson.—In recognition of the originality of his writings on natural history, 150*l.*

The Rev. Dr. John Kerr, F.R.S.—In recognition of his valuable discoveries in physical science, 100*l.*

Mrs. Isabel Meroy Pinwell.—In consideration of the artistic merits of her late husband, Mr. George Henry Pinwell, and of her straitened circumstances, 75*l.*

The Rev. Dr. Augustus Jessopp.—In recognition of his services to archaeology and literature, 100*l.*

Mrs. Sarah Catherine Jones.—In recognition of the services rendered by her late husband, Principal John Viriamu Jones, to the cause of higher education in Wales, 75*l.*

Mr. Henry Ling Roth.—In consideration of his services to anthropology, and of his inadequate means of support, 70*l.*

10. At Henley Regatta, for the Grand Challenge and Stewards' Challenge Cups, Third Trinity, Cambridge, defeated Leander; University College, Oxford, beat Eton for the Ladies' Challenge Plate; and Mr. F. S. Kelly defeated Mr. R. Etherington-Smith for the Diamond Challenge Sculls.

— A fresh terrible eruption was reported from Fort de France, Martinique.

11. Lord Salisbury had an audience of the King, at which he tendered his resignation, which was accepted. The King subsequently communicated with Mr. Balfour.

— It was announced that the late Lord Cheylesmore had bequeathed the whole of his collection of English mezzotint portraits to the nation, and they would shortly be moved to the British Museum.

12. Mr. Balfour was received by the King and accepted the post of Prime Minister.

— A telegram from Pretoria announced that the process of surrendering is now complete. Over 20,000 have surrendered.

— Lord Kitchener arrived in London. The Prince of Wales met him at Paddington, and, after luncheon at St. James's Palace, he was received by the King, who gave him the Order of Merit.

— Harrow beat Eton at Lord's by eight wickets. Score: Eton, first innings, 72; second innings, 228. Harrow, first innings, 241; second innings, 60 for two wickets.

— At Lord's, for the Marylebone Gold Prize for Tennis, Mr. Eustace Miles, holder, beat Sir Edward Grey by 3 sets to 1.

14. At the National Rifle Association's annual meeting at Bisley, beginning to-day, the following were the principal scores:—

MATCHES.

Matches.	Distance.	Highest possible score.	Total scores.
Humphry Challenge Cup (M.R.)	800, 900, 1,000	900	{ Oxford - - - 735
Volunteers and Regulars Officers (M.R.)			{ Cambridge - - - 682
Halford Memorial (M.R.)			Not shot.
Wimbledon Cup (M.R.)	900, 1,000	150	Lieut. Ranken, 6th V.B.
			Royal Scots - - - 134
	1,100	75	Lt.-Col. Hopton, H.L.I. - 68
Ashburton Challenge Shield (S.R.)	200, 500	560	Cheltenham - - - 469
Spencer Cup	500	35	Sergt. North, Harrow - 84
Elcho Challenge Shield (M.R.)	800, 900, 1,000	1,800	{ England - - - 1,587
			{ Ireland - - - 1,580
			{ Scotland - - - 1,505
China Challenge Cup (S.R.)	600	500	City of Glasgow - - - 430
Chancellor's Challenge Cup (S.R.)	200, 500, 600	840	{ Cambridge - - - 736
			{ Oxford - - - 707
Kolapore Cup (S.R.)	200, 500, 600	840	Australia - - - 770
United Service Cup (S.R.)	200, 500, 600	840	Regulars - - - 772
			England - - - 1,882
National Challenge Trophy (S.R.)	200, 500, 600	2,100	{ Scotland - - - 1,864
			{ Wales - - - 1,859
			{ Ireland - - - 1,799

PRIZES.

Prizes.	Distance.	Highest possible score.	Winner.
Waldegrave - - -	800, 900	100	Major Gibbs, 2nd Gloucester Engineers - - 97
Albert - - - -	800, 900, 1,000	175	Major Gibbs, 2nd Gloucester Engineers - - 156
Prince of Wales's (S.R.)	200, 600	100	Sergt. Hardcastle, 3rd V.B. Northumberland Fus. - 95
Alexandra (S.R.) - -	200, 600	70	Cpl. Hurst, Natal - - 69
Wimbledon Cup (S.R.)	600	50	Lieut. Bakewell, 1st V.B. North Staffs - - 49
Duke of Cambridge (S.R.)	900	50	Pte. Hope, 1st London R.V. - - - 48

Prizes.	Distance.	Highest Possible Score.	Winner.
King's (S.R.), 1st stage, Bronze Medal	200, 500, 600	105	{ Lance-Cpl. Cole, 1st V.B. Dorset - - - 103
Do., 2nd stage, Silver Medal	600	205	{ Cpl. Kerr, 1st Dumbar-ton - - - 192
Do., 3rd stage, Gold Medal	800, 900, 1,000	355	{ Lieut. Johnson, 1st London - - - 307
St. George's (S.R.), 1st stage - - -	500, 600		{ Sapper Murchie, 1st Lan-ark Engineers - - 116
Do., 2nd stage - - -	800	120	
Grand Aggregate (S.R.) -	—	350	Clr.-Sergt. Swift, 4th V.B. Manchester - - - 327
Volunteer Aggregate (S.R.)	—	210	Cpl. Fitz, 1st V.B. H.L.I. 193
Special Coronation Prize (S.R.) - - -	—	105	Cpl. Green, 1st V.B. Dorset - - - 101

15. King Edward, accompanied by the Queen, travelled from London to Portsmouth and went on board his yacht, the *Victoria and Albert*, which then proceeded to moorings off Cowes. His Majesty bore the journey very well.

— The third International Congress for the Welfare and Protection of Children opened in London, under the patronage of the King, and the presidency of Lord Beauchamp.

17. Announcement of the resignation of Lord Cadogan of the Vice-royalty of Ireland.

18. Unveiling by the Duke of Cambridge in St. Martin's Place of the late Mr. Onslow Ford's statue of General Gordon (a replica of that at Chatham), thence to be removed in the early autumn to Khartoum, the gift of readers of the *Morning Post*. Lord Kitchener was present and spoke briefly.

— The Sultan of Zanzibar (Hamud bin Muhamad bin Said) died at Zanzibar.

— At Sandown Park, the Eclipse Stakes (10,000*l.*) won by the Duke of Devonshire's Cheers, 3 yrs., 8 st. 8 lb. (D. Maher).

19. Long Distance Amateur Swimming Championship of England won, for the fifth time in succession, by J. A. Jarvis of Leicester, over a course of 5 miles and 60 yds., from Kew to Putney, in 1 hr. 13 min. 27 sec. The second was E. G. Read of East Sydney, New South Wales, whose time was 1 hr. 14 min. 10 sec.

20. Mr. Montague Holbein swam from Dover Harbour to a point only four miles from Ramsgate, and the strength of the tide making it impossible for him to get into that place, swam back to Deal. He left the water fresh and bright, having swum at least eighteen miles in a heavy sea in four hours and three-quarters.

— Seyyid Ali proclaimed Sultan of Zanzibar, with Mr. Rogers as Regent until he attains the age of twenty-one.

21. At Oxford the honorary degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon Sir Edmund Barton, Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth.

23. In the International Boat Race at Cork the Leander Club defeated the Berlin Rowing Club by a length and a quarter.

23. The Duchess of Devonshire opened the Nature Study Exhibition, and the Duke spoke of the objects of the exhibition and the attitude of the Board of Education towards the subject.

24. The hon. secretaries of King Edward's Hospital Fund have received from Lord Knollys the sum of 10,000*l.* which had been given by Mr. R. Lucas Tooth of Australia to the King, and presented by his Majesty to the Hospital Fund.

26. The Colonial Premiers visited Edinburgh, where they attended the University and received the honorary degree of LL.D., and were presented with the freedom of the city at a great meeting in the Synod Hall.

28. The Wingfield Silver Sculls for the Amateur Sculling Championship of the Thames won by Mr. A. Hamilton Cloutte, over the Putney to Mortlake course, by a length and 2 feet from Mr. Etherington-Smith, who had led throughout the race to within 50 yards of the winning post.

— William R. Fenton, Crown Solicitor of Sligo, was awarded 3,500*l.*, by a Belfast jury, in an action brought by him against Patrick A. M'Hugh, M.P. for North Leitrim, editor and proprietor of the *Sligo Champion*, for libel and conspiracy.

29. Polling for North Leeds (Mr. Jackson having been made a Peer) resulted in the return of Mr. R. Barran (L.) by 7,539 votes against 6,781 recorded for Sir A. Lawson (C.)—the loss of a seat to the Government.

— Mr. C. Wason, Liberal-Unionist Member for Shetland and Orkney, spoke at Stromness and announced his secession from the Unionist party.

— Mr. Chamberlain appeared in the House of Commons for the first time since his accident, and was cordially welcomed.

30. Mr. Carnegie has presented Lord Acton's library, which he bought some time ago, to Mr. John Morley to be put to whatever purpose he shall think fit.

AUGUST.

2. Lord Bingham, High Sheriff of County Mayo, was present in Castlebar Courthouse, with a force of police, and refused to permit the County Council to present an address to Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P. Violent speeches were made by Mr. C. O'Kelly, M.P., chairman of the Council, and Mr. O'Brien, who then with their followers retired to the work-house, where the address was presented.

— Ex-President Steyn, with his wife and family, arrived at Southampton in a state of nervous prostration, and left immediately for Holland by a Dutch steamer.

— Mr. Rudyard Kipling opened at Lower Sydenham a covered rifle range constructed by Dr. Jaeger's Sanitary Woollen System (Limited) for the use of their employes.

3. Decrees against unauthorised Roman Catholic establishments gazetted in France, affecting 237 establishments, which, added to 87

previously dealt with, made up 324 compulsorily closed, besides large numbers voluntarily closed in pursuance of a previous notice. At several places the enforcement of the decrees to-day excited demonstrations of sympathy with expelled teaching nuns, and in a few cases the sympathisers offered serious resistance.

3 and 4. At the German Swimming Association's meeting at Bremen, Mr. Jarvis of London won the Championship of Europe race of 1500 mètres in 24 min. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ sec., and also won the Emperor's prize for the 1000, 500 and 100 mètres races.

6. The King arrived in London from Cowes; he received an enthusiastic welcome and appeared completely recovered from his illness.

— Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener were the guests of the Corporation at the Guildhall, receiving illuminated addresses and plate.

— The Emperor William arrived at Reval in his yacht and was received by the Tsar. The two Emperors inspected the Russian training squadron.

7. Judgment was given at Lewes by Dr. Tristram, Chancellor of the Diocese, in the Brighton ritual case, which lasted three and a half years. He ordered the removal of the ornaments complained of in the Church of the Annunciation, Brighton.

8. A full rehearsal of the Coronation music was held in Westminster Abbey.

— Detachments of troops were arriving all day in London from different parts of the country.

9. With much pomp the King and Queen were crowned in Westminster Abbey. They drove in state from Buckingham Palace, and received an enthusiastic welcome from the crowds in the streets. It was officially announced that the King had in no way suffered from the fatigue of the ceremony.

11. An attempt made at Kharkoff to murder Prince Obolenski, the Governor, by a man who fired four shots at him with a revolver, in the Tivoli Gardens, but only succeeded in inflicting a contused wound in the Prince's neck.

12. In the gardens of Buckingham Palace the King held an investiture parade of the Colonial troops at present in England, numbering about 1,800. Each officer and man received a Coronation medal from the hands of the Prince of Wales, and at the close of the parade the King addressed them, expressing his great pleasure at seeing them and his high appreciation of their patriotic services in South Africa.

13. Announced that the trustees under Mr. Cecil Rhodes's will have entrusted to Mr. G. R. Parkin, C.M.G., Principal of the Upper Canada College, Toronto, the preparation of a scheme for giving effect to Mr. Rhodes's great bequest for the establishment of Colonial and American Scholarships at Oxford.

— The King reviewed and addressed on the lawn of Buckingham Palace the contingents of Indian troops, to the number of about 1,100, present in London for the Coronation.

13. The fifth test match between England and Australia, played at the Oval, resulted in a victory for England by one wicket. Score: Australia, first innings, 324; second, 121. England, first innings, 183; second (for nine wickets), 263.

15. Annual Post Office Report estimates that in the year ending March 31, 1902, 3,919,000,000 postal packets were delivered within the United Kingdom, being an increase of 5·2 over the previous year, and an average of 94·2 packets to each person in the population.

— The transfer of the city of Tien-tsin to the Chinese was completed.

— Announced by Reuter's Agency that the sums mentioned at the Colonial Conference as the proposed contributions from the Colonies to the Imperial Navy are: Commonwealth of Australia, 200,000*l.* per annum; Cape Colony, 50,000*l.*; New Zealand, 40,000*l.*; and Natal, 35,000*l.* No direct contribution at present proposed from Canada.

— Letter published from the Indian representatives at the Coronation to the Lord Mayor of London expressing warm gratitude for the hospitality and consideration shown to them, hearty loyalty to the Throne, and regard and affection for the British nation.

16. Coronation Naval Review held by the King at Spithead in beautiful weather, the fleet being moored in four long lines and including over 100 vessels.

— The Colonial troops now present in England attended a special service held for them in Westminster Abbey.

— The Earl of Dudley sworn in at Dublin Castle as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

— The Boer generals—Botha, De Wet and Delarey—arrived at Southampton and were received by Lord Kitchener, Lord Roberts and Mr. Chamberlain. Declining to attend the Naval Review, they proceeded to London and had an enthusiastic popular reception.

17. The Boer generals, on the King's invitation, visited His Majesty on board his yacht at Cowes.

— The Shah arrived at Dover and was met by Prince Arthur of Connaught.

18. The King inspected the fleet under way off the Isle of Wight; but owing to bad weather the elaborate evolutions which had been contemplated were abandoned.

— The Shah was welcomed at Victoria Station by the Prince of Wales and went to stay at Marlborough House.

— Bye-election for the vacancy at South Belfast, caused by the death of Mr. W. Johnston of Ballykilbeg, resulted in the return of Mr. T. Sloan, Independent Conservative and candidate of the Protestant Association, by 3,795 votes against 2,969 for Mr. C. W. Dunbar-Buller, the official Conservative candidate—majority 826.

19. The Boer generals received with great popular enthusiasm in Holland.

20. The Shah visited King Edward on the Royal yacht at Portsmouth, being met at the train there, and seen off on his departure, by his Majesty.

— Announced that a Royal Charter has been granted for the incorporation of the British Academy for the Promotion of Historical, Philosophical and Philological Studies. The names of forty-nine eminent men—mainly professors, with a few literary politicians—published as the first Fellows of the new Academy.

— The Cape Parliament opened with a speech from the Governor, Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson, announcing, among other legislation, Bills giving indemnity for acts done under martial law, and for illegal issue of warrants for public expenditure while Parliament was not summoned.

— Two Englishmen, the Rev. R. B. Fearon, curate of St. John's, Hammersmith, and his brother, Mr. H. C. D. Fearon, one of H.M. Inspectors of Factories, and their guides, Samuel Bravand and Fritz Bohren, all killed by lightning on the top of the Wetterhorn.

21. The White Star liner *Cedric*, the largest vessel in the world, launched from Messrs. Harland & Wolff's yard, Belfast. She is about 21,000 tons gross, and the displacement at her load draught will be 37,870 tons; length, 700 feet; beam, 75 feet; depth, 49½ feet; has 9 decks, and will accommodate about 3,000 passengers and crew of about 350.

— Telegraphed from Bombay that rains have fallen throughout Western India just in time to save the crops and ward off famine.

22. Result announced of the polling for the Sevenoaks division of Kent. Mr. H. W. Forster (C.), whose acceptance of the post of Junior Lord of the Treasury had vacated the seat, was returned by 5,333 votes against 4,442 for Mr. Beaumont Morice (L.)—majority 891. In 1895 Mr. Forster was unopposed, and in 1900 he obtained 6,604 against 1,792 for Mr. M. Richardson (L.).

— Centenary of the birth of Hugh Miller, celebrated at Cromarty, attended by scientists, scholars and others from the United States and Italy, as well as from Canada, England and Ireland. Sir Archibald Geikie delivered an oration on Hugh Miller's life and work.

25. The Shah left England for the Continent. He expressed much gratification with his reception here.

27. The King of Italy arrived at Potsdam on a visit to the German Emperor.

28. Mr. M. Holbein made a third attempt to swim across the Channel, but became too much exhausted to finish, though he was only three-quarters of a mile from Dover Castle when taken out of the water. He had swum fifty-three miles in twenty-two and a half hours.

30. Generals Botha, De Wet and Delarey arrived in London. They refused to be interviewed by the Press.

SEPTEMBER.

1. News was received of a fresh eruption of Mont Pelée at Martinique by which a village and 200 lives were lost.

— The Trade Union Congress opened its thirty-fifth annual congress at the Holborn Town Hall. Nearly 500 delegates were present, representing over 1,000,000 trade unionists. A letter was read from the Bishops of London, Rochester, and St. Albans, welcoming the Congress to London.

2. Mr. W. C. Steadman, president of the Trade Union Congress delivered his address, in which he condemned the Education Bill and the corn tax, and urged the building up of a labour party in Parliament. A resolution condemning the South African war as unjust was passed by 176 votes to 134.

3. It was announced that Lords Strathcona and Mount-Stephen had given to King Edward's Hospital Fund an endowment at present producing 16,000*l.* a year and likely to increase in value. This gift brought the fund within a short distance of the 100,000*l.* originally hoped for.

— There were violent disturbances at Agram, the capital of Croatia, between the Croatian and Servian populations. Many persons were killed and wounded and houses wrecked. Martial law was proclaimed.

4. The *Donegal*, first-class armoured cruiser, was launched from the yard of the Fairfield Shipbuilding and Engineering Company, at Govan.

5. Mr. Chamberlain, with Lord Kitchener, Lord Onslow, and Mr. F. Graham, held a conference with Generals Botha, De Wet and Delarey. The conference was private, but it was promised that a report would shortly be published in a Blue-book.

— The Viceroy of India, speaking in Council, said that all present fear of famine was over, owing to the recent rains.

— Professor Virchow, the great pathologist and anthropologist, died at Berlin in his eighty-second year.

6. A whale hunt took place at Hillswick, Shetland, when 166 whales were driven ashore and killed.

— Mr. Brodrick, Lord Roberts and Generals Kelly-Kenny and Ian Hamilton were present by invitation from the German Emperor at the grand parade of the 3rd Army Corps at Markendorf.

9. Summonses under the Crimes Act were served on the editor, manager and publisher of Mr. O'Brien's organ, the *Irish People*, in Dublin.

— More than 130 persons are suffering in and near Derby from ptomaine poisoning, believed to have been caused by eating certain pork-pies.

10. A Parliamentary paper was issued containing papers relating to the interviews between Mr. Chamberlain and the Boer generals. They show that the generals were anxious to reopen several questions settled

by the Peace terms. Mr. Chamberlain refused this, but discussed various points in a conciliatory, though firm, temper.

10. At Doncaster the race for the St. Leger Stakes was won by the favourite, Mr. R. S. Sievier's mare Sceptre, 8 st. 11 lb. (F. Hardy). Twelve ran.

15. Splendid rain was reported as having fallen at a critical moment in South Australia.

18. Lieutenant Peary, with the members of his Arctic expedition, arrived at Sydney, Cape Breton; he reports that they had not reached the North Pole, but had made important discoveries.

19. The centenary of the birth of Kossuth was celebrated throughout Hungary with great popular enthusiasm, particularly in Buda-Pesth.

— Lord Roberts issued a special Army order strongly urging on commanding officers the paramount necessity of high efficiency in rifle shooting in the Army.

20. A demonstration against the Education Bill was held on Woodhouse Moor, Leeds, and was attended by an immense assemblage of people.

— The first-class cruiser, *Berwick*, was launched from the yard of Messrs. Beardmore & Sons, Govan.

22. Lord Kitchener was presented with the freedom of Ipswich, his family being of Suffolk descent.

23. Captain Percy Scott and the officers and crew of the *Terrible* were entertained at a banquet by the mayor and citizens of Portsmouth. The men were much cheered as they marched to the hall.

24. Mr. H. Phipps of the Carnegie Steel Trust has placed the sum of 20,586*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* to an account in the names of Generals Louis Botha and Delarey and Mr. Arnold White to be administered for the relief of Boer widows and orphans. Mr. Chamberlain has expressed his willingness to nominate an Englishman to the committee which will administer the fund (see *English History*, p. 207).

25. Lord Dudley made his state entry into Dublin as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was very cordially received.

— The Viceroy reports fair to heavy rains in nearly all the provinces of India, so that the numbers of those on famine relief have fallen to 287,000.

26. Lady Airlie opened the Dundee Sanatorium for Consumptives, and was presented with the freedom of the city of Dundee.

27. Eastern Sicily was visited by a cyclonic storm, with heavy rains and floods, which did much damage and destroyed 200 lives.

29. M. Emile Zola died in Paris. He was found dead in his room and is supposed to have been suffocated by the fumes of a charcoal stove. Madame Zola was in a very serious condition in the same room.

30. The Cutlers' Feast took place at Sheffield. Lord Kitchener, who had previously been presented with the freedom of the city, responded to the toast of "His Majesty's Forces," and Mr. Gerald Balfour made

an important statement as to the Atlantic shipping combination, in which he declared that British interests had been securely safeguarded.

30. Madame Zola was reported to be recovering.

OCTOBER.

2. The Archbishop of Canterbury visited St. David's College, Lampeter, for the seventy-fifth anniversary of the opening of the college. He preached at the parish church and spoke at a luncheon.

— Bank Rate raised from 3 to 4 per cent. Reserve, 23,616,229/., or 44½ per cent. of the liabilities.

— Mr. Carnegie's offer of 30,000*l.* for the erection of branch free libraries in Marylebone was refused with thanks.

3. President Roosevelt spoke to representatives of the principal coal owners, miners and railways, urging them, in view of the suffering which would be caused by a winter coal famine, to formulate some proposals which could put an end to the strike then in progress. The conference separated after some hours, having arrived at no settlement.

5. The funeral of M. Zola took place in Paris. It was witnessed by enormous crowds, but there were no disturbances. Addresses were delivered by M. Anatole France and M. Chaumié.

6. At Erego, in Somaliland, the force operating under Colonel Swayne against the Mad Mullah was heavily engaged while advancing through thick bush. The British lost two officers and fifty killed and about 100 wounded, and though the enemy were repulsed and 100 of their rifles captured, our Somali levies were reported "considerably shaken," the Mullah was bringing up reinforcements from all sides, and Colonel Swayne was obliged to retire on Bohotle. He asked for the immediate despatch of reinforcements.

7. The Church Congress was opened at Northampton. The Bishop of Leicester, in the absence through illness of the Bishop of Peterborough, delivered an opening address. Papers were read on "Home Reunion" and "The Duty of the Church in South Africa."

8. The celebration of the tercentenary of the founding of the Bodleian Library began at Oxford with a reception by the Vice-Chancellor, which was attended by large numbers of guests, representing foreign, Indian and colonial universities.

— It was stated that, while willing to receive the Boer Generals, if announced through the British Ambassador, the German Emperor could not summon them to an audience, as they desired.

— Mr. John Kensit, a well-known anti-ritualist agitator, died at Liverpool from illness caused by injuries he had received after a meeting he had held at Birkenhead.

9. Mr. Chamberlain presided at a conference of the Liberal Unionists of Birmingham. He made a careful defence of the Education Bill and said that the Government would stand or fall with it.

11. Lord Rosebery visited Glasgow to unveil a statue of Mr. Gladstone in George Square. He delivered an eloquent address on Mr. Gladstone's life and character.

— The King approved of the appointment of the Rev. Canon A. J. Robinson, D.D., to the Deanery of Westminster.

13. The Boer generals arrived in Paris and were enthusiastically welcomed. They had a ten minutes' interview with M. Delcassé "simply as distinguished visitors."

— The King took leave of Lord Kitchener on his departure to take up the post of Commander-in-Chief in India.

14. Mr. Balfour addressed a great meeting at Manchester. He spoke almost entirely on the Education Bill, repudiating with great indignation the misrepresentations made of its policy.

— St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, erected by public subscription as a memorial to Mr. Gladstone, was formally opened by Lord Spencer.

15. The Prime Minister was entertained at a banquet at the Mansion House. In responding to the toast of his health he dwelt on his personal debt to Lord Salisbury and his confidence in the loyalty of his party.

— At Newmarket the race for the Cesarewitch Stakes was won by Mr. J. Buchanan's Black Sand, 5 yrs., 8 st. 2 lb. (K. Cannon). Seventeen ran.

16. The Boer generals arrived in Berlin and received an enthusiastic welcome from the crowd.

— The close of the coal strike in the United States was officially announced. A commission has been appointed to adjust the questions at issue between the operators and miners. This result was mainly due to the directly exercised influence of President Roosevelt.

17. A debate in the French Chamber of Deputies on the closing of the conventual schools ended in the adoption by 329 to 233 votes of a resolution approving the acts and attitude of the Government and recommending the energetic enforcement of the Associations law.

18. Sir E. Satow, with the staff of the British Legation at Peking, declined to attend an Imperial reception held to-day because the officials directly responsible for the murder of two English missionaries in Hu-nan remained unpunished.

19. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Lady Dudley arrived at Oughterard, Co. Galway, for a short motor-car tour in the West of Ireland. They travelled for several days in Connemara and neighbouring districts, entering many cottages, talking sympathetically with the people, and were received everywhere with great cordiality, bonfires being lighted in their honour.

— A demonstration of reserve and time-expired men, who had fought in South Africa, was held in Hyde Park to protest against the treatment they had received from the War Office.

20. Issue of a centenary number of the *Edinburgh Review*, containing an illustrated retrospect of its history and articles dealing with various aspects of the nineteenth century.

20. The tenth annual congress of the Free Labour Association, said to represent 400,000 workmen in all parts of the country, held on this and the following day at Leeds. A resolution was passed condemning "watching and besetting."

21. Mr. Tarte resigned his portfolio in the Canadian Ministry. Sir W. Laurier, it was announced, had previously demanded his resignation, on account of his public advocacy of immediate tariff revision in the direction of high protection without the concurrence of his colleagues.

— End of the American coal strike, the Miners' Convention at Wilkes-Barre unanimously approving the acceptance of President Roosevelt's arbitration proposal.

— Lord Raglan was sworn in, at Castle Rushen, as Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Man.

— A letter published from Mr. John Morley to the Duke of Devonshire, as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, offering the library of the late Lord Acton, which had been given to him by Mr. Carnegie absolutely, to that University. The offer was gratefully accepted.

22. The polling to elect a member for Devonport took place, and resulted in the election of Mr. J. Lockie (C.) by 3,785 votes against 3,757 recorded for Mr. T. A. Brassey (L.). This is a Ministerial gain, the late Mr. E. J. C. Morton having been a Liberal.

— Mr. Andrew Carnegie was installed as Lord Rector of St. Andrews University.

23. General Manning reports from Berbera that Colonel Swayne had reached Bohotle in safety, without being attacked during his retirement.

24. The King and Queen made a Royal progress through eight miles of London streets, receiving addresses of welcome from municipal authorities and lunching at the Guildhall. The streets were profusely decorated, and their Majesties were received with much enthusiasm.

— Mr. George Wyndham was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University by 674 votes, against 645 for Mr. John Morley.

26. A thanksgiving service for the King's recovery from illness was held in St. Paul's Cathedral, and was attended by the King and Queen and several members of the Royal Family.

27. It was announced that, with the approval of the King, Mr. Chamberlain will shortly visit South Africa to examine on the spot the questions arising out of the re-settlement of the country.

— The King held an inspection of the brigade of Guards who have served in South Africa.

29. At the Newmarket Houghton Meeting the race for the Cambridgeshire Stakes was won by Mr. W. C. Whitney's Ballantrae, 6 st. 8 lb. (Watts). Twenty-four run.

30. Mr. Ritchie was elected Lord Rector of Aberdeen University by 360 votes against 340 for Mr. Asquith.

31. The last cable was completed at Suva, Fiji.

NOVEMBER.

1. Sir Robert Finlay, Attorney-General, was elected Lord Rector of Edinburgh University by 916 votes against 621 recorded for Sir Edward Grey.

— The municipal elections for England and Wales took place, the Liberals gaining eighty-three and the Conservatives fifty-two seats. Twenty-four seats were gained by the Labour party and five by the Socialists.

3. Mr. R. L. Morant, C.B., has been appointed secretary to the Board of Education in the place of Sir George Kekewich, resigned.

— The Durban floating dock, which left the Tyne on September 13 in tow of a steamer, has gone ashore in Mossel Bay and is likely to be a total loss.

4. The King inspected the 2nd Battalion Scots Guards, which arrived from South Africa just too late to be present at the parade last week.

6. The results of the polling in the Cleveland division of Yorkshire and the East Toxteth division of Liverpool were announced. In Cleveland Mr. H. Samuel (L.) was returned by 5,834 votes against 3,798 recorded for Mr. Geoffrey Drage (U.). In East Toxteth Mr. Austin Taylor (U.) was returned by 3,610 against 3,233 given for Mr. H. R. Rathbone (L.). Neither result makes any difference in the balance of parties.

— The Speaker announced in the House that he had received official information of the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. W. Redmond, M.P.

8. Lord Kitchener formally opened the Gordon College at Khartoum.

— The German Emperor arrived at Port Victoria in his yacht. He inspected the 1st (Royal) Dragoons at Shorncliffe, and thence proceeded to Sandringham, where he will pay a private visit to the King.

10. The Lord Mayor's banquet took place at the Guildhall. Responding to the toast of "His Majesty's Ministers" Mr. Balfour spoke of the prospect in South Africa and of the "happy intuition" of Mr. Chamberlain's proposal to visit that country. He deprecated the "wild and fantastic inventions" of which the visit of the German Emperor had been made the text.

11. At a congregation held at Oxford University a resolution that "candidates shall not be required to offer both Greek and Latin in the examination in stated subjects in Responsions" was rejected by 189 to 166 votes.

12. Mr. James Guthrie, R.S.A., was elected president of the Royal Scottish Academy in the room of Sir George Reid, resigned.

14. A great meeting was held in the Albert Hall in favour of the Education Bill. The Bishop of London presided, supported by the Bishop of Rochester. Sir E. Clarke, K.C., moved a resolution supporting the Bill, which was carried with one dissident.

15. The King of the Belgians was fired at, but unhurt, as he was returning from a memorial service to the late Queen. The man, who

fired three revolver shots, was at once arrested, and found to be an Italian anarchist named Rubino.

17. Mr. Chamberlain was entertained by citizens of all parties previous to his departure for South Africa at a banquet in Birmingham. He spoke of the generous support he had always received from Birmingham and of his hopes that his visit to Africa might help forward the difficult work being carried on there. After the banquet Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain were escorted home by 4,000 torch bearers amid scenes of great enthusiasm.

— The Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, the well-known Wesleyan minister, died suddenly.

19. The Queen of Italy was delivered of a daughter.

— At a general meeting of the Fellows of the new British Academy, Lord Reay was elected its first President.

20. The Committee stage of the Education Bill, which has been severely contested all through, was finished.

21. Lord Tennyson has been appointed Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, but at his own wish the appointment is for one year only.

22. Herr Friedrich Krupp of Essen, head of the great iron and steel firm, died suddenly.

24. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Lady Dudley paid their first official visit to Belfast. Addresses of welcome were presented, and the Lord Lieutenant laid the foundation stone of a new technical institute.

25. Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain left Portsmouth for Durban on board H.M.S. *Good Hope*. A numerous crowd assembled to see them off, and in London Mr. Balfour, Mr. Brodrick, Lord Selborne, Lord Roberts and others bade them good-bye at Victoria Station.

26. The price of silver fell to 21½d. per ounce, the lowest on record.

28. Dr. Joseph Parker died after a long illness. He had been pastor at the City Temple for nearly thirty years, and had acquired great fame as a preacher.

29. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught left England for the East; they will represent the King at the Coronation Durbar to be held at Delhi.

— A new bishopric, to be called the Bishopric of Nagpur, has been created in India. The Rev. Eyre Chatterton is to be its first bishop.

DECEMBER.

1. Completion of the "Atlantic Shipping Combination," under which the White Star, American, Atlantic Transport, Leyland and Dominion Lines were acquired by an American company—the International Mercantile M. Co. (See English History, p. 254.)

2. The President and President Roosevelt trans-
mitted his earnestly recommended to Congress

the need of legislation for the regulation and supervision of trusts and corporations.

3. After debate covering eight months the Education Bill reached its third reading, which was carried in the House of Commons by 286 votes to 134.

4. In the debate in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Education Bill the Archbishop of Canterbury was speaking in favour of the Bill when he was taken ill, and having with much effort finished the sentence which he had begun, he was helped from the Chamber and taken to Lambeth.

6. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught landed at Port Said and proceeded to Cairo, where they were received by the Khedive.

— A portrait by Gainsborough of the artist's daughters was sold at Christie's for 5,600 guineas. In 1888 the same picture was sold at auction for 211 guineas.

8. Six British workmen who arrived at Sydney under a contract with a clothing manufacturer have been refused permission to land under the Immigration Act.

9. The combined British and German fleet seized the Venezuelan fleet, consisting of four vessels, this being the first open step resulting from the agreement between Great Britain and Germany to enforce their claims upon Venezuela.

10. At Assouan the Nile dam was formally opened in presence of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, the Khedive, and the Egyptian Minister of Public Works. The Duchess laid the last stone and the sluice-gates were opened, letting through a magnificent rush of water.

— A blockade of the whole Venezuelan coast was established.

11. At a sale of old English plate at Christie's an Elizabethan salt-cellar of silver-gilt and rock crystal was sold for 3,000*l.*, or 330*l.* per ounce—the highest recorded price for old English silver.

13. The annual football match under Rugby Union rules between Oxford and Cambridge took place and resulted after a hard game in a draw of eight points each.

15. The Education Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords.

— Sir E. Barton has decided that, considering the special skill possessed by the six English hat-makers who were refused permission to land in Australia, they may be allowed to do so.

— The Duke of Connaught reviewed the British and Egyptian garrisons of Cairo in presence of the Khedive.

18. After the Royal assent had been announced to the Education Act, the London Water Act and other statutes, Parliament was prorogued till February 17.

19. After thirteen days' hearing, in the King's Bench Division, before Mr. Justice Wills and a special jury, a verdict was obtained by the Taff Vale Railway Company in their action against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants and some of its officials for conspiracy and unlawful proceedings in connection with the strike on the plaintiffs'

railway in August, 1900. The assessment of damages was left to the judge and, with certain questions of law, stood over till the next term.

20. At the Mansion House, Dublin, took place the first meeting of the conference, presided over by Lord Dunraven, between representatives of landlords and tenants.

— Lord Currie, British Ambassador in Rome, has placed his resignation in the hands of Lord Lansdowne on the ground of health.

— The Princess of Wales gave birth to a son at York Cottage, Sandringham.

— Under Rugby Union rules a football match at Blackheath, between North and South, was won by the North by eleven points to ten.

22. The first Press message transmitted by Signor Marconi's system of wireless telegraphy across the Atlantic was published in the *Times*. It was sent from the station at Glace Bay, Cape Breton.

— The Dean of Winchester, the Very Rev. W. R. Stephens, died of typhoid fever contracted by eating oysters at a mayoral banquet at Winchester. Several others of the guests were seriously ill from the same cause.

23. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Frederick Temple, died at Lambeth. He had never left his bed since his return from the House of Lords on December 4.

— At a reception of Cardinals, the Pope spoke favourably of the work accomplished by the Christian Democratic movement in Italy and abroad.

— Messages between the King and Lord Minto, Governor-General of Canada, have been exchanged by wireless telegraphy.

24. Issue of important memorandum by First Lord of the Admiralty, dealing with the entry, training and employment of officers and men of the Navy and Marines.

26. The *Times* published its annual review of Poor Law administration in London, showing a serious increase in the burden of pauperism. At the time of the last return (December 22) the number of persons receiving indoor relief was 71,073—the largest on record. Including 42,796 recipients of outdoor relief the total, 113,869, exceeded by 6,330 and 10,685 those of the corresponding dates in 1901 and 1900 respectively.

— The *Good Hope*, with Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain on board, arrived at Durban, where the Colonial Secretary was received with the utmost enthusiasm. He made two speeches, urging the necessity for patience, hope and fair judgment in dealing with the problems of South Africa.

— The body of the Archbishop of Canterbury was removed from Lambeth to Canterbury, where it lay in the Cathedral, and was watched all night.

27. The Queen's Christmas dinner to widows and children of soldiers who fell in the war took place; 1,465 guests assembled—629 widows and 836 children.

27. The funeral of the Archbishop of Canterbury took place in Canterbury Cathedral. The Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Winchester and Dover and the Dean of Canterbury took part in the service, which was of a very simple and impressive character.

— The Bishop of St. Albans, the Right Rev. J. W. Festing, died after a long illness.

— The Duke and Duchess of Connaught arrived at Bombay, and proceeded to Delhi.

29. The ceremonies connected with the Delhi Durbar began with the state entry of Lord Curzon into Delhi, accompanied by the Duke and Duchess of Connaught.

— Tangier telegrams report the rout of the troops of the Sultan of Morocco, near Tessa, by insurgents under the fanatical leader Bu Hamara.

30. Mr. Chamberlain was entertained by the Mayor and Town Council of Pietermaritzburg, and made an important speech on the subject of unity in South Africa. He announced that the Natal Ministers were ready to forego their claim on the Transvaal loan for the repayment of the advance made by the Natal Government for settling compensation claims.

31. Long list of honours published in connection with the Coronation Durbar.

— President Roosevelt having previously declined the post of arbitrator in the Venezuelan dispute, news arrived at Washington that President Castro agreed in principle that the questions at issue should be referred to the arbitration of the Hague Tribunal, but made certain difficulties.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART IN 1902.

LITERATURE.

THE conclusion of the war in South Africa and the Coronation of King Edward VII., whilst interfering with the ordinary flow of publications, stimulated the production of a special kind of literature. The impressions of combatants and eye-witnesses on both sides, the personal experiences and semi-official accounts of the Boer leaders, furnished materials for future historians of a costly war of which the necessity may not seem apparent to posterity in either Great Britain or South Africa. The long reign of Queen Victoria and the neglect of state pageantry which had marked the later years of her homely life had made the public forgetful of the possibilities of Court ceremonials, so that the number of volumes bearing on this subject was not out of proportion to the interest aroused. The revival of religious controversy was another feature of the year's literature. Orthodox and Liberals, the eager defenders of the Established Church and its more or less heterodox members, showed more clearly their respective attitudes, and the extent to which forbearance was prudent and possible. In poetry the year was singularly barren—the older writers contributing only fugitive pieces, whilst no new claimants pressed for recognition. In fiction the supply of works showed no falling off in point of number, but there were few if any works of prominent merit or importance. A sensible decline in both realistic and sentimental novels was the most characteristic symptom of the change in public taste. Neither Mr. Marion Crawford's "Cecilia," Mr. Henry James's "Wings of a Dove," Mr. Anthony Hope's "The Intrusions of Peggy," nor Mr. Barrie's "Little White Bird" was of a kind to raise higher the reputation of their respective authors; but Mr. Seton Merriman's "The Vultures" and Mrs. Craigie's "Love and the Soul Hunters" were cordially received by their admirers. Among the less familiar names Mr. George Douglas, Mr. Arthur Morrison and Mr. Richard Bagot secured a stronger hold upon the public; and Mr. Mason and Mr. Joseph Conrad made successful attempts to arrest its notice.

ART.

The first volume of the **Papers of the British School at Rome** (Macmillan) fully justifies the efforts made in the last year of the nineteenth century to establish a centre for the better study of Roman antiquities—classical and religious. Mr. Rushforth deals with the Greek and Latin inscriptions on the gravestones of Sta. Maria Antiqua, a building which antedates its use as a Christian church. Mr. Brightman and two of his colleagues devote much time and care to the discussion of the frescoes and paintings with which the church was decorated at a later period. Mr. Ashby deals with the local roads of the Campagna, of which two at least—the Via Labicana and Via Prænestina—still retain marked traces of their Roman origin. His contribution will be of special interest to topographers; but each paper in the volume shows that even those who have visited Rome in a well-disciplined frame of mind have much to learn from the labours of the British School, and would do well to enlarge its sphere of usefulness.

The old Umbrian city of **Siena** has attracted Mr. Hobart Cust to write about its **Pavement Masters** (Bell & Sons), and Mr. Gilbert Hastings about **Its Architecture and Its Art** (De La More Press), of which the first named is a minute study of one of the chief features of the Cathedral. Its designing is supposed to have occupied the attention of artists for nearly a century, but no name of first-rate importance is connected with a work which has no parallel in any other Italian church. Not the least interesting and original feature of Mr. Cust's work is his investigation of the rise and fall of the popularity of certain mediæval saints and legends, as shown in their treatment on the pavement. Mr. Hastings' work is rather a cursory survey of the principal men whose names are connected with Siennese art and architecture, than an appreciation of their several styles.

Lord Ronald Gower's **Sir Joshua Reynolds**, which forms one of the British Artists Series (Bell & Sons), adds very little to our knowledge of the painter's life, although it contains reproductions of some of his less known works. On the other hand, Mr. R. Chignell's **J. M. W. Turner** (Walter Scott Publishing Co.) tells us little not already known about the painter's art; but it shows his character in a far more pleasing light than his former biographers have done.

William Hogarth, by Austin Dobson (Heinemann), is a costly work, in which the claims of Hogarth to a high place as an artist—as distinguished from the moralist—are put forward, and comes as a valuable supplement to the same author's life of the artist. The text of the former work has been reprinted, apparently with some slight additions, and it is now illustrated by as fine reproductions of the artist's works as photogravure can supply.

The simple title of **Old English Masters Engraved**, by Timothy Cole (Macmillan), conveys a very inadequate idea of the work upon which the most accomplished engraver of the day has been engaged for so many years. For the first time an attempt is made to discard the ordinary methods used by engravers when dealing with the old masters, and to employ wood assisted by photography in translating their works.

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From Hogarth to Constable and Turner, Mr. Cole has made such selections of the works of the masters of the intervening years as will give a most effective display of their respective methods. These and the painters' aims are fully discussed by Mr. John C. Van Dyke, himself a competent artist, who supplies the historical and critical notes to the volume.

Mr. P. G. Konody's **The Art of Walter Crane** (Bell) is a tribute by a foreigner to the service rendered to the Renaissance of British Art by one of its earnest, if not always discreet, champions. It is as a decorator rather than as a picture painter that Mr. Walter Crane's work is valued. He has carried on—and in a sense carried out—the traditions of William Morris, in co-operation with whom he devised many charming designs. His strength is better appreciated when free from mediæval inspiration and his own fancy is allowed full play. Such is Mr. Konody's verdict, and it will probably be generally endorsed.

Mr. Bernhard Berenson's **Study and Criticism of Italian Art** (Bell & Sons) is a further help to those who would wish to base their admiration upon knowledge. The unimportance of many points on which a critic or a connoisseur often dwells is brought out in a very straight-forward manner. Mr. Berenson found, when previously dealing with the "Methods of Constructive Art Criticism," that abstract theories were difficult to enforce. He chose, therefore, a concrete case, that of Lorenzo Lotto, but even in this guise Mr. Berenson's method failed to attract the attention it truly deserves. It may be thought that in clearing away "the false idols" which have hitherto sustained the critics, namely, contemporary documents, traditions and personal impressions, he has left them very little to support their views and opinions.

BELLES-LETTRES.

In his study of **The Beginnings of Poetry** (Macmillan) Professor Gummere, of Haverford College, U.S.A., supports the theory of those who hold that the origin of poetic expression is to be found in the tribal or communal feeling, and not in the initiative of the individual. The best part of his work is that in which he illustrates the emergence of poetry in the various crises of life, the most primitive form being probably in the war and festal dances, and again in funeral ceremonies.

The Epistles of Erasmus (Longmans), by Francis Morgan Nichols, is the first instalment of a work which, if completed, will be an important addition to our comprehension of the spirit which moved over the closing years of the Dark Ages, and ushered in the New Learning. In the present volume Mr. Nichols deals with the years prior to the opening of the Reformation period under Luther, and in view of the fact that Erasmus's letters are his best biography, Mr. Nichols has limited himself to translating them literally, arranging them chronologically, and explaining them by notes and comments on the more obscure allusions. The clear, impartial summaries by which the various chapters are connected furnish the reader with all that is necessary to bring before him the part played by Erasmus, more or less willingly, in the great strife brewing on the Continent.

Sir Leslie Stephen's **Studies of a Biographer** (Duckworth) are the autumn fruits of the author to whom we owe that almost classical series of essays published under the title of "Hours in a Library." The materials at hand for such writings are practically inexhaustible, but it is given to few to galvanise into life some of the dry bones of an almost forgotten past. Sir Leslie Stephen has this gift, and never writes without giving light and leading to his readers, or without bringing before their eyes the conditions under which his personages lived and worked. The most noteworthy study in these volumes is that on Shakespeare—a well-worn theme, on which, however, Sir Leslie Stephen has much that is new to say and much to suggest. He invests even Robert Southey with interest by showing the generous side of the vain man's character; he ranges at ease among characters so diverse as those of Milton and Dr. Donne, Ruskin and Huxley, not to mention many others who have left their names in English literature.

Mr. Stopford Brooke's criticism of the **Poetry of Robert Browning** (Isbister) is welcome and satisfactory, for whilst marked with poetic insight it shows a wider range of knowledge than the majority of those who have written about Browning. The popularity which he now enjoys is due to the fact that both he and his great contemporary have taken up the positions they are destined probably to occupy in English literature. Whilst they both lived there was a certain rivalry between the poets, and still more among their followers as to their relative claims. Mr. Stopford Brooke weighs these claims with great judgment. He recognises that much that Browning wrote is obscure, but that there are always rays of light in the darkest places by which the poet's thought can be followed. He used his powers to suggest problems of life here and hereafter, which are beyond the ordinary scope of the poet, and fall rather within the range of the philosopher.

The new series of **English Men of Letters** (Macmillan) was inaugurated by a careful study of "**George Eliot**" by Sir Leslie Stephen. After giving a biographical account of the author's life and literary career, he endeavours to replace her writings on the pinnacle they once occupied in public estimation. Sir Leslie Stephen readily admits that her laborious attempt to advocate political reforms or philosophic schemes through the medium of novels was unlikely to have any permanent place in literature. But George Eliot's knowledge of men and women was so true and delicate, that one cannot but hope and believe that some of the characters introduced into her novels will remain as types of nineteenth century thought and feeling. Mr. Augustine Birrell makes a similar attempt on behalf of **William Hazlitt**—who is in more danger of falling out of remembrance. Hazlitt's chief claim to posthumous fame rests upon his successful efforts to raise art-criticism to a more worthy position in literature. In his literary judgments on his contemporaries Hazlitt spoke with freedom and often with severity, and the history of his friendships and animosities, of his struggles and his failures, vividly brought before us—mostly in his own words—in Mr. Birrell's impartial review of his eager, stormy, but enjoyable life, makes the volume both useful and readable. **John Ruskin** is dealt with by Mr. Frederic Harrison, who dwells more upon

the character of his subject as a social reformer than as an art-critic. The later years of his life were largely devoted to the study of economic problems, and to the practical application by himself of the rules he laid down for others. Mr. Frederic Harrison renders full justice to the nobility of Ruskin's aims, and speaks of him with reverent sympathy.

In the same series **Matthew Arnold** has been treated by Mr. Herbert Paul, who brings out with great clearness the literary side and the personality of a distinguished but imperfectly appreciated man of letters. Mr. Paul points out that Matthew Arnold's poetry appeals too exclusively to the cultivated class for him to become a popular poet. He left, however, an abiding mark upon the literature—prose and verse—of his period, and the chief aim of his life was to raise both the mental and moral standard of his contemporaries. As critic and essayist Arnold pursued the same course, and it was his constant warfare against the "low civilisation of the English middle class" which distinguished him from the majority of those who found a wider public.

It was difficult for Sir Alfred Lyall to say anything new about **Tennyson**, who is the subject of his volume of this series, but he has admirably carried out the modest but useful task he has set himself. This is "to combine a short biography of Tennyson with a running commentary on his poems as they illustrate his intellectual habit and the circumstances of his life." Mr. Austin Dobson's knowledge of eighteenth century life and literature enables him to make attractive the story of **Samuel Richardson**, whose name is more familiar than his works to the majority of his countrymen. The author of "Clarissa Harlowe" and "Sir Charles Grandison" deserves a place among Englishmen of letters, and however little one may think Richardson knew of the aristocratic circles in which his characters were placed, he left a fair estimate of the part they played in the imagination of the middle class.

Lord Avebury (better known as Sir John Lubbock) has conferred upon lovers of nature, and lovers of their own country, a real boon in giving them an insight into the causes to which the present aspect of **The Scenery of England** (Macmillan) is due. The book is not the result of hasty generalisation, but of careful investigation and study. Two sets of folds in the earth's crust, crossing each other at right angles, may, according to Lord Avebury, have occasioned the two great systems of intersecting lines and determined the course of the rivers. He conducts his readers through the successive changes through which British—including Welsh—geology has passed; and recounts the various disturbances through which the island must have passed before evolving its present features of gentle but nowhere surpassed beauty.

Mr. Austin Dobson's **Side Walk Studies** (Chatto & Windus) are obviously supplementary to his various "Vignettes" of the literary personages of the eighteenth century. They are written with his accustomed delicacy of touch, combined with obvious sympathy for the period in which Peg Woffington and Fielding, Mrs. Delany and

Dr. Johnson were to be met elsewhere than in the bye-paths of either literature or society. Of these, as of Richardson, Goldsmith and Addison, Mr. Dobson has generally something fresh to say, and new sidelights to suggest.

An On-looker's Note-Book (Smith, Elder & Co.) is a supplement to the author's (Mr. G. W. E. Russell's) previous work, "Collections and Recollections," and deals more especially with his own contemporaries. His notes on the habits of "smart society," on the "free and easy" tone between children and their parents, and the capture of the aristocracy by the financiers and their attendant horde of speculators, afford him abundant opportunities for reflection and illustration. At the same time in the devotion of young men and young women to schemes of unselfish work among the poor and suffering, Mr. Russell admits that the forces of good, though utterly outnumbered by the "adherents of moral turpitude," were never so active or so zealous as at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Mr. Paget Toynbee's **Dante Studies and Researches** (Methuen) are the fruit of many years, now collected from various quarters—England, Italy and America. The points and difficulties are dealt with with thoroughness, and give evidence of wide reading as well as of sympathy. Mr. W. J. Payling Wright's **Dante and the Divine Comedy** (Lane) is another volume of studies which will be of great help to those who desire a clear idea of the motive of the poem and of the political and intellectual conditions under which the poet worked. Mr. P. H. Wicksteed and Mr. E. G. Gardner, both earnest Dante students, delve deeper in their discussion of the relations and correspondence between **Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio** (Constable). This volume cannot fail to be appreciated by those who wish to push their acquaintance with the poet beyond the limits assigned by the Comedy. It refers to the relations between the poet and a young friend with whom a correspondence and interchange of poetical thought was kept up during the later years of Dante's life in exile, and during his stay in Padua.

Miss Anne Macdonell's **Sons of Francis** (Dent) will take its place in the first rank of books which group themselves round the great Preacher's name, not only because it breaks new ground, but also on account of the light which she throws upon this interesting group of men, who were inspired with their Master's devotion to Our Lady of Poverty. Miss Macdonell's style is lucid and often fervid; she knows her subject well, and understands the period in which St. Francis and his followers took up their work, and makes her readers realise that strange mixture of mystic contemplation and active love for others which marked the earlier Franciscans.

Shakespear, by W. Carew Hazlitt (Quaritch), is a valuable contribution to the scanty knowledge we possess concerning our greatest literary genius. Mr. Hazlitt deals only with what he considers new facts, or such as may be fairly deduced from new points of view. He is absolutely orthodox upon the identity of Shakespeare the dramatist and the Stratford-on-Avon lad who came to London to seek fortune or to get away from his wife. Whether Mr. Hazlitt has brought us any nearer "to a tiresomely mysterious and reticent personality" is

a question which the bias of the reader rather than the arguments of the author will settle; but many of these are exceedingly ingenious.

BIOGRAPHY.

Mr. Sidney Lee's **Queen Victoria** (Smith, Elder & Co.) will for this generation at least be regarded as the standard biography of the late Queen. He has the advantage of several unpublished sources of information, and he shows himself thoroughly acquainted with all that have become public property. With much of her domestic life the late Queen made her people conversant, but she was necessarily more reticent upon matters concerning politics. In her lifetime she saw the rise and fall of the "Monarchy of the Middle Classes," and the distance which separated Lord Melbourne from Mr. Gladstone marked the change over which she was called to preside. How simply and faithfully she discharged her duties this volume shows—and whilst it suggests nothing which in any way lowers the Queen's memory, it frankly admits and shows that she had her preferences and her dislikes, and did not hesitate to make them felt.

Rochester and other Literary Rakes of the Court of Charles II. (Longmans) is a collection of lightly connected but interesting notes and anecdotes of a group of writers who gave an impetus of more than doubtful value to English literature at a critical period. In **Bolingbroke and His Times: the Sequel** (Nisbet & Co.) Mr. Walter Sichel deals with the latter half of the life of this brilliant statesman, who in a few short years had wrecked a career of uncommon promise. Whatever is to be learned from contemporary sources, from forgotten despatches, or neglected manuscripts Mr. Sichel has brought together—and although the result is to obscure or smother the central figure under a mass of details, this volume as well as its predecessor will be a profitable mine of information for students of political history and its methods in the early half of the eighteenth century. **Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford**, by E. S. Roscoe (Methuen), will be welcomed by all who take an interest in the intrigues and jealousies which marked the political life of the reign of Queen Anne. Mr. Roscoe, whilst admitting a partiality for Harley, is quite aware that he was by no means a great minister. He was possibly as good a party manager as either Bolingbroke or Walpole; but unlike them he was confused in speech and timid in action. Mr. Roscoe further proves that Swift's eulogy of his master was more probably an expression of gratitude for favours to come than an estimate of his wit, his learning or his intelligence.

The abridgment of **John Wesley's Journal** (Isbister) by Mr. Percy L. Parker will be welcome to those who have neither leisure nor disposition to cope with the four volumes of the original work. The journal is before all things the record of a strenuous life, and extends over fifty-five years of the great preacher's active career. Wesley gives, moreover, a clearer insight into the ways of social England in the eighteenth century than almost any other contemporary, for he mingled with all classes, and made himself personally acquainted with their feelings in every corner of the country, and many parts of Ireland too.

Mr. Augustine Birrell, who writes an appreciation of the journal, justly sums it up as "the most amazing record of human exertion ever penned or endured."

Mr. H. Belloc, who appears as an apologist for **Robespierre** (Nisbet), seems to have very few, if any, fresh facts upon which to base his case. Mr. G. H. Lewes some fifty years ago undertook a similar task, but it was scarcely regarded as successful. It is, therefore, not surprising that Mr. Belloc should fail to awaken much sympathy for one of the coldest and most relentless leaders of the revolutionary period.

Mr. Bernard Mallet has rendered a good service to students of the French revolutionary period by vindicating the character of his great-grandfather, **Mallet du Pan** (Longmans), from the undeserved obloquy from which that eminent publicist suffered. His career was marked by many vicissitudes, but his character remained spotless. His devotion to the royal cause in France was far more sincere and single-minded than that of the many reckless courtiers who followed Louis XVIII. into exile, and it is evident from this admirable biography that Mallet du Pan's uprightness and inflexibility were resented by those whom he desired to serve and in whose cause his pen was freely used. In a sense he was the founder of serious magazine writing in both France and England, but this was only one of the many good services to which he applied his talents and his life. Mr. Mallet has supplied many new and interesting facts with regard to the period of which the book treats, and has thrown light upon not a few events which were hitherto unexplained.

The Letters of Dorothea, Princess Lieven (Longmans), although a translation, have only appeared in English on the ground that they deal wholly with matters in which English politicians were concerned. Madame de Lieven was Russian ambassadress in London from 1812 to 1834, and these letters, addressed to her brother, discuss with frankness the various political phases through which this country passed, and the part which England played in the settlement of the Greek, Belgian, Spanish and Portuguese dynastic questions which by turns disturbed the hopes and aims of the framers of the Treaty of Vienna. The letters are chiefly interesting to the students of history who desire to learn to what extent personal interests were able to mould public events. Princess Lieven's intimate relations with Wellington, Canning, Peel, Palmerston and others gave her special means of knowing what was passing behind the scenes, and possibly her imagination or her ill-will may have frequently prompted her to assert more than she really knew. This, whilst it suggests caution in accepting all her statements, adds piquancy to the letters. They form an interesting supplement to the same lady's correspondence with Earl Grey, which was published ten years ago. [The Editor of the **ANNUAL REGISTER** must add here, what his contributor's modesty prevents him from mentioning, that the excellent work of Mr. Lionel Robinson as editor of Princess Lieven's Letters, both in translation and in connecting and elucidatory notes, commanded the cordial recognition of numerous competent critics.]

The life of **James Watt** (Maclehose & Sons) and the story of the steam-engine are indissolubly linked together, but the actual connection is very indefinite in most minds. Dr. William Jacks, of Glasgow,

has undertaken to bring together the records which throw the clearest light upon the inventor and his invention. From childhood Watt showed a spirit of invention, but it was literary in the form of telling stories, not mechanical. It was not until he became associated with the more practical Matthew Boulton that Watt's discoveries and intuitions could be satisfactorily tested and carried into effect. Dr. Jacks tells the story of a fascinating career with true sympathy.

Under the title of **Fifty Years at East Brent** (Murray) Miss L. E. Denison has edited the letters of her uncle, the Venerable George Anthony Denison, one of the most distinct and fascinating personalities in the theological world. There were few more lovable men, and few who expressed their feelings more violently. He was the enemy of all moderate counsels, the hater of compromise, the most outspoken of opponents. His public life was full of quarrels, disputes and angry controversy; in private he was genial, unassuming and ready to devote all his energies to the service of those to whose views he was diametrically opposed.

James Russell Lowell, by Horace Elisha Scudder (Macmillan) is a biography which makes the man more intelligible to his friends and admirers than even his own letters. Lowell started from small beginnings, but his power of satire was recognised from the outset of his literary career, and "The Biglow Papers" established him on an eminence from which he was never displaced. He was not, however, always beyond the reach of pecuniary difficulties and was often obliged to have recourse to the purses of his friends. In course of time he became university professor, editor of periodicals, and diplomatic minister, first at Madrid and afterwards in London, gaining esteem and gathering friends in each capacity.

The Life and Letters of Right Honourable F. Max Müller (Longmans) continue and at the same time supplement the "Autobiography" which Professor Max Müller gave to the world a few years before his death, and make the outside world better understand the philologist to whom this country especially owes so much. After leaving Germany he studied first at Oxford and afterwards in Paris, and from the first fixed his heart upon Sanskrit and Oriental literature, and on this foundation he built up those theories on the Science of Language which made his reputation. His connection with Oxford marked the first awakening of an interest in Oriental studies in that University. And although he lost the Professorship of Sanskrit because the country clergy voted against him on the ground of his nationality, Max Müller's claims were recognised by the creation for him of a special chair of Comparative Philology. The letters included in these volumes show the terms of intimacy on which Professor Max Müller was with the most prominent scholars of the day and their appreciation of his merits.

The Life and Letters of James Martineau (Nisbet) throw a pleasant light upon the career of the greatest ethical teacher of last century, and Principal J. Upton have earned the gratitude of all who have known a singularly beautiful life. In incidents, which in most men's lives and often

mould them, James Martineau's life was singularly barren. "What I planned, I did; what I desired to be, I was; what was in me, I taught," sums up in his own words his career. His autobiography, which is embodied in these volumes, is the record rather of his thoughts than of his experiences, but his remarks on his contemporaries are full of charm and generally of acute criticism. In his letters he is more outspoken, and seems to be sensitively alive to the duty of not misleading his correspondents in his judgment of men and events.

The Personal Reminiscences of Prince Bismarck (Murray), which Mr. Sidney Whitman is able to give to the world, are of far more interest and importance than many similar works which have dealt with the German Chancellor. The conversations which form the staple of the book took place after Bismarck's withdrawal from office, and his judgment upon his own past was to some extent unclouded by partisan eagerness. These reminiscences, moreover, throw a very pleasant light on Bismarck's private life and on the strength of his home ties, which one might have thought would have been loosened during the many long years of his strenuous political struggles.

To those who are interested in the possible future of the negro race Mr. Booker T. Washington's **Up from Slavery** (Grant Richards) will be a volume of no little interest. Beginning life amid the "most miserable, desolate and discouraging surroundings," deprived of the merest decencies of life until the proclamation of Emancipation, Mr. Washington from that moment set to work "to get education." No more instructive chapter in the "Annals of Self-Help" could be found than the story of Mr. Washington's dogged persistence in search of instruction, and having at length reached this Promised Land his only desire was to lay open the way to it for others. At the present time, after twenty years, he can claim for the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, of which he was the founder and is now the president, that it owns 2,300 acres of land with forty buildings and 1,100 students.

Mr. Herman C. Merivale's autobiographic memories, **Bar, Stage and Platform** (Chatto), record the ups and downs of a versatile genius who had a singularly varied career. His recollections date from Joanna Baillie, and include most of the prominent personages of the last half of the nineteenth century. After being educated at Harrow and Oxford he went to the bar, but literature and acting had greater attractions for him than his profession. For ten years he was the editor of the **ANNUAL REGISTER**, and he was the author of more than one successful drama. A man, however, who can describe himself as having "been a boundary commissioner in Wales, a caucus in Sussex, a chief justice's marshal with Matthew Arnold for my colleague, a private secretary in Spain and an egg-merchant in Clerkenwell," may be reckoned upon to have something to relate, and Mr. Merivale has done so in this volume of his early reminiscences.

The Memoirs of Sir Edward Blount, K.C.B., edited by Stuart J. Reid (Longmans), deal with the personal experiences of a man who for three-quarters of a century has been in the centre of activity since his entrance in the Home Office in 1827. Later on he became a banker in Paris, where he did as much as, or more than, our Embassy to advance British

mated the resources and divined the future with the eye of knowledge and of faith. **British Nigeria**, by Lieutenant-Colonel A. F. Mockler-Ferryman (Cassell), is a valuable handbook to the past and present history of a large dependency added to the British Empire in the closing years of the nineteenth century. The story of how British commerce obtained free access to the coast through the untiring energy and watchfulness of Sir Taubman Goldie is well told, and future generations will be able to recognise in his administration how little the Empire owes to its political leaders as compared with the debt due to the administrative officials.

In the **Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia** (Methuen) Messrs. R. N. Hall and W. G. Neal have brought together all that travellers and explorers since 1867 have told us concerning this long-forgotten country. The remains of the great Zimbabwe testify to the existence of a nation possessed of considerable cultivation and architectural taste. Messrs. Hall and Neal seem to incline to the oft-alleged but never established identity of this region with the Ophir of the Bible. That problem, however, is more carefully discussed from a linguistic point in Professor A. H. Keane's **Gold of Ophir** (Stanford), who places its source in Arabia rather than in Africa.

In **All the Russias** (Heinemann) Mr. Henry Norman's chief object has been to indicate the lines upon which, in his view, the industrial development of Russia is to be looked for. Free-traders will probably hesitate to accept his views of "educational protection" fostered by foreign capital. At the same time Mr. Norman has added greatly to our knowledge of the economic resources of Russia in Europe and Asia—and as a supplement to Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace's standard work, it will be interesting as marking the rise and discussing the aims of an industrial class to which the earlier work gave little attention. The limits of a single fully illustrated volume, however, render the survey of such a vast Empire necessarily superficial.

There is no country in both hemispheres of which it behoves us to know more than China, which for good or for evil is destined to play an important rôle in the European politics of the twentieth century. Mr. Arthur H. Smith's **China in Convulsion** (Oliphant & Co.) is full of information, apparently gathered on the spot, concerning the rising against foreigners which marked the opening of the century. His view throughout is that the provocations given by Europeans at length roused a national feeling which the latter had persistently ignored or insulted. Mrs. Archibald Little's **Land of the Blue Gown** (Fisher Unwin) is another contribution on life in China from the pen of one who has resided long in the country and has noted with more than usual accuracy the signs of the times. Mrs. Little is a social reformer, and an enthusiast, but in her crusade against foot-binding and opium smoking she has a section of Chinese opinion on her side.

It was inevitable as well as desirable that **Japan, Our New Ally** (Fisher Unwin) should receive attention from ever-ready bookmakers, and so far Mr. Alfred Stead's work should be taken gratefully. It purports to give more clearly than has been yet done the history of modern Japan, which he has learned from residence in the country.

Mr. Stead's account of the political situation is the most generally interesting portion of his book. From it we learn more clearly than from newspapers that the present ruler of Japan—whom we know as the Mikado, and the Japanese as the Tennō—is a man of great energy, who maintains his authority over the 411 islands comprising the Japanese Empire by means of a narrow oligarchy or three-clan combination.

The Heart of Japan, by C. L. Brownell (Methuen), tells more of the home life of the less Europeanised portions of Japan than any book of recent years. Mr. Brownell looks beneath the surface, which he nevertheless vividly describes. He is conscious of the two forces at work—the statesmen representing the new Japan, the Shintoist or Buddhist priests standing for the old order. Not the least interesting chapter of the book is that dealing with missionary enterprise in Japan, and the difficulties which stand in the way of dogmatic teaching, in view of the strong inclination towards agnosticism common to all classes.

Burma under British Rule, by John Nesbit (Constable & Co.), gives a useful summary of the resources of this country, and its value as a commercial asset. In this respect Burma is fully capable of paying its way, which is the more satisfactory in view of its importance in possible Far Eastern eventualities.

In **Aconcagua and Tierra del Fuego** (Cassell & Co.) Sir Martin Conway gives the promised supplement to his work "The Bolivian Andes." The result of his explorations is to show that, although Aconcagua may be the highest measured mountain in the Andes, he is prepared to relinquish its claim of being the highest of the whole range. Moreover, its reputation of being, or having been, a volcano is more distinctly dismissed. Sir M. Conway's attempt to scale Mount Sarmiento in the more Southern part of the Continent, although unsuccessful, opened up to general knowledge a large district very little known either to its titular rulers or to the general body of geographers.

Head-Hunters, Black, White and Brown, by Alfred C. Haddon (Methuen), is the record of the experiences of the leader of the anthropological expedition to Torres Straits fitted out by the University of Cambridge. The results are of the highest interest to the student as well as to the general reader. The objects of the expedition were (1) to collect the skulls of the dead and to measure those of the living, (2) to make experimental studies in the psychology of primitive tribes, and (3) to make studies in the ritual, magic and folk-lore of islanders who had been farthest removed from general civilising influences. The staff engaged on these investigations was well qualified for the task, and the volume is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the mental processes of primitive peoples.

Lady Grove's **Seventy-one Days Campaigning in Morocco** (Longmans), although avowedly a superficial view of the country, contains some interesting notes on Moorish life, but it must not be judged by the same standard as Miss Francis Macnab's **Ride in Morocco** (Arnold), which is something more than an entertaining account of a journey accomplished under difficulties. Her lonely state and her sex enabled her to penetrate behind the veil which shrouds Moorish home-life and habits from the ordinary traveller. Her general verdict on the con-

dition of the Moorish Empire is unfavourable, and she thinks that sooner or later it must fall to one or other of the European nations waiting for the inheritance, of which the present owner cannot appreciate the full value. **The Moors** (Sonnenschein), by Mr. Budgett Meakin, is the third and concluding volume of a trilogy on the same subject, of which the first volume deals with the "Moorish Empire," its past and present government and politics, the "Land of the Moors" dealing with the physical features and resources of the country, and the last with its people and their habits and customs. A vast mine of useful information is thus brought within reach of the inquirer.

Mr. W. S. Lilly's **India and Its Problems** (Sands & Co.) does little to help forward a solution of the important questions which confront statesmen and administrators. On the other hand it furnishes the reader with copious information on the physical, racial and literary characteristics of the various groups and nationalities comprised within the limits of our Indian Empire. His remarks on the religious thought of India form the least satisfactory portion of a work which is the obvious result of much reading and observation. Of fresher and more immediate interest are some of the problems suggested by Major Percy M. Sykes in his book, **Ten Thousand Miles in Persia** (Murray). As the representative of British interests in Persian Baluchistan, Major Sykes has had special opportunities of studying the cross-currents of political intrigue of which Eastern Persia is the constant field. The Helistan Boundary arbitration, in which England took an active share, has by no means settled a long-standing grievance, and when it is too late to temporise further, it will be found as usual that force is the only arbiter.

A very readable volume is the Earl of Ronaldshay's **Sport and Politics under an Eastern Sky** (Faber). Starting from Kashmir he made his way to Ladak, returning by an alternative route. His homeward journey from Quetta was made by the newly opened trade route *via* Nushki, Northern Baluchistan and Seistan. Lord Ronaldshay comes to the conclusion that it is by the maintenance of our supremacy in this district that Great Britain can best counteract the influence of Russia in Southern Persia. That there is much hope of freeing Northern Persia from that influence is more than doubtful. Mr. Donald Stuart in his **Struggle for Persia** Methuen seems to think that the time for that has gone by, and his knowledge of what was passing is obtained by personal acquaintance with Persia and its inhabitants.

The Holyhead Road, by Charles G. Harper (Chapman & Hall) deals, as its name suggests, with the old *crumbling* days before railways had put all travellers on a level. It brings before the reader the extreme badness of the old road, until it was taken in hand by the Government, at the instance of the Irish Members, after the Union, and made to admiration by Telford. Mr. Harper has collected a variety of interesting details and legends connected with the route and the ways through which the road passed, and has unearthed a large amount of forgotten road-lore, which is well worth preserving.

HISTORY.

Mr. Charles Oman, who has made a reputation as the most lucid writer on military campaigns, turns aside from battlefields to consider **Seven Roman Statesmen** (Arnold) of the later years of the Republic. The result of his studies is to show that the establishment of the Empire was inevitable, and that the Republic, moreover, had sown seeds of discord and corruption which even the strong measures of the early Emperors were unable to eradicate. Mr. Oman's analysis of the character and career of Tiberius Gracchus is not flattering, and he attributes to the agrarian policy of the popular Tribune the subsequent demoralisation of the Roman rabble, who claimed the rights of citizenship. In the contrast between Sulla and Marius he brings out several points of resemblance presented by Rome and France when going through a revolutionary period. He compares Cato to Lord Carteret, whose patriotism was displayed in scolding every one, and Crassus to the Duke of Newcastle, who allied himself with Pitt on the understanding that Pitt should manage the Empire, whilst he should be allowed to conduct the Parliamentary jobbery and intrigue. The other two characters treated are those of Cæsar and Pompey—his sympathies and admiration being given in the main to the former. The book throughout is brilliant and suggestive of fresh points of view.

Almost simultaneously Mr. J. C. Tarver, in **Tiberius the Tyrant** (Constable & Co.), makes a serious attempt to vindicate the character of the Roman Emperor from the obloquy attaching to his name. It is not improbable that early Christian writers dealt harshly with the memory of the Emperor under whose reign the Founder of their faith had suffered death, and in this they found support from the pagan historian Tacitus and the annalist Suetonius. But notwithstanding the charges brought against the Emperor—and of many of these Mr. Tarver disposes satisfactorily—there remains a character which is well worthy of admiration, and we are presented by the author to a man whose directness of purpose, promptness of action, and true perception of the needs of the vast Empire he had helped to establish are well worthy of our admiration, although some of his methods seem to our more fastidious minds somewhat wanting in humanity or generosity.

The first volume of the **Cambridge Modern History** (University Press) is the first fruit of the service which the late Lord Acton has rendered to students and readers of history. To trace the continuous development of society through modern times, and to search out the influence of nations and individuals, were the chief aims of the initiator of this great work. His life was not spared longer than to enable him to fix the general outlines of his purpose, but these have enabled the present editors to carry into execution the plan contemplated by Lord Acton. The first volume is devoted to **The Renaissance**, as the starting-point of Modern History. Its spread over the various countries of Europe and the influence it exercised are clearly and impartially discussed. Dr. Garnett deals with the temporal power of the Papacy, whilst Dr. William Barry, from the Roman Catholic side, gives a weighty but unprejudiced statement of the spiritual claims of the

Holy See. Professor Bury marshals with distinctness the various forces which, on the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, were disputing the rulership in Eastern Europe. Mr. Stanley Leathes devotes himself to the political struggles of France and Italy, whilst Mr. E. Armstrong deals with Savonarola, and Mr. Burd with Macchiavelli. The literary influences of the Renaissance in these countries are discussed by Sir R. Jebb and Dr. W. James, and the complicated and often tortuous policy of Spain is carefully analysed by Mr. Butler Clarke, who is able to correct many erroneous views current concerning the action of the Spanish Monarchy. The part which Germany was about to play in the new order of things is assigned to Professor Tout, who brings into strong relief the conflicting influences which hampered the outset of that nation, notwithstanding the impetus given by Luther to the progressive movement.

The Emperor Charles V., by Edward Armstrong, M.A. (Macmillan), will take its place among standard works of history. For the first time since public records and State papers have been accessible we are able to realise the important part played by Charles V. in the making of history. He stood on the threshold of modern times; he was confronted by the restless ambition of his rival, Francis I., whose religious scruples did not interfere with his seeking aid for his designs from Protestant and Paynim alike. It is on Charles as the opponent of the Reformation that Mr. Armstrong mainly dwells, and he shows conclusively that Charles's policy was directed as much by political as by ecclesiastical considerations. To Englishmen Charles V. is of special interest, as the cause of their country being once more brought into the meshes of Continental politics, from which Henry VII. had prudently held aloof. The great aim of Charles's life, however, was the re-establishment of the Holy Roman Empire, with himself as its head, and the Pope as its spiritual director. How nearly he achieved his purpose, and how inevitable was his final failure is described by Mr. Armstrong so lucidly that for the first time the reader is able to grasp some definite idea of the strangely interwoven character of the last of the great Emperors of Germany and the West.

Mr. A. F. Pollard's apology for **Henry VIII.** (Goupil) is, from an artistic point, a magnificent tribute to a monarch who, amongst other great qualities, was endowed with a strong sympathy for art, especially in its more gorgeous forms. Mr. Pollard, however, finds many other titles to our respect in his hero, and he supports his views by much learning and research. He holds to the view that Henry "directed the storm of a revolution which was doomed to come and which was certain to break those who refused to bend." How far the storm was provoked by the King's "peculiar conscience" is a point upon which historians are never likely to agree, and Mr. Pollard's verdict will not be accepted by them as final. Very different, indeed, is the view to be drawn of the same monarch from Dr. James Gairdner's profoundly learned and very interesting **History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century from Henry VIII. to Mary** (Macmillan)—the latest of the volumes in the important continuous series on the "History of the English Church," which have been coming out under the joint editorship of the late

value before embodying it in the history. He does not disguise his sympathy with Mary, and his want of it with John Knox. He is impartially just to James, but he does not forgive him his attitude towards his mother and her false friends. The volume is valuable to scholars for the amount of original research it reveals, and to the general reader for the brilliant illustration it affords of how history may be made attractive. Mr. Andrew Lang's special talent for unravelling the riddle of history has seldom been better employed than in his **James VI and the Gowrie Mystery** (Longmans), but notwithstanding the fresh light which his researches throw upon the episode, its motive is still far from clear. After carefully reviewing the evidence which he has collected from hitherto untouched sources, including that of the spy and forger Sprat, Mr. Lang comes to the conclusion that the Gowries wished to capture James and to hold him as a hostage—the Gowries being Catholics. This theory, however, does not explain much of the mystery which surrounds the plot.

History of Scotland, by P. Hume Brown (Cambridge University Press). The second volume of this contribution to the Cambridge Historical Series fully sustains the promise of its predecessor. The period now dealt with—from the accession of Mary Stuart to the Revolution of 1689—is the most stirring, from an ecclesiastical point of view, in Scottish history. Mr. Hume Brown, whilst discussing the conflict between diverse social and political influences with adequate fulness, presents it also in a lucid and intelligible form.

Cromwell's Army, by C. H. Firth (Methuen & Co.), is the first attempt to give an account of the purely military side of the Great Rebellion. It is in fact, as the author calls it, "A History of the English Soldier during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate." In the course of the quarter of a century or more to which the study is limited the military problem was undergoing a rapid development. Armour had almost disappeared—surviving only in helmets and breastpieces—the use of firearms was becoming general, and Rupert first and Cromwell after him had learnt a new use for cavalry in action. The efficiency of the "New Model" was shown in the result of the struggle; but the lessons of Cromwell's methods were to be learnt not only in the field but in the system of military organisation which he introduced. His system survives in our present system of raising, recruiting and paying our army—in its commissariat and clothing and equipment—and it was to him that soldiers are indebted for an organised provision for the sick and wounded in a campaign, and for pensions when retired.

The Scotch-Irish, by Charles H. Hanna (Putnam's Sons), is an elaborate treatise on an element in the onward march of civilisation in Europe and America which has been, in the author's opinion, inadequately recognised. The influence of the Scot in North Britain and in North Ireland has been the subject of frequent analysis, and in France and Germany he has played an important part. But Mr. Hanna is among the first in the field to point out that men of Scotch descent have figured conspicuously in the history of the United States in politics, art, literature and commerce. A vast amount of informa-

modestly offering his work as the basis of further study, he shows impartiality as well as sound judgment in reviewing the policy of the British rulers of India. Mr. Edward Dicey's **Story of the Khedivate** (Rivingtons) is a carefully compiled and judicious history of the conversion of Egypt from a virtually independent feudatory of Turkey into a virtual dependency of Great Britain.

POETRY.

Mrs. Margaret Woods, hitherto known chiefly as the author of sad-coloured works of fiction, has found a congenial theme in real life. **The Princess of Hanover** (Duckworth), who ought to have been Queen of England, deals with the love of the luckless Princess Sophia of Zell for Count Königsmarck and the revenge of her husband, prompted by his father's mistress, Clara von Platen, whose advances Königsmarck had slighted. There are in this situation obvious materials for a drama, and of these Mrs. Woods has availed herself to good purpose. The tendency of modern writers of blank verse to ignore the example—one might say the rules—laid down by the dramatists of the seventeenth century is very marked in Mrs. Wood's metre. Whether use will consecrate the new method remains an open question. Mr. Oswald Crawford, who also joins the ranks of blank verse writers in his **Two Masques** (Chapman & Hall), does not help to solve the problem, for his taste evidently keeps him to the beaten path. The requirements of dramatic unity and intensity are not all-important in masques, but there is scope for expression of emotion, even by the chorus, who play an important part. Mr. John Davidson's **Testament of an Empire-Builder** (Grant Richards) is in marked contrast with the poems by which he first earned notoriety. A soliloquy upon human ideals may be irradiated by brilliant passages and even by dramatic situations, but visions of philosophy are not very satisfying either to the psychologist or the philosopher, and Mr. Davidson leaves the reader unconvinced as to his proposed distinction between the occupants of heaven and hell.

Mr. Henry Newbolt's new volume of poems, "**The Sailing of the Long Ships**" (Murray), although containing numerous spirited ballads, in which the naval heroes of the past figure prominently, recalls the fact that for the time the patriot-poet has other subjects worthier of his muse than the glorification of his own country at the expense of his neighbours. Naturally war with its sorrows and its delights finds an echo in these pages, but Mr. Newbolt shows that he is skilful and fastidious in other veins of poetic fancy; and, what is more noteworthy, he can be original both in thought and metre. The volume of ballads for which the writer, who clings to her maiden name, has chosen the title of **The Woman Who Went to Hell** (De la More Press) is full of feeling and true poetic sentiment. If the note is at times somewhat strained, it only serves to keep the reader's attention more closely riveted to the author's aim. "The Beggar Maid" and "Earl Roderick's Bride" are not less successful in their way, and Mrs. Dora Sigerson's mastery over the ballad style is conspicuous throughout the volume.

SCIENCE AND THEOLOGY.

The completion of Dr. Hastings' **Dictionary of the Bible** (T. & T. Clark) within four years of the appearance of the first volume reflects great credit upon the editor and his assistants. The aim with which the work was started was to sift critically questions dealing with the language, literature and contents of the Bible, and also with the numerous phases through which Biblical theology has passed. The work, therefore, may be regarded as a trustworthy attempt to place theological studies upon a firm basis, destroying or removing the supports which modern criticism has shown to be either illusory or defective. The contributors—among whom are some of the most eminent scholars of the day—have displayed in their work both candour and reverence, and the result is a help to reading and understanding the Bible valuable alike to priest, presbyter and layman. On the other hand the publication of the third volume of the **Encyclopædia Biblica** (Black) under the joint editorship of Canon T. K. Cheyne and Mr. T. Sutherland Black has revived in some degree the outcries which greeted the appearance of Bishop Colenso's "Pentateuch." The reproaches addressed to the editor were grounded on the fact that, whilst holding an official position both in the Church and the University, he allowed certain articles to appear in a publication for which he was the responsible editor, such articles being in direct conflict with the recognised views and teaching of both foundations.

The Jewish Encyclopædia (Funk & Wagnalls) is another compilation bearing on similar subjects which is due to American enterprise. Many of the writers engaged on the work—of which two volumes have been published—are of the Hebrew faith, and from them we can learn more of the history, customs, religion and literature of the Jewish people before and since their dispersal than from any previous work. In the historical articles dealing with countries and individuals the part played by the Hebrew nation or by Jewish sentiment is prominently kept in view, and in the more literary articles we are able to trace with something like accuracy the Jewish views on Biblical and theological questions. Mr. R. L. Ottley's **Short History of the Hebrews** (Cambridge University Press) does not pretend to be the outcome of research, but is an attempt to show that the results of the higher criticism are compatible with an enlightened view of revelation. He claims for the Old Testament writers—apart from their Oriental ways of writing history—"a careful and reverent study of their work," which "makes it evident that they were in a true sense inspired." In this way Mr. Ottley aims at leading minds which are perplexed by doubts raised by science and literary criticism to recognise the inspiration of the Bible.

Contentio Veritatis, by Six Oxford Tutors (Murray), is a volume of essays which will probably take its place beside "Essays and Reviews" of forty years ago, and "Lux Mundi" of more recent date, as an attempt to show that theological thought in the Church of England is not stagnant. The alternative or explanatory title given to the volume by its joint authors, "Essays in Constructive Theology," will scarcely pass without challenge from extremists of both the High and the

Evangelical sections of the Church, for neither will be prepared to admit the position claimed by the authors that "criticism must be wholly free." Whatever individual opinion may be concerning the relative value of the various essays, it will be generally admitted that the appearance of such a vindication of the rights of science and of the progress of knowledge is most opportune. Time alone will show whether the arguments of the Oxford tutors and the appeal to the authority of Bishop Berkeley will suffice to revive among the more thoughtful undergraduates of our Universities the desire to take orders in the Church and to prevent its direction falling into the hands of literates or enthusiasts.

Reason and Revelation, by J. R. Illingworth, D.D., (Macmillan) places before the reader the philosophical argument for Christianity, and calls attention to the "pre-suppositions of Christian evidence." Dr. Illingworth deals very cursorily with the evidences themselves, and addresses himself more especially to the consideration of the point of view in which we accept them. He insists strongly upon the point that "to the modern Christian the self-evidence of Christianity is its strongest recommendation." On the "problem of evil" Dr. Illingworth endeavours to hold the balance evenly between those who accept the doctrine of the Fall and those who cling to the ascent of man from very rudimentary forms of faith. In conclusion, he suggests that the problem of moral evil is not an altogether insoluble question. **The Philosophy of the Christian Religion**, by A. M. Fairbairn (Hodder & Stoughton), appears opportunely as expressing the Non-conformist view of Christian teaching, and like the work of the six Oxford tutors it is addressed to those to whom the attitude of modern thought towards theology is often perplexing. Dr. Fairbairn, as Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, is brought into direct relation with the younger generation of Nonconformists, and his aim is to show that the Christian religion is the doctrine of our Lord's Personality, and that "Christ's person is even more intellectually real than historically accurate." He does not admit the right to base belief upon mere authority, although he fully recognises the debt which Christianity owes to creeds, councils and divines "to keep faith living and religion a reality." In this Catholic spirit he discusses religions and their founders, claiming for them as well as for those who weigh their existing claims the right of reason.

Dr. Wm. James' **Varieties of Religious Experience** (Longmans) formed the subject of his course of Gifford lectures, in which he defines religion as "the feelings, acts and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may call divine." He claims that the advance in the liberal interpretation of Christianity which has marked the last fifty years is evidence of "healthy mindedness" within the Church. In dealing with Church movements like Lutheranism and Wesleyanism, with "the sick soul," and with conversion, Professor James takes a psychological standpoint, and arrives at the conclusion that the attempt to demonstrate by purely intellectual processes the truth of direct religious experience is hopeless. The lectures are illustrated by con-

crete examples, and for his own purposes Professor James has in many cases chosen the "extremest expressions of the religious temperament." Canon Hensley Henson's **Cross Bench Views of Current Church Questions** (Arnold) are evidence that the Broad Church party is not so extinct as has been imagined. In his treatment of such questions as the interpretation of Scripture, Church reform, and the recognition of non-Episcopal religious bodies, Canon Henson shows himself more in sympathy with enlightened lay opinion than with either Church party as represented by their clerical leaders.

The first volume of a **Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology** (Macmillan) promises to give to English-speaking students on both sides of the Atlantic a "Dictionary for Philosophers" superior to anything yet attempted in Germany or France. Dr. J. M. Baldwin, the editor, has gathered a group of men, for the most part American, who have recognised the need of assisting thought "in the way of definition, statement and terminology," and at the same time, as of not less importance, the promotion of the study of the special subjects included under such a general title. The tendency of philosophic inquiry in the United States is shown by the prominence given to the scientific treatment of psychological questions in contra-distinction to the philosophical or metaphysical method. Many particular doctrines, of which the origin has been obscured and the aim forgotten, are brought to light, and a large number of articles on Christian and other tenets bear witness to the importance attached by the editor and his colleagues to the philosophy of religion.

Facts and Comments, by Herbert Spencer (Williams & Norgate), are, we are told, to be taken as the last fruits of a tree of knowledge to which many of our foremost men of action owe a deep debt of gratitude. The subjects of these essays, which range over a wide field, from music to the Boer war, were not fitted for incorporation in his previous volumes. Perhaps the most interesting articles are those dealing directly or inferentially with the revival of militarism in Great Britain, but those on Style and that on "*Feeling versus Intellect*" will be received in a less hostile spirit amongst those to whom they are directed. By a strange coincidence the last words of the strongest advocate of "a secular creed" are comprised in thirty-nine articles.

Philosophy, Its Scope and Relations (Macmillan) is a valuable legacy to those who recognise the important part played by the late Henry Sidgwick as a teacher of philosophy and ethics. He vindicates for philosophy a special place in the field of knowledge, apart from physics, psychology, and even from logic and metaphysics. In his view the problem of speculative thought was the relation of knowledge of "what is" to knowledge of "what ought to be." This problem and the relations of philosophy to history and sociology form the staple of these lectures and letters which have been carefully edited by Professor James Ward; and they will add much to the belief held by so many of his friends and followers that Henry Sidgwick was essentially a "common-sense" philosopher.

Philosophy and Science (George Trumbull Ladd (Longmans), is a very moderate and sensible treatment of the conflicting claims of those who

regard man's moral life as a "divine, ready-made endowment" and of those who explain morality as the outcome of evolution. On the vital question whether there is a supernatural guide to morals, the reader will not find here any clear answer.

"All economic problems are ultimately ethical" may be taken as the purport of Mrs. Bosanquet's **The Strength of the People** (Macmillan), and the aim of social reformers should, in her estimation, be the formation of individual character, rather than the well-meaning but useless efforts of philanthropists to improve the conditions under which "the people" live. The first step towards the forming of character is independence—and to guarantee this should be the first object of those who would really help the poor. She is opposed to out-door relief, and to old age pensions from the State, to the feeding of school children and other expressions of miscalled charity—as the stepping-stones to State Socialism. Mrs. Bosanquet often expresses herself harshly, according to our modern standard of sympathy with the wants of others, but she writes with an intimate knowledge of her subject, and of her own mind; and she is careful to show how the leisured classes may, and ought to, help their poorer neighbours without in any way pauperising them.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd's **Principles of Western Civilisation** (Macmillan) is presented as the first volume "of a system of evolutionary philosophy," which is apparently to be based upon a pessimism which neither Hartmann nor Nietzsche would repudiate. The constant conflict between the interests of the present and of the future—the sacrifice of the living to the unborn, forms the basis of Mr. Kidd's system, and he traces its prevalence in all forms of life. Christianity, he asserts, first challenged the philosophies of Greece and Rome which exalted the omnipotence of the present, and he traces in the breaking up of the old world, in the revival of learning, evidences of the constant struggle. He claims, therefore, that upon his principle of "Projected Efficiency" future society will be moulded. Its tenets are as remote from Socialism as from Individualism. Nevertheless nationalities are to vanish, and notwithstanding the supremacy of "Commercial Morality" the white races are to rule over the black, the brown and the yellow. The State is to organise and direct the forces of industry and production in view not of ordered ease, but of an era of free and natural conflict. This, according to Mr. Kidd, "represents the only effective condition in which the future can ever be emancipated from the present in human society." Upon this depressing text the author writes with great fluency and apparent self-conviction—but his scarcely disguised contempt for or ignorance of the work done by his predecessors in the study of Sociology, will hardly predispose readers in favour of Mr. Kidd's Cosmic process—nor will they find in his present volume the fulfilment of the promise held out by his earlier work, "Social Evolution." The attempt to reconcile religion and science by means of "the higher biology," if realisable at all, must be left to those more fully equipped than the author, and one can hardly believe that it will be effected on the lines of his book.

British Columbia, is lost sight of by our statesmen, and, when recognised, the moment for asserting it may have passed. Mr. Colquhoun is better qualified than many others to speak with authority on this subject, and his account of the United States' policy in Samoa, the Philippines and China shows that in all probability the mastery of the Pacific is destined to be held by our transatlantic cousins.

Mr. Frederick Seebohm's **Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law** (Longmans) is a further instalment of the author's researches in the tribal system and village life of the Anglo-Saxon period. The reaction against Roman custom was not universal, and the origin of village and manor may be accepted as the outcome of arrangement rather than of hostility. Upon this point as well as upon the vexed question of the Wergeld system Mr. Seebohm's labours throw much light.

The Mystic Rose, by Ernest Crawley (Macmillan), is a study of primitive marriage from a side hitherto neglected by anthropologists, legal or scientific. In the formation of society blood-relationship played an important part, but Mr. Crawley wishes to go back to a time when blood-kinship was non-existent. Mr. Crawley's chief line of argument and the bulk of his evidence are levelled against McLennan's theory that promiscuity was the characteristic of primitive tribal life. Mr. Crawley, on the other hand, maintains that marriage between individuals existed from the earliest times, and by marriage he understands "the permanent living together of a man and woman." He attributes to primitive man a high moral sentiment, which ultimately developed itself in the form of morality and religion, though primarily not in the sense subsequently attached to these words. Mr. Crawley's arguments, although not wholly convincing, are supported by a remarkable array of authorities and examples, and his book thereby becomes a useful, perhaps an almost necessary, adjunct to the study of sociology and anthropology.

The Enemies of England, by the Hon. George Peel (Arnold), comes opportunely to show that the ill-will towards this country, of which so many evidences have been seen recently, is not of recent date. Mr. Peel indeed traces it back to the days of William I., but it is more directly traceable to the intervention in continental politics which was inaugurated by Henry VIII. Each foreign nation in time sought the alliance of England—and as one alliance after another was abandoned, generally on the ground of self-interest, it was not unnatural that each country in turn thought itself betrayed. The enmity of Russia to this country was provoked by the obvious desire of the former to dominate Turkey, but the antagonism of Germany, according to Mr. Peel, dates from the abandonment of our alliance with Frederick the Great. This seems somewhat too remote for such practical people as Germans and Englishmen, and trade jealousy is rather the exciting cause of the present estrangement, which time is likely to embitter still more.

London—but little known to Londoners—is an exhaustible source of delight and interest to those who look at it otherwise than as a mart or a money market. Mr. W. J. Loftie's new volume, **London Afternoons** (Cassell & Co.), is full of varied and original information about the social life, architecture and records of the great city and its neigh-

worthy were the **English Coronation Records** (Constable & Co.), edited by Mr. L. G. Wickham Legg, who brought together a mass of documents extending from the crowning of Aidan in the sixth century to that of the late Queen Victoria. The most striking features in this long recital of forms and ceremonies are the fixedness of certain details which at first sight would seem trivial, and the merely transitory prominence given to others which look much more important. Mr. Douglas Maclean's **The Great Solemnity of the Coronation** (Robinson & Co.) is a scholarly treatise interspersed with a good deal of authentic gossip with reference to the coronation of former kings and queens. There are obviously many precedents which would be better avoided or forgotten. At any rate in 1902 the nave of Westminster Abbey was not let out to a contractor as in 1821, nor were refreshments sold in the side chapels. Mr. M. F. Johnston's **The Coronation of a King** (Chapman & Hall) contains a good deal of interesting information respecting the Order of the Bath, of which the knights in former times played a conspicuous part at a coronation. Of far greater historical and antiquarian interest is a volume, unfortunately left unfinished, on **Scottish Coronations** (Paisley : Gardner), by John, third Marquess of Bute, whose eager interest in such matters was well known. In this volume the earliest Scottish Coronations present many quaint and characteristic features, but the chief historical interest centres in the portion devoted to three Coronation Rituals—the mediæval English, the French and the Pontifical. Of all three the Scottish form was curiously independent, and the insistence of Laud on employing the English form when Charles I. was crowned at Holyrood rankled in the minds of many Scots at a later period, and was productive of harm to the King's cause.

Dangerous Trades, edited by Thomas Oliver, M.D. (Murray), is the outcome of a self-constituted commission of experts who have devoted much time to the study of "the historical, social and legal aspects of industrial occupations as affecting health." There is a large amount of valuable information brought together, which should be consulted by all who are interested in matters connected with dangerous trades. Dr. Oliver personally holds stronger views than the majority of those who collaborate with him, and is in favour of giving to the executive wider reaching powers in factory legislation than Parliament is willing to concede. He will not admit that the substitution of the responsibility of the State for that of the employer not always tends to the benefit of the workman.

Thoughts on Education (Longmans) form part of the valuable legacy bequeathed by the late Dr. Mandell Creighton, some time Bishop of London, to his fellow-citizens, and the value and weight of the counsels given in this volume make one feel that the place he might have occupied in the education controversy will with difficulty be filled. This volume contains much that was given to the world at various times in speeches, essays and sermons, and they make up a valuable handbook for the use of those who desire to learn and speak on the aims and methods of a satisfactory educational system. Dr. Creighton starts the warning that all education will be worthless which does not relate the child's desire to learn, and that the aim of the teacher

should be not so much to impart facts and information as to give the pupils interests for their leisure and a juster appreciation of the value of knowledge for its own sake, and for forming a right judgment of things. In connection with the historical side of this question, Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency's **State Intervention in English Education** (Cambridge University Press) is a valuable contribution to our knowledge. It appears that from the Saxon times down to 1833 the people of England were dependent in one way or another upon the clergy alone for elementary education. If they did not always maintain its cost, they never failed to claim the right of controlling it. Disputes as to their pretensions go back to the very beginning of the fourteenth century, but it was not until 1406 that "the universal right of all, bond or free, to education" was ratified by statute. Mr. de Montmorency's book is a mine of useful information on all the leading controversies on this subject, which culminated in 1833 when, for the first time, Parliament voted 20,000*l.* for the erection of school-houses for the education of the children of the poorer classes in Great Britain.

The Oxford History of Music (Clarendon Press), of which three volumes have appeared, bears witness to the earnest desire of the editor, Sir Hubert Parry, to make this work worthy of the University with which he is connected. The aim which the editor has kept in view has been to trace the development of music through the centuries. Mediæval music is treated in a rather more direct fashion by Professor Wooldridge, but in the third volume, which is devoted to the music of the seventeenth century, Sir Hubert Parry deals in a searching spirit with the composers great and small, known and forgotten of that period, displaying not only a wide range of learning and knowledge, but a sensitive appreciation of the work of German and French musicians, and the debt they owed to their Italian contemporaries and predecessors.

Mr. H. L. Bellot's **The Inner and Middle Temple** (Methuen) is a valuable handbook to the history of these two societies, and of those who have thrown lustre upon them. Many of the old customs, dating back to the sixteenth century, still survive in a more or less changed form, and of them as well as of the principal dwellers in the Liberty of the Temple Mr. Bellot gives a readable and interesting account.

Mr. T. H. S. Escott's **Gentlemen of the House of Commons** (Hurst & Blackett) deals with the personal history of the Members of the Lower House, from the very earliest times. He has carefully studied all the works which could help him to bring before his readers the men who by their force of character are most associated with the building up of our Parliamentary history at its successive stages. The result is a most readable and amusing book, from which much can be learned of what the House of Commons was and what it now is.

Amongst the numerous volumes which the progress and conclusion of the war in South Africa called forth, the most conspicuous and most likely to have a permanent value for future writers is "**The Times History of the War**" (Sampson Low & Co.), edited by Mr. L. S. Amery. In the first volume the political causes which led up to hostilities are discussed at length; in the second the two nations are ranged face to face. The story of British disasters, which culminated in the checks

at Modder River and on the banks of the Tugela, is told with scrupulous impartiality. It is evident that the editor has obtained the very best authority for whatever he describes, and not the least valuable feature of the work is the careful marshalling of conflicting accounts of the same incident. It will of necessity be regarded as a text-book by future students, when the more ephemeral productions of the time shall have passed away.

The Memoirs of Paul Kruger (Fisher Unwin), as told by himself, were published in England, and consequently fall within the scope of this survey. The literary interest which such a volume would have had if the ex-President had told a plain unvarnished tale is altogether absent. There is doubtless much to interest those who care to go over the earlier years of Mr. Kruger's career—and there is real value in the partisan and often distorted views which he took both of his own position and of British policy. Unfortunately the importance of this testimony is lessened by the tone which Mr. Kruger's scribes or editors have been allowed to adopt. There is undoubtedly much in our dealings with South Africa from very remote times which is subject for regret—much error for which we have had to pay the penalty; but little good can be expected for either Boers or Britons from the malevolent representation of motives or the reviving of a buried past.

Three Years' War, by Christian Rudolf De Wet (Constable), is a more personal record of the events of which President Kruger gives his version at second (or third) hand. It is written naturally from the Boer point of view, and in dealing with operations in the field it gives an unflattering view of the condition of our staff, and of the incapacity of our scouting officers. Of the causes which led to the war it is assumed throughout that the Transvaal Government was fighting only for "liberty and rights," and in this sense General De Wet's record of his achievements is in a sense a political manifesto. Notwithstanding this there are many passages which show that the calumnies levelled against the English tactics and policy during the war had but a slight basis of truth, and on more than one occasion General De Wet admits that the much abused concentration camps were appreciated by the Boers as safe refuges for their wives. Had they not been established the war might have been brought more promptly to a conclusion, for General De Wet allows that the immediate reason of the surrender on May 31, 1902, was the desire to save their women and children who were still in the field with their husbands. **On the Heels of De Wet** (Blackwood) is the story of one phase of the South African campaign from the British point of view. The "Intelligence Officer" who tells the story was with the freshly formed Cavalry Brigade from its formation until De Wet's retreat over the Riet River. Apart from its graphic descriptions, the book is of real interest when compared with De Wet's own narrative. Mr. Goldmann's **With General French** (Macmillan) is constructed of more solid materials, and deals with the part played by that officer's cavalry throughout the war up to the occupation of Barberton. His version of the events at Sannah's Post, although differing widely from De Wet's, will help to throw more light upon the obscure causes of that disaster.

Mr. G. McCall Theal's **Progress of South Africa in the Nineteenth Century** Chambers, is one of the most attractive volumes of an interesting series issued by the same publishers dealing with the development of our Colonial Empire. Mr. Theal's impartial statement of the case for and against Boers, Britons and Bantus will make this book the text-book for future students and historians. The post he held in the Native Affairs Department of the Cape Colony gave him special opportunities of knowing much that never transpired outside the official circle, and of which the record is to be found only in the State archives. These documents have been carefully examined by Mr. Theal, and his personal experiences have enabled him to compile a history of our policy in South Africa of which the impartiality may be gauged by the violence of the criticism it has aroused among extremists of both parties, Dutch and English. Mr. Howard Hensman follows up "A History of Rhodesia" with a volume on **Cecil Rhodes** (Blackwood) of which the appearance preceded by a short time the great colonist's death. Mr. Hensman is too much of a panegyrist to estimate impartially many incidents of Mr. Rhodes's strenuous career, but he does not withhold his criticism on certain important occasions. His estimate of Mr. Rhodes's complicity in the Jameson Raid is probably correct, and he admits that the business was bungled chiefly because Mr. Rhodes, with all his brilliant qualities, was a poor diplomatist.

LIONEL G. ROBINSON.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

GEOGRAPHY.

INTEREST in geographical discovery centres largely in Arctic and Antarctic regions. No news of the *Discovery*, which is now exploring Antarctic waters, can be expected until the spring of 1903, but Captain Scott intended to endeavour to reach the 175th meridian, and on gaining open water to make for Cape Adare. On her outward voyage the *Discovery* made an excursion to latitude 63° S. in longitude 140° E., with the object of observing the change of magnetic intensity along the agonic line. The *Morning*, a Norwegian vessel of Tönsberg, has been purchased and equipped as a relief vessel for the *Discovery*, and is now on her way under Captain William Colbeck.

The *Gauss* pursues her course under Dr. von Drygalski, having called at Kerguelen Island and left there in April last a report of her voyage and the observations taken up to then. This was called for by the German steamer *Essen*, and it was thus possible to publish the report in Berlin in August. The report includes a considerable number of soundings as well as temperature and salinity observations.

Mr. Bruce is at present vigorously pushing forward his preparations for the Scottish Antarctic Expedition, but has unfortunately been compelled to rebuild his ship, the *Scotia*, and thus he finds himself with a deficit of 4,000*l.*, instead of the expected surplus of 2,000*l.*

Four expeditions have been exploring the Arctic regions, namely, the *Windward* which is to bring back Lieutenant Peary from Smith Sound, the *Fram* with Captain Sverdrup, the Baldwin expedition for the North Pole by way of Franz Josef Land, and Baron Toll's expedition in the islands to the north of the New Siberian Islands. The expeditions under Captain Sverdrup and under Lieutenant Peary have returned. Lieutenant Peary, with his negro companion Hensen, and four Eskimos pushed forward by themselves to latitude $84^{\circ} 17'$ to the north-west of Cape Hecla, but they found further progress impossible, and after a perilous return safely joined the *Windward* in Payer Harbour. The leader of this expedition thinks the Pole can be reached by sledges if a suitable starting-point can be found. He is convinced that an ice-covered sea extends to the north of Greenland, which is the most northerly land in the northern hemisphere. Whilst in the neighbourhood of Whale Sound he made a study of the Eskimos who live there and who are the most northerly people of the world. They are a small isolated tribe, not exceeding 200 in number, and are rapidly being

described by an unknown form. He became acquainted with every one of them and taught them to write.

Captain Stefansson has brought information about the Greenland coast towards the north. Egea Sound was mapped and some new land was discovered. The fjords intersected being very long and intersected by fjords. A great deal of scientific material has been accumulated which is to be subsequently published.

Mr. Blunt has been frustrated in his attempt to reach the North Pole but he confirms Lieutenant Peary's contention that the most practicable way of reaching the Pole is by sailing preferably from Franz Josef Land. He thinks the idea of an open Polar sea is baseless. He returned to Norway in July 1900.

In 1897 Sir James Clark Ross reached a position where the dipping needle was only deflected 1° from true verticality, but the question may be raised whether the magnetic pole is only a point or whether a region exists over which the needle is vertical. With the object of answering this question Captain Amundsen will sail in the spring of 1903 in the ship, a vessel fitted with a petrol engine. A dipping needle will be constructed at Dundee and carefully examined at the National Physical Laboratory. As soon as the severest part of the winter is over a land journey will be made to Boothia, where Sir James Ross discovered the magnetic pole, and observations will be there made.

The "Indian Survey Report" recently issued covers an area of 150,000 square miles and has been carried out by the Government with great economy, chiefly by the employment of skilled native labour. Natives have been trained to triangulate and to take magnetic observations. Topography on scientific methods has been confined to Burma and Sind, two countries which lie respectively on the east and west.

The exploration of the Maldives has been undertaken by Professor Agassiz, who has returned to Colombo. The principal work was the sounding of the channels between the lagoons and the tracing of the plateau on which the Maldives have been formed. The greatest depths are towards the south, between Hadumati and Suvadiva and Addu, where 1,000 fathoms was reached. The plateau of the Maldives is much steeper on the west than on the east, and the islands are separated from Colombo by a channel more than 1,500 fathoms in depth. Atolls are found in the most primitive condition and in all stages of growth, from a mere bank a few feet above the surface of the plateau to banks on which islets are beginning to form. Great interest attaches to the study of the Maldives, Luccadives, Chagos and Seychelles, since they appear to be the remnants of a land connection between India and Madagascar.

Messrs. Gardiner, Borradaile and Cooper also have devoted much time to the study of these groups of islands. As to the coral islands, it is significant that both in the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific Ocean there is this striking similarity, namely, an absence or paucity of them along the eastern sides of these oceans. This again is in favour of the hypothesis of a former land connection between India and Africa.

Captain Kozloff, the head of a Russian expedition, has penetrated

into Tibet with the intention of exploring Inner Tibet and, if possible, of reaching Hlassa, but the route was blocked by military forces. However the expedition was able to explore lands totally unknown, where the great rivers, Hoang-ho, Yang-tse and Me Kong descend to the lower parts of China. The upper parts of the rivers run on the surface of the Tibet plateau, at an elevation of 12,000 feet, and are separated by parallel mountain ranges rising 3,000 feet higher in a direction N.W. and S.E. A great deal of admirable work was done in recording meteorological observations, and a rich collection of species of mammals, birds, plants and rocks was brought back to St. Petersburg.

An expedition has been conducted by Mr. D. W. Freshfield to Kangchenjunga, a group of mountains cut off from the mountains of Nepal by the Koshi Valley on the west and the Teesta Valley on the east. The object of the excursion was to obtain some idea of the glaciers of this group. From Kangchen, in Nepal, he gained the first sight of Kangchenjunga, which presents a superb pile of rock buttresses, terraces of snow and staircases of ice. Four glaciers radiate from the peak, the Zemu Glacier, eighteen miles long, and the Talung, draining to the east; the Kangchen, fifteen miles long, and the Yalung, draining to the west.

Dr. R. E. C. Stearns has examined the upper portion of the Gulf of California, and he concludes that the gulf once extended 200 miles farther inland, covering what is now a desert. The separation of this desert from the present termination of the gulf has evidently been due to sediment brought down by the Colorado River.

The notorious want of water in Australia has lately been partly remedied by the systematic search for artesian wells, and, in Queensland, a good many towns are supplied with artesian water. Nevertheless the amount so far found has not been sufficient to irrigate the land and, even if it were, the fact that such water is saline is prejudicial to its use for herbage.

Persia is not commonly regarded as an unknown country, yet the greater part of the Persian plateau was unexplored by Europeans until recent times. There is but one road for wheeled vehicles, and that a very indifferent one, and no railway yet penetrates this land. Major P. M. Sykes has, in the course of his duties, travelled over immense distances in Persia, and added considerably to the geographical knowledge of this country. The Sarhad in Persian Beluchistan includes within its area two extinct volcanoes—Kuh-i-Basmán, 11,000 feet high, and Kuh-i-Taftán, over 12,000 feet high. Volcanic formations extend over a large area of South-Eastern Persia, where peaks of 13,000 and 14,000 feet are to be found. There are many evidences of ancient cities and abandoned tracts of once cultivated land, and the view is now pretty generally adopted that a large area in Asia is gradually undergoing desiccation, and that the rainfall must be much less than two or three thousand years ago. This diminution of rainfall may be connected with the gradual disappearance of certain Central Asiatic lakes, remnants of which are the Caspian and Aral Seas. The general plateau of Southern Persia is a dry, barren region bounded by an inaccessible coast which protects it from invasion, and which has reared a hardy

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population capable of holding in subjection the plains of Mesopotamia and even India.

Dr. Sven Hedin has returned from a remarkable journey in Central Asia. His first work was to map with the minutest care the River Tarim, the greatest river in Central Asia, from the environs of Yarkland to its lower extremity. The channel of the river is constantly changing, with a tendency to drift to the south side. He then explored a part of the desert of Gobi between Lower Tarim and the Cherchen-daria. This part is entirely different in conformation from the desert of Takla-Makan, for here the sand is interrupted by level tracts of soil entirely destitute of sand. In the southern part of the desert patches of tamarisk are met with, and at such places it is possible to find water by digging down six or seven feet.

The lower course of the River Tarim was then followed, and it was found to be most intricate, as it has a tendency to form lateral or marginal lakes. Between Yanghikull and Arghan the right bank of the river is accompanied by a chain of long lakes bordered by sterile sands. The lakes of Avullu-Kull and Kara-Kull remain of the same dimensions and position as in Dr. Sven Hedin's first journey. The highly interesting problem of the position of the ancient historical Lop-nor is now solved. Its basin is dried up, but on its northern shore ruins of towns and temples were found, as well as manuscripts, letters of local origin, and tablets written with Chinese script dating from 264 to 465 A.D. In the spring of 1901 levellings of the whole basin were made, and the result showed that the former Lop-nor and the present Kara-Koshun lie practically at the same level. Kara-Koshun shows a tendency to return to its former situation, a large lake having been formed to the north of it. Eastern, Central, Western and Northern Tibet were also explored.

Dr. Sven Hedin reached Stockholm by way of the Caspian Sea on June 27, the journey having lasted three years and three days.

GEOLOGY.

The prominent geological features of the year 1902 have been the volcanic eruptions in the West Indies and the earthquakes in Central Asia. Towards the latter end of April the inhabitants of Martinique and St. Vincent began to have misgivings with regard to their safety, but official assurances and their own disinclination to take flight without due cause prevented a general exodus from the localities threatened.

On May 18, however, Mount Pelée, situated a few miles to the north of St. Pierre (Martinique), burst into violent eruption, and a rain of fire destroyed the whole town, together with nearly all its inhabitants, some 3,000 in number. Ships were burnt and sunk in the harbour and dust and stones were flung to immense distances.

A striking feature of the outburst was a hurricane of heated air, charged with steam and fetid vapours, which carried all down before it, and left evidences of its fury in demolished buildings, capsized vessels and charred corpses. One vessel only, the *Roddam* (Captain Freeman), was able to escape from the scene, and that with much toil and

danger, the experiences of the survivors being probably unparalleled in history.

In the neighbouring island of St. Vincent the eruption of La Soufrière began on May 5, but did not become violent till two days later. But for the fact that there was no considerable town in the vicinity the consequences would have been at least equally disastrous, since the mass of matter ejected was larger than from Mount Pelée, and the area devastated was also greater. The loss of life in this case was estimated at 2,000. Large quantities of ash fell at Barbadoes, 100 miles away, and to windward at the time, and the decks of steamers in the vicinity were covered with a similar deposit. The ash consisted principally of magnetite, hypersthene, angite, plagioclase, felspar and pumice, thus presenting no unusual features.

Scientific expeditions to the stricken areas were organised shortly afterwards by both the English and French authorities, and a mass of information has been gained, which will be of great value for future reference. The French observers were fortunate enough to witness a fresh eruption of Mount Pelée on July 9, in many ways similar to the original outburst.

Later eruptions, notably on August 30, when the village of Morne Rouge in Martinique was totally destroyed, took place in both islands.

Geologically the chief results are that a narrow strip of coast in St. Vincent has disappeared, and that changes have taken place in the form of both craters, but no appreciable difference has been made in the level of the ground.

Professor John Milne attributes the outbreak to a sudden adjustment of the orogenic fold in Central America, resulting in movements of the neighbouring fold represented by the West Indies.

Whether as the result of the eruptions or not, great storms occurred in Texas and Kentucky shortly afterwards, also in India, while earthquake shocks occurred at intervals till the end of the year. Among the places affected in this way were Guam (Oct. 25), Tiflis (Oct. 4), New Marghilan, Ferghana (Oct. 6) and South California (July 31). More fatal than any of these were the earthquakes of August 22 and later dates, whereby at Kashgar some 700 people were killed, and the town of Nyni Artush, on the north-east, was practically rased to the ground, the total loss of life being 3,000. Andijan, on the north-west, also suffered severely.

Professor Sollas has devised a method of separating the mineral constituents of a rock by means of a diffusion column. It depends upon the fact that the specific gravity of methylene iodide can be raised to 3.6 by saturation with iodoform, and lowered to 2.5 or less by dilution with carbon tetrachloride, xylol, or benzol. For ordinary purposes it is convenient to have two tubes, ranging in density from 2.94 to 2.44, and to introduce the rock to be examined in a finely powdered form. The ingredients sort themselves according to their densities, and are aggregated in more or less definite zones, from which they are removed by a special separating apparatus. The calculation of the amounts of silica, alumina, lime, etc., originally present, is founded on the composition of the minerals as thus separated; thus pyroxene and

no other would be found at the 33 level and so on. The results are only approximate, but are sufficiently reliable to make a long and elaborate chemical analysis in many cases unnecessary.

A long and important paper on "A System of Glacier Lakes in the Cleveland Hills" was read before the Geological Society, early in the year, by Professor P. F. Kendall. The author argues that when an ice-sheet or a glacier obstructs the drainage of a district, the water is impounded and forms lakes, which find an outlet through or over the ice, or overflow by some col or spur in the surrounding watershed. The deepening of this channel may be swift or slow, according to circumstances. On the retreat of the ice a moraine obstruction may be left across the valley at such a height that the lake may persist, or an overflow channel may have been cut during the presence of the ice barrier. When this happens either a river gorge remains of small breadth as compared with the magnitude of the stream, or the drainage may be resumed on the original lines, and then appears disproportionately small for the size of the valley. Both types have the cañon-like aspect which points to rapid erosion, and they may occur in more or less regular alternation, as between the Ure and the Wharfe from Hackfall to Tadcaster. "Extra-morainic" lakes—the name given to those formed by impounding the natural drainage—are found in the Vale of Pickering, in Glaisdale, Eskdale, Harwood Dale, and at Hackness, the evidence pointing to the existence of ice in the Vale of York, and along the north and east borders of the Cleveland district.

Professor Boyd Dawkins has continued his observations on the geology of the Isle of Man, and identifies the red sandstone of Peel as of Permian age, though it is sheared and faulted to an extraordinary degree. The true base of the series is not, however, in the Peel district, but it rests there unconformably on Carboniferous rocks, and is covered with the same series of Triassic strata as that which overlies the Permian in adjacent parts of England—*e.g.*, the Lake District, and in Lancashire and Cheshire.

By a curious coincidence the largest meteorite known to have fallen in the British Isles for eighty-nine years fell during the week of the meeting of the British Association at Belfast, and within ten miles of Belfast, at Crumlin. In size it was $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and weighed nearly 10 lb. The noise of its fall was like the bursting of a boiler, and its impact with the earth caused it to penetrate the ground to the depth of 18 inches. It is now in the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, and a detailed mineralogical and chemical examination of it will be made there.

METEOROLOGY.

At the time of the Krakatoa eruption an immense volume of dust was thrown up into the air and directly traced at distances of 1,100 miles. Some of the finer particles must have been carried to enormously greater distances and were, no doubt, the cause of the magnificent sunsets of that time. The disastrous eruption of Mount Pelée in Martinique in the same way was probably responsible for the fine

sunset effects which were noticed in England in the summer, for immense quantities of dust must have been thrown into the upper layers of the atmosphere.

Some remarkable deposits of dust took place in March 1901 over Europe, and now a very exhaustive account of them has been published by Professors Williamson and Meinardus. It appears that about this time a dust storm raged in North Africa and dust began to fall at Algiers and Tunis, and subsequently in Sicily, over Italy, the Alps, Austro-Hungary, Germany, Denmark and European Russia, the quantity becoming less and its fineness increasing as the distance northwards became greater. There is little doubt that the dust was carried by a large mass of air which moved at a high velocity from North Africa to the North of Europe. It is estimated that 1,800,000 tons were deposited in Europe. The study of such dust-falls yields an amount of valuable information of the currents in the atmosphere which can be obtained in no other way.

Professor W. N. Hartley has examined the photographed spectra of the solid particles brought down by rain. He shows that the dust which is deposited by rain in the East of Ireland may come from such industrial centres as Widnes and the Staffordshire potteries, and in the North of Ireland from the Glasgow district.

Professor Karl Pearson and Dr. Alice Lee have been carrying on an investigation on the correlation of barometric pressures at stations on the eastern side of the Atlantic Ocean. It was found that the winter and summer months must be treated separately. Between Lisbon and Valencia there is a distinct correlation in winter, but hardly any in summer. The enormous mass of material to be dealt with has prevented very definite results being announced, but around any station there appear to be zones of no correlation and on either side regions of positive and negative correlation.

Mr. Lawrence Rotch has demonstrated the possibility of obtaining observations of humidity, wind velocity, barometric pressure and air temperature at great heights over the sea by means of kites. Mr. Rotch and his assistant flew kites from the deck of a steamship to the height of 1,600 feet on five days in the course of a voyage from Boston to Liverpool, and thus a most important step has been taken towards obtaining information of the upper reaches of the atmosphere.

A valuable account of the seasonal variation of the temperature of the British Isles has been contributed by Mr. W. N. Shaw. In addition to the primary summer and winter variations there is a second order effect, not seen at continental stations, which appears to be traceable to ocean influence. The effect of the sea is to delay the seasons. In connection with this Dr. Emil Lesshaft has advanced the view that atmospheric disturbances follow paths associated with the temperature of sea-water, and hence a knowledge of the temperature of the sea becomes of increasing importance.

Professor Y. Homma has devoted much time to the consideration of atmospheric electricity and draws the following principal conclusions: (1) The negative potential observed during strong winds is due to the negative electrification of dust by friction against terrestrial objects. (2)

The high potential of fog or haze is due to the positive electrification of the water particles. (3) When cold air comes into contact with warm air the former becomes positively electrified. (4) The high potentials near sunrise are due to temperature changes. (5) When two masses of air at different temperatures become mixed the electric field is violently disturbed.

The spectrum of the Aurora Borealis has been shown to contain the lines of Krypton, the majority of them being due to the spark spectrum of Krypton. An electrodeless discharge in air gives a spectrum in which the leading green line of Krypton is visible at low pressures. This discharge is deflected by a magnet and sends out streamers, and thus the main features of the Aurora Borealis can be imitated.

The meteorology of the equator at Para, in South America, has been examined by Dr. Hann with surprising results. The temperature is wonderfully uniform, the annual variation amounting to only 2.5° Fahr., the variations being principally at the beginning and end of the year; from May to September the temperature is almost constant. The mean annual rainfall is 102 inches, the wet season being from January to April and the dry period from May to December; the rain falls almost exclusively in the afternoon and evening in thunderstorm weather.

M. Vallot and an enthusiastic band of labourers pursue their meteorological observations on Mont Blanc. They work in an observatory constructed amongst the eternal snows at an elevation of 14,497 feet, and here researches are carried on dealing with barometric pressure, with the chemical action of solar light, with the velocity of water in streams and under glaciers, and with the rate of glacier motion. The observations on the rate of motion of the Mer de Glace may be briefly recited: (1) The progress of the glacier throughout the year in summer and in winter is constant. (2) This uniformity of motion is opposed to the theory of regelation or to any explanation in which temperature changes take part. (3) The movement of the glacier takes place as a whole and is not of the character of a viscous fluid. It will be seen that these conclusions are not consonant with theories which have been hitherto commonly held as regards glacier motion.

It is gratifying to know that the observations which have been made so persistently on the summit of Ben Nevis are to be continued, the necessary funds at the last moment having been provided. The observatory has been in existence for about ten years.

Attempts are constantly being made to trace some connection between the rainfall in different years and astronomical occurrences. Mr. H. C. Russell, F.R.S., has made out a nineteen year periodicity for the interior of New South Wales, but the coastal rains are irregular. Three times at intervals of nineteen years the rain comes in abundance when the moon is in certain degrees of her motion south, and when the moon begins to go north droughty conditions prevail for seven or eight years.

The same observer has also discussed the results of experiments on the drift of papers cast overboard from vessels on voyages. Out of 448 papers eighty-six have been recovered, principally those thrown overboard in the Indian Ocean. From the equator to 10° south the average drift of the papers was 13.3 miles a day; from 10° to 30° south, 16.6 miles;

from 33° to 43° south, 7.6 miles, and from 43° to 50° , 9.4 miles a day. Among others, one paper, cast overboard off Cape Horn, found its way to the west coast of Africa, a distance of 5,350 miles, the rate of travel being 10.1 miles a day. This method of experimenting is likely to lead to some useful information on ocean current circulation.

Further evidence of Brückner's thirty-five-year period is furnished by a careful discussion of the rainfall at Padua, Klagenfurt and Milan by Hann. The maxima of wet years occurred in 1738, 1773, 1808, 1843, 1878, with dry intermediate periods. This thirty-five-year period is quite in harmony with Lockyer's observation of a long period variation of sunspots.

An interesting digest of the gales which visit the British Isles has been made by Mr. F. I. Brodie for a period of thirty years from 1871-1900. During this period 1,455 gales visited our coasts or a yearly average of 48.5. The worst year was 1883, the quietest 1889. The stormiest month was January, 1890. Gales are principally from the south-west, and such gales are less frequent in spring. The highest velocity was observed at Fleetwood on 22nd December, 1894, when for nine hours the average velocity was 64 miles per hour with a maximum at one time of 78 miles per hour. The deep cyclonic systems which visit our islands travel at a mean rate of 24 miles an hour, varying from 8 or 10 to as much as 50 or 60 miles an hour.

Fogs have been classified by the Hon. Rollo Russell, and he draws a distinction between town and country fogs. There are four classes: (1) Damp fog or mist, town clearer than the country. (2) Damp fog, tending to clear in the country in the daytime and to increase in the town. (3) Dense dry fog, with low temperatures. These are, in London, the most serious. (4) Fog produced by warm southerly winds following a severe frost, the air at the surface of the ground remaining cold. This is a dense and dangerous kind for traffic in streets.

Mr. W. H. Dines has raised the question how long a meteorological record must extend so that the average derived from it may be considered trustworthy. By applying the theory of probabilities he concludes that in temperature observations a ten-year record gives a mean value with a possible error a little under 1° , a thirty-year record reduces the error to half a degree, and 100 years to a quarter of a degree.

In India, from April to September and during the winter months, October to March, low and high air pressures respectively prevail. The high pressure is found to exhibit a very remarkable and definite variation, the amplitude of the variation becoming a maximum every three and a half years on the average. This short-period variation appears at places widely separated as well as being true for the whole of India. Even the yearly mean variation of pressures for Brussels, Bremen, Oxford, Valencia and Aberdeen are remarkably similar, and the fact of a short-period variation coincident over so large an area points to an extra-terrestrial origin. Sir Norman Lockyer has sought for this in the variation of solar prominences, and the result of the inquiry is to show that there are subsidiary maxima and minima, in addition to the main epochs, which have a short period of three to four years. There is every reason to suppose that the outbursts of prominences and the changes of

latitude on the sun's disc in which spots occur every three and a half years are the cause of the air-pressure variations on the surface of the earth. The atmospheric pressure therefore must respond quickly to solar changes, and probably rainfall and snowfall are subsequent effects of these changes.

In spite of some mild winter months the mean temperature for the year 1902, as recorded at Greenwich, was about 5° Fahr. less than the mean deduced from the yearly averages of the last fifty years. April and October had temperatures just equal to the fifty years average. During all the summer months the temperature was very considerably below, while in the winter months, excepting February which was a very cold month, the temperature was above the mean.

The total rainfall at Greenwich has been 19.50 inches, which is less than the average of the preceding fifty years by 4.65 inches, yet the number of rainy days, which was 163, was two more than the average. Each month, with the exception of March, May and June, the rainfall was below the average, and conspicuously so in the second half of the year.

ASTRONOMY.

On April 8, May 7, and October 31, eclipses of the sun occurred, but they were only partly visible at Greenwich. Of the two eclipses of the moon, neither of which was entirely visible at Greenwich, the one on April 22 occurred just at the rising of the moon, the time of the total phase being 7 h. 5 m. at Greenwich. The possibility of seeing the sun and total lunar eclipse at the same time was pointed out by Dr. C. Hillebrand, owing to the phenomenon happening as the moon was appearing above the horizon.

A very interesting experiment was made at the total solar eclipse of May 17-18, 1901, to ascertain if any slight magnetic effect was observable due to change of the electrical conditions of the atmosphere. The results have now been published, and it appears that at stations outside the belt of totality nothing unusual occurred, whereas at two out of three stations within the belt something unusual did occur, but at the third station the evidence was indecisive. It would therefore be premature to definitely state that an eclipse affects the regular variation of the magnetic elements of a place.

Mr. R. S. Woodward has been investigating the influence of secular cooling of the earth and the fall of meteoric dust on the length of the terrestrial day. Laplace showed that the length of the day had not appreciably changed for 2,000 years, assuming that the earth is in the last stages of cooling, but the dissipation of heat from the earth it is now suggested may not be controlled, as Laplace, Fourier and others supposed, by the oceans and the atmosphere. The main conclusion is that the length of the day during the entire period of secular cooling may have diminished by as much as 6 per cent., but after the first epoch the change on this account cannot be more than half a second in 10,000,000 years. The effect of meteoric accumulations is less than that of the secular cooling and inconsiderable.

The great red spot on Jupiter has been observed by Mr. A. S.

Williams and he calculates the rotation period of this planet to be 9 h. 55 m. 40 s., which is 1.38 s. shorter than the value deduced from observations of the previous year. This shortening of the rotation period has likewise been noticed by other observers. The spot has not materially altered in size for the last twenty years.

Professor T. J. J. See gives the results of the measures he has made of Jupiter's size by daylight, thus avoiding uncertainties which arise due to irradiation. The absolute dimensions are: equatorial diameter 88,193 miles and polar diameter 82,515 miles; the density when water is taken as unity is 1.35.

In a similar way, by observing the planets when they are a little brighter than the sky background and employing amber-coloured glass as a screen over the eyepiece, Professor E. E. Barnard of the Lick Observatory has arrived at the following dimensions of some of the planets: Mars, greatest diameter, 4,352 miles; Jupiter, 90,190; Saturn, 76,470; Uranus, 35,820; Neptune, 32,900. The disc of the last-named planet always appeared truly circular, so that Neptune appears to be a perfect sphere.

Evidence furnished by observations has directed attention to the variable brightness of two of Saturn's satellites, Titan and Japetus. The change in the case of Titan is about half a magnitude, and maxima occur near and just after west elongation. There may be fixed regions of different brightness, and the satellite has probably a rotation period equal to its time of revolution. Japetus varies from the ninth to the twelfth magnitude. Professor T. J. J. See says that the disc of Japetus is obscure, so that only one side gives sufficient light to enable it to be recognised. This is visible when the satellite precedes the planet.

On account of the feeble luminosity of the planets, Uranus and Neptune, their rotation period has not been determined, but M. Deslandres, applying the Döppler-Fizeau principle, has obtained evidence that Uranus rotates in a retrograde sense like its satellites.

During the total solar eclipse of 1901 search was made for an intra-Mercurial planet, which it was thought might exist as the efficient cause of the perturbations of Mercury's orbit. No trace, however, of such a body appears on the photographic negatives. The question then arises whether the perturbation of Mercury's orbit can be due to the mass of meteoric dust in space, which, on the whole, must be considerable in its effect.

A close examination of the surface of Mars has led both Mr. Lowell and Mr. Douglas to the conclusion that the remarkable variable markings which had been observed were not due to mountains, but were the effects of clouds floating in the planet's atmosphere. It is supposed that a mass of cloud floated over the Icarum Mare, a great tract of vegetation, and travelled east by north at the rate of about 27 miles per hour and became dissipated after three or four days.

The vivid imagination of Mr. H. G. Wells has pictured the seasonal changes which might be taking place on the moon's surface, and although not of scientific worth, yet the picture has served the purpose of directing the attention of Professor Pickering to a study of local changes on the surface of the moon. He has already been led to some striking con-

clusions. The first is that there is strong evidence that volcanic action has not yet ceased: the second that there is snow on the moon, and the third that there are variable spots lying between latitudes 55° north and 60° south, which suggest something of the nature of organic life resembling vegetation. Professor Pickering believes that the new selenography is likely to yield results of the highest interest.

The Rev. T. E. Espin finds some support for the theory of periodicity in earthquake and volcanic disturbances. From the data collected it appears that the periodic time is eight or nine years, which is in agreement with the period of revolution of the moon's perigee, the maximum of volcanic activity coinciding with the moon's maximum northerly declination.

Sir David Gill advanced a theory that the brighter stars as a whole are moving with respect to the fainter stars as a whole. Mr. Carpenter, of Oxford Observatory, has been testing this question, and he had proceeded so far as to find indications in favour of this hypothesis. The whole staff at Oxford were, therefore, employed to examine the photographic measurements for a belt of given stars, and the result shows that there is an apparent movement as suggested amounting to 0.002 sec. per magnitude per year, corresponding to what Sir David Gill found, but opposite in sign.

An asteroid, the orbit of which is of extraordinary eccentricity, has been observed by Dr. Stewart. In this respect it is probably unique and so approaches the sun more closely than any other asteroid.

Dr. J. C. Chandler thinks that there is a fifteen-months periodical motion of the terrestrial pole, but its motion is so minute—0.05 s.—that he is not prepared to affirm its existence, although he considers the indications are too definite to ignore.

On the morning of April 14 Dr. W. R. Brooks discovered a comet in Perseus. Its position was R.A. $22^{\text{h}} 33^{\text{m}} 40^{\text{s}}$ and declination $29^{\circ} 12'$, and its daily motion is 12 m. east and 2° south. It is fairly bright with a minute nucleus and a short narrow tail. On July 22 Mr. Grier at Thames, New Zealand, discovered a new comet, and on August 31 Mr. Ferris discovered another new comet having a fan-shaped tail.

It will not be out of place to briefly refer to an important mathematical discovery made by Mr. E. I. Whittaker which gives the general solution of the fundamental differential equations of dynamics and astronomy. The consequences of this discovery are far-reaching and can only be appreciated by professional mathematicians, but as once it follows that the general solution of the equations of wave motion can be analysed into plane waves so that all disturbances in the ether can be resolved into trains of plane waves. The theorem can be applied to an antiquated hypothesis of gravitation. If such an explanation of gravity be adopted then it is necessary to assume that gravity is propagated with a finite velocity which, however, need not be the same as light but is probably very much greater.

PHYSICS.

The theory of solutions supposes that dissolved substances are ionised, that is to say, become electrolytically dissociated into free ions, and Arrhenius based his idea on the fact that the molecular conductivity of solutions increases with dilution, and that substances which conduct electricity, when dissolved, have abnormally low molecular weights in such solutions. Kahlenberg now criticises the theory and holds that the deviations between fact and theory are too large to be set down as errors of experiment, and that the analogy between gases and dilute solutions has been pushed too far.

Kahlenberg has, moreover, added some weighty experiments of his own in opposition to the ionic theory. He shows that instantaneous reactions can take place in non-conducting solutions, that there is no increase of conductivity at the moment the reaction takes place and that freezing and boiling point determinations do not show any electrolytic dissociation. Here, therefore, the hypothesis fails. Is it then justifiable to accept it in the case of aqueous solutions?

On the other hand Thomson and Nernst have shown that there is a parallelism in liquids between high di-electric constant, in other words, the facility with which electric force is transmitted, and high dissociating power, and these views have received some confirmation from the experiments of Centnerszwer, which show that hydrocyanic acid, which has a high di-electric constant, has also a very high solvent power and that substances dissolved in it conduct freely. Liquid cyanogen, on the other hand, with low di-electric constant, has hardly any solvent power and no measurable conductivity.

Professor J. J. Thomson has examined the production of ions from an incandescent platinum wire. At dull red and bright yellow heats only positive ions are produced, and these he finds are not alike. The mass of the smallest was of the same order as the mass of an oxygen atom.

Elster and Geitel have discovered that a negatively charged body exposed to the air for some time becomes radio-active, apparently due to the presence of some radio-active substance in the atmosphere. C. T. R. Wilson thought it might be possible to find if any of this radio-active substance were carried down by rain. Freshly fallen rain-water was therefore evaporated to dryness, and the residue proved to be radio-active, the radio-activity being measured by its ionising power as it affected the discharge of an electroscope. The activity of the residue gradually dies away, and from long-standing rainwater no radio-active substance was obtained.

The late Professor G. F. FitzGerald suggested an experiment for the discovery of a relative motion of the earth and the ether. A charged condenser placed with its plates edgewise to its motion through the ether should possess a magnetic field. With regard to the source of energy of this field, Professor FitzGerald supposed that, at the moment of charging, there should be an impulse in the direction opposed to that of motion and *vice versa*. A cross arm suspended by a torsion wire carried at one end a condenser, the other end being counterpoised.

The arm stood north and south, and at twelve o'clock the condenser was charged and discharged, and an impulse looked for. No such impulse was detected. There thus appears to be no relative motion of earth and ether, which confirms the similar negative results of Michelson and Morley in their optical experiments.

Professor Nipher thinks that he has obtained evidence of ether disturbance by violent explosions. He is also planning experiments on the motion of a leaden bullet to see if the ether is disturbed in the neighbourhood.

If an electron is in rapid motion it acts like a current of electricity, and produces a magnetic effect. If the electron be changing speed this magnetic effect opposes the change of motion, and thus it acts like the inertia of ordinary matter. Kaufmann has set himself to answer the question whether the inertia of a moving electron is of this electro-magnetic nature altogether or only partly so. Following the theory of Max Abraham he claims to have proved that the whole of the inertia is that due to the electro-magnetic effects of a moving electron. The result is important, for it proves that a charge can move independently of matter, and indeed leads to the speculation that inertia of all kinds may be electro-magnetic in essence.

Professor Townsend has contributed an account of some of his experiments which establish the important fact that negative ions, the carriers of negative charges, although they may be produced in various ways, are all identical and much smaller than the hydrogen atom. A summary of the facts so far brought to light shows that (1) Röntgen rays generate ions in a gas, and other ions also are generated by the collision of these, which are the same as the ions directly produced by the rays. (2) The free paths of these negative ions are much longer than the free paths of molecules, so they must be of less dimensions. These results are also true for the ions set free from a zinc plate illuminated by ultra-violet light.

Professor Barrett has contributed a large number of experiments on the effect of alloying iron with other metals and metalloids in relation to the magnetic permeability of the alloy. One of the most curious and important results is that iron alloyed with aluminium has a higher magnetic permeability than even pure iron itself. Professor Arnold has shown that aluminium has the effect of increasing the iron crystals, and as annealing of iron does the same, and simultaneously augments the permeability, the inference is that large-sized crystals promote high permeability.

Impurities in iron are known to increase its electrical resistance. The experiments of C. Benedicks show that the increment of resistance is the same for equivalent quantities of different elements. This is true for carbon, silicon, manganese, and phosphorus, in solution in iron, the increase being for one dissolved atom, per 100 of the solvent iron, 5.9 microhms per cubic centimetre. The presence of carbide of iron, on the other hand, has little influence on resistance.

When steel is drawn into fine wire its magnetic properties undergo some remarkable changes. The intensity of magnetisation in the drawn wire may be as much as 200 per cent. greater than in the annealed steel

rod. Again, on heating to the temperature of steam magnets in general lose some of their magnetism, but drawn steel wire magnets, under the same treatment, gain in magnetism. This discovery has been made of use for the construction of magnets which are unalterable under fluctuations of temperature.

The effects of drawing on other properties of steel have also been examined, and experiments show that moderate traction improves electrical conductivity and longitudinal elasticity, but extreme traction is prejudicial to both these properties. The density steadily increases with the drawing in a like ratio to the magnetic intensity, and it appears from this that the magnetic intensity of each molecule is a constant quantity.

H. A. Wilson has found a true Hall effect in gases at low pressure, that is to say there is an electromotive force generated rectangular to a current when it flows normal to a magnetic field. A vacuum tube was employed with electrodes suitably inserted. An electric discharge then traversed the tube, and when a magnetic field was applied the Hall effect was definitely obtained and its amount measured on a quadrant electrometer. The effect was found proportional to the magnetic field.

By means of the electric arc Mr. R. S. Hutton has been able to fuse quartz, and to construct tubes of this material of any desired length.

M. Ch. Féry, ingeniously improving on the optical pyrometer of Chatelier, has determined the temperature of the electric arc and finds it to be $3,882^{\circ}$ on the centigrade scale. M. Chatelier's number was $4,100^{\circ}$.

Dr. Ludwig has been experimenting on the electric arc under pressure. At 1,500 atmospheres the arc between the carbons failed, and even an electromotive force of 70 volts did not suffice to transmit a current. The reason is that the carbon changes into a liquid and transparent condition and so becomes a non-conductor.

Mr. G. J. Parks repeats an old experiment of Pouillet's, in which it is observed that heat is evolved when a finely divided solid, like glass, is put into water where there is no chemical action between the solid and liquid. He finds the heat evolved is proportional to the area of the surface of the powder exposed to the action of the water. If, however, the powder is put into mercury, a liquid which does not wet it, then heat is absorbed instead of evolved.

M. d'Arsonval has studied some of the properties of air at low temperatures. The heat of vaporisation is 65 calories. The specific heat of air at -100° under different pressures is as follows :—

Pressure in atmospheres	10	20	38	75
Specific heat	0.258	0.284	0.375	0.866

The fluorescence excited in the diamond by violet light is well known. Chaumet finds this is intimately related to the brilliancy of the diamond as judged by artificial light. A yellow diamond when exposed to violet light was found to change colour and shone red, and afterwards the colour became permanently dull-brown and the diamond lost in commercial value. Rubies of good and inferior quality can be distinguished by the action of violet light upon them.

Several well-known workers in physical science have died during the year, amongst whom may be mentioned Professor A. Cornu, Dr. J. H. Gladstone and Mr. James Wimshurst, F.R.S., the inventor of the well-known influence machine.

ELECTROTECHNICS.

Step by step the method of telegraphing by means of ether waves is being brought into daily use. Thus the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses have established wireless telegraphy between the Flannan Islands and the west coast of Lewis in Scotland, a distance of sixteen miles.

Much work has been done by Sgr. Marconi and others in attempting to provide for secrecy in the transmission of messages by wireless telegraphy, but it is doubtful whether any system yet devised will satisfy all the conditions which are required for commercial success. Progress has certainly been made in speed, and forty words a minute, it is reported, has been attained in favourable cases.

A curious and interesting effect was observed by Sgr. Marconi on a journey to America from this country, in which he kept in communication with Poldhu, in Cornwall, up to a distance of 2,099 miles, but the signals, which were just able to be deciphered at night, failed in daylight. This curious result has been attributed to a diselectrification of the transmitting wires by the action of actinic light; perhaps, however, it is due to the production of ions in the air by sunlight, which would make the air a feeble conductor and so diminish its powers of freely transmitting electric waves.

In some recent long-distance telegraphy between Cornwall and the coast of Italy Sgr. Marconi has employed a new kind of detector originally due to Professor Rutherford, but perfected by himself. It is a magnet partially demagnetised, and in this unstable condition it is extremely sensitive to any disturbance and rapidly loses magnetism when an electric wave falls upon it. By this means the existence of waves can be detected.

Just as the year closes, on December 21, the feat of transmitting a wireless message across the Atlantic Ocean in recorded symbols has definitely been accomplished. President Roosevelt and King Edward have exchanged greetings by means of ether waves. This is undoubtedly Sgr. Marconi's most brilliant success. But he does not stop here, for he considers that if only large enough transmitting power be available there is no obstacle to telegraphing round the world. At present the power station at Poldhu consists of twenty masts, 210 feet high, and the electric waves transmitted from these masts are generated by a 38 horse-power alternator.

The original electric power plant at Niagara is about to be enlarged. Three generators, each of 10,000 horse-power, are to be put down. The voltage of the generators is to be 12,000, and the transmission voltage is fixed at 16,000 volts.

A trial has been made at Berlin of a new system of octoplex typographic telegraphy, an invention of the late Professor H. A. Rowland,

which it is expected will allow twenty operators to transmit 18,000 words an hour over a single wire. Each letter only requires the single depression of a key and, at the receiving station, the message is delivered printed.

The use of electricity as a motive power for railway trains is coming more and more to the front. In Italy a line connecting Lecco, on the shores of Lake Como, to Colico, Sondrio and Chiavenna, a distance of sixty-two miles, is worked by electricity. Four water turbines drive four three-phase generators which yield a current under a pressure of 20,000 volts, and this is transformed at ten sub-stations to 3,000 volts before feeding the line. The speed of the trains is thirty-nine miles an hour on gradients of less than 10 per cent. A noteworthy feature of the system is that a train can be not only blocked by signal, when necessary, but can also be stopped by having the supply of current cut off. The signal man can also apply the brakes to the train from his cabin, and this arrangement will, no doubt, be invaluable in foggy weather.

The Bremer electric arc lamp promises to be a distinct improvement on ordinary patterns. The arc is maintained between a pair of inclined carbons, which are saturated with certain mineral salts. Careful photometric tests show the superiority of this lamp, the increase of mean hemispherical power being very noticeable for the lower hemisphere as practically all the light is thrown downwards. This lamp only consumes 0.6 watt per candle power as against 1.1 watt for the ordinary arc lamp.

CHEMISTRY.

In the domain of chemistry the most noteworthy advances are those connected with radio-activity and the properties of substances at low temperatures. Rutherford and Soddy find that the major portion (about 54 per cent.) of the radio-activity of thorium as ordinarily prepared is due to a non-thorium type of matter, possessing distinct chemical properties. In a few days, however, the activity falls off greatly, suggesting that the effect is a secondary one and is complicated in ways not yet made clear. Thus it is possible to prepare thorium which is permanently active, but in this condition it has only about 21 per cent. of its original power, and the radiation is entirely non-deviable in a magnetic field, whereas the complete radiation is composed partly of cathode rays, which are deviable. Uranium behaves in a similar way to thorium.

Radio-active bismuth owes its powers to the presence of polonium, and a stick of the former metal, placed in a solution containing polonium chloride, becomes black, acquiring at the same time the power of discharging an electroscope at a distance of several centimetres. Even so unsubstantial a barrier as a piece of filter paper, however, is sufficient to neutralise this effect. This want of penetrative power appears to belong to a third class of non-deviable rays which are also given off from radium, and which require further investigation. The whole subject promises to throw much light on the constitution of matter, and to be highly fruitful in general results.

The emanation from radium, whatever its nature, behaves like a

the elements appear in more or less incomplete groups of sixteen, and certain obvious relations between the corresponding members of different groups show that as a working hypothesis it is likely to be of value.

With the object of determining whether chlorine and hydrogen, mixed in equal volumes, will unite when perfectly pure and dry, J. W. Mellor prepares the former gas by the electrolysis of fused silver chloride, and the latter by the action of sodium or steam, first absorbing the product by palladium. An electric spark causes instant combination, but bright sunlight does not. Indeed after three days' exposure there is still 70 per cent. left uncombined. Exposure to a temperature of 450° for ten minutes, however, brings about combination to the extent of 80 per cent. These results go far to confirm Armstrong's theory that chemical action is reversed electrolysis, and that such action cannot take place unless an electrolyte is present. According to his view even free atoms cannot combine in the absence of an electrolyte.

An installation has been set up at Niagara for the fixation of the nitrogen of the atmosphere. A large number of direct current arcs, at a pressure of 10,000 volts, are mounted in a closed chamber, through which air is passed at a constant rate. The arcs, however, are not run continuously, but are rapidly extinguished and rekindled by a suitable mechanism. The cost of production is estimated at $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound of commercial acid, a figure which even now yields a profit.

It has been found possible to prepare pure hydrogen dioxide by freezing a 95 per cent. solution at sufficiently low temperature, and dropping a fragment of the solid so obtained into the same solution cooled to -8° or -10° Centigrade. Long transparent crystals separate out, which contain 100 per cent. of H_2O_2 , and explode violently when brought into contact with platinum black.

Messrs. Bone and Wheeler find that marsh gas and oxygen begin to unite at so low a temperature as 300° , though with extreme slowness. At 400° , however, the rapidity is much greater. The first stage in the process is the production of carbonic oxide and water, but neither hydrogen nor carbon can be detected at any time, nor are any other products formed than water, carbonic oxide and carbonic acid.

Dr. H. T. Brown and Mr. F. Escombe have continued their investigation on the rate of absorption of carbonic acid by the leaves of plants. Just as in the case of multiperforate diaphragms exposed to air the quantity of carbonic acid which diffuses through them depends on the proportion of that gas in the air, so in the case of a leaf the rate of absorption is closely correlated with the quantity of carbonic acid present, or, in other words, with its partial pressure. Thus increasing the proportion of carbonic acid 6.6 times causes an absorption 7.2 times as rapid. The result is not all gain, however, since the leaf area becomes in time much reduced, and the inflorescence is in many cases almost or entirely inhibited. Some plants did not produce a single flower-bud, others contrived to open one or two sickly-looking flowers, and so on; but, on the whole, it is evident that plants are no more adapted to bear a change in the constitution of the atmosphere than animals. This observation has an indirect bearing upon geology, since, unless we suppose that the plants of the carboniferous epoch were less susceptible than

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our own, their luxuriant growth could not have been caused by an increase in the amount of carbonic acid in the atmosphere.

In organic chemistry the manufacture of new compounds and the determination of new formulae and interactions has gone on at the customary rate, but the results are not of sufficient general interest to claim detailed notice.

ZOOLOGY.

Perhaps the most important biological event of the year has been the revival of interest in the experiments of the late Abbé Mendel, and in the deductions which he drew from those experiments; those deductions are known now as Mendel's law. In this country it is chiefly to Bateson that we are indebted for a restatement of Mendel's facts and theories, supplemented by experiments conducted by Bateson himself; whilst on the continent Professor de Vries has published an account of work on the same lines. To quote briefly from Blackman: "The two outstanding results of Mendel's work are the law of dominance of one of a pair of characters in hybrids, each parent of the hybrid being responsible for only one of these characters; and the law as to separation of the character in the gametes of the hybrid, which may be stated thus: in respect of certain pairs of parental characters the hybrids produce gametes which contain between them all possible combinations, in equal numbers, of these characters, with the exception that no two characters of a pair occur together." In fact, as Bateson has pointed out, "a living organism is a complex of characters of which some at least are dissociable and capable of being replaced by others."

In matters more strictly zoological it may be noted that the stream of new species always flowing in shows no diminution in volume, and that as usual many of the new forms recorded are of great interest and importance from a morphological point of view. Amongst many such, particular attention may be called to the discovery by the Prince of Monaco of a very remarkable Crinoid or sea-lily to which the name *Gephyrocrinus* has been given. This creature, dredged from deep water in the Atlantic, is one of the very few survivors of a family of Crinoids which flourished in secondary times.

Another strange sea-beast is described by Professor Dendy and named by him *Pelagohydra*. It was found stranded on a shore in New Zealand and seems to be a pelagic ally of the Tubularian hydroids. The southern "island-continent" has contributed yet another "living fossil" in the form of a remarkable myriapod, fully described by Pocock and named by him *Craterostigma*. Of less remarkable new species the number is legion.

Turning to works which deal rather with the fauna of given areas as a whole, or at least with sections of that fauna, mention should first be made of an interesting account by Moore of the results of his material and observations from Lake Tanganyika in a volume entitled "The Tanganyika Problem." He gives an exhaustive summary of the present state of knowledge of the remarkable fauna of that lake; a fauna which includes molluscs, sponges, a jelly-fish and a polyzoon apparently of a marine type. It shows how the creatures found there compel us to

believe that in Lake Tanganyika we have fragments of an old marine fauna which have succeeded in surviving great changes in their environment.

Of scarcely less interest is the great monograph "Les Poissons du Bassin du Congo," by Boulenger.

Dr. Willey has completed the publication of the "Zoological Results" of his travels in the Papuan region and the Pacific. The most interesting of these deal with the *Peripatus* discovered by him in New Britain and with the Pearly Nautilus. He is the first zoologist who has made us acquainted with the breeding-habits and eggs of that strange old-world mollusc.

A charmingly written popular account of his work on the surveying vessel H.M.S. *Investigator* is given by Surgeon-Captain Alcock in a book entitled "A Naturalist in Indian Seas." An account of the deep-sea fishes and their luminous organs; of various new cases of commensalism; a most interesting notice of the inhabitants of Minikoi and other islands of the Laccadive and Maldivé archipelagoes, as well as much other matter dealing with the zoology of the Indian Ocean make the book of real scientific value. Mention should be made of a more strictly technical account of the fauna of the seas round the coasts of the Maldives and Laccadives, as well as of the land creatures found living on those islands, in Mr. Gardiner's work now appearing entitled "The Fauna and Geography of the Maldivé and Laccadive Archipelagoes." An important contribution to our knowledge of the formation of coral atolls is made by Mr. Gardiner in this book. Lastly, Chun's popular account of the German "Valdivia Expedition," entitled "Aus den Tiefen des Weltmeeres," must be selected from a host of foreign publications for especial notice. The bizarre appearance of many of the deep-sea fish figured in this admirably illustrated work could scarcely be surpassed.

Passing to morphological studies the place of honour may be given to what is in all probability the last work of the late Lacaze Duthiers, on the anatomy of *Tridacna* and *Hippopus*. Another French writer, Boutan, has published a valuable account of his researches on the detorsion of the Gastropods. A paper by Damas on the development of *Molgula* is worthy of comment. Max Fürbringer is responsible for an elaborate paper dealing with the shoulder apparatus of birds. Other papers that should be noticed are, by Edgeworth on the development of the muscles of the head of the newt; Hickson and Wadsworth on the nuclear changes during conjugation of *Dendrocometes*; Swinnerton on the morphology of the head in Teleostean fishes; and by Dendy on oviparous species of *Peripatus*.

BOTANY.

The past year has witnessed the opening of the new Hartley Botanical Laboratory at Liverpool, a gift to University College; the new botanical buildings at Cambridge are also approaching completion.

Among several works on Flora a monograph of British Hepaticæ, by Mr. H. H. Pearson, is welcome. The British islands are rich in these

tiny but interesting plants ; many of our highest Scotch mountains are inhabited by Norwegian or Alpine species. Borgesen has published a careful and critical account of the marine algæ of the Faroe Islands ; and Lohman has discussed the relative abundance of botanical plantations in various seas. The prothallium of *Phylloglossum*, a rare New Zealand Lycopodiaceous plant, has been found and described by Thomas, whilst Falk has published an interesting account of the culture of fungi, belonging to the mushroom-like group, from spores.

Something of a new departure has been made by the appearance of a large volume written by Professor Hansgirg on the biology of leaves and leaf-like structures dealing, as its title "*Phyllobiologie*" would lead us to suppose, exhaustively with the vital phenomena connected with such organs. Somewhat of a similar character is another volume written by Messrs. Haselhoff and Lindau dealing with the effects of atmosphere laden with smoke or chemical fumes on vegetation. This book is entitled "*Die Beschädigung der Vegetation durch Rauch*."

Energetic study has been devoted to the chemical properties of various substances found in plants, and especially to chlorophyl, and to those puzzling compounds known as "enzymes" or ferments. Professor Vines has published the first part of a paper dealing with the latter, more especially with those found in various fruits, and which are digestive or proteolytic in their function.

In connection with chlorophyl or chlorophyl-like bodies, Kohl has published an important study on carotin or α -xanthophyl, a hydro-carbon substance almost invariably found associated with chlorophyl. He has shown that the absorption bands found on the right of the spectrum of chlorophyl in the neighbourhood of the green, blue and violet are really due to this substance carotin.

PHYSIOLOGY.

It is not always easy to determine whether a given piece of work is best classified under the heading of Physiology or under Botany or Zoology, so little is the distinction nowadays between these three branches of biological science. An example of the difficulty spoken of is to be found in an admirable book written by Fürth, and entitled "*Physiologie der niedern Thiere*." This book is valuable, not only because it gives apparently a very exhaustive summary of work done in this connection on the lower vertebrates, but also because of the critical comments of the author.

Increasing attention is ever being paid to the study of toxins and antitoxins, and to the chemical side of physiology generally. Work on the blood-serum has resulted in a remarkable discovery, concerning which we may quote part of Professor Halliburton's address at the meeting of the British Association during the past year at Belfast.

This discovery was "suggested by an experiment of Tchistovitch in 1899, in which various animals were inoculated with eel serum which is toxic ; he thereby obtained from those animals an antitoxic serum, which produced in each case a precipitate when added to eel serum, but not when added to the blood of other animals. In other words, not only

has a specific antitoxin been discovered, but also a specific *precipitin*. Numerous observers have since found that this is a general rule throughout the animal kingdom, including man. If, for instance, a rabbit is treated with human blood, the serum ultimately obtained from the rabbit contains a specific precipitin for human blood. The great value of the test is its delicacy."

In this connection it may be noticed that when human serum is injected into animals infected with *Trypanosoma Brucei* (the malarial organism carried by the Tsetse fly), they lose the characteristic organism of the disease in their blood, as a rule completely, in from twenty-four to thirty-six hours. Human serum is of course antitoxic to the organism, and man cannot be infected with the disease. As a preventive against infection, however, it is found that inoculation with human serum is not particularly efficacious.

Professor Schäfer and Dr. Magnus have found that extract of the epithelial part of the pituitary body, hitherto supposed to be inactive, has the effect of exciting a marked increase of the urinary flow. It is suggested that this is related to symptoms of the disease known as acromegaly, in which the pituitary body is usually hypertrophied.

Dr. Gamgee, in the Croonian lecture on March 13, gave an account of the effects of electrolysis on a solution of pure oxyhæmoglobin. When such a solution is placed in an electrolytic cell in which the anode is separated from the kathode by an animal membrane, the first action is the formation of a colloidal precipitate at the anode. This dissolves immediately on stirring, but, if left, the colloidal precipitate collects at the kathode cell completely in the space of an hour. The treatment of CO. hæmoglobin results in the same action. Gamgee pointed out that hitherto hæmoglobin has been known only in solution and in the crystalline form. Now that its colloidal condition is known also its analogy to silicic acid is complete. Certain phenomena of absorption may be connected with electromotive changes in the tissue concerned, and the importance of the discovery of the colloidal state of hæmoglobin on our knowledge of the way in which it is held in the blood corpuscles is far-reaching.

Ostwald's investigations into catalysis—"the property possessed by substances by their mere presence and not by their affinity, to rouse latent affinities so that compound substances undergo reaction and a greater electro-chemical neutralisation occurs"—are worthy of study as bearing amongst other things on the properties of ferments.

Professor Starling has discovered that a chemical stimulus, which he calls secretin, is formed in the stomach as the result of the action of the gastric juice on food and is thence taken up in the blood-stream, where, by its action on the pancreatic cells, it increases the flow of gastric juice.

Loeb, as a result of the continuation of his studies on contractility and on fertilisation, now announces that he believes the latter phenomenon to be mainly ionic.

The Nobel prize has been awarded to Major Ronald Ross for his researches on malaria. It is believed that our knowledge of the means of prevention of this disease is bearing a practical result in

West Africa, and we may look forward now to the discovery of the source and consequently of the means of extirpation of other endemic plagues which at present devastate the "Dark Continent."

Lastly, there remains to be recorded the death of Professor Rudolf Virchow at a ripe old age. He will be remembered as one of the greatest men of science of our time and as a worthy compeer of Pasteur.

J. REGINALD ASHWORTH.

ART, DRAMA AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

IN the world of art the year 1902 was even less eventful than its predecessor. The Coronation and the consequent dislocation of trade and social events was prejudicial to the arts, especially in their commercial aspects, and to painters and sculptors, with few exceptions, the year brought few commissions and poor sales. Nor did the Coronation bring with it the numerous titles and honours to artists that rumour and newspaper paragraphs had led the public to expect. Of the few honours bestowed none was so welcome as the appointment of Mr. Watts to membership of the new Order of Merit, one of the highest distinctions that it was in the King's power to confer. The only titles bestowed upon artists were knighthoods for Mr. E. A. Waterlow, A.R.A., P.R.W.S., and Mr. W. Emerson, the President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and a baronetcy for Sir Edward Poynter, P.R.A.

At the Royal Academy the winter exhibition, though not of the first class, was yet far superior to its predecessor of 1901. The chief interest of the exhibition centred in Claude. Some thirty paintings and more than sixty drawings were shown, and the French master was represented more completely than at any previous exhibition in England. The wall space other than that occupied by Claude was devoted to the works of old masters of various schools, the Italian largely predominating. There were seven paintings by Raphael, including the large "Virgin and Child Enthroned, with Saints" (the "Colonna" Raphael) lent by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, and four of the five small pictures that originally formed the predella of the larger work. Titian, Veronese, Botticelli, Bellini, Leonardo da Vinci and Tintoretto were represented, and the Burlington House exhibition also contained canvases from the hands of Rembrandt, Velasquez, Vandyck and other painters of the Flemish and Spanish schools. The winter exhibition at the New Gallery owed its inspiration to the Coronation. It was composed of a long series of portraits of the Kings and Queens and many of the Princes of England, commencing with Richard the Second. Drawn from the Royal collections and from the great private galleries all over the country, the portraits possessed in every case attractions for the student of history, and were occasionally of high artistic interest, for their painters included Holbein, Mabuse, Vandyck and Gainsborough. The portraits were accompanied by collections of historical relics and manuscripts.

The number of pictures submitted to the Selecting Committee for the summer exhibition of the Royal Academy was 14,219, compared

with 14,353 in 1901. Of these eighteen were declared inadmissible, 11,304 were rejected outright (1,779 were marked "objectional" and 127 were accepted unconditionally). The times of hanging were undertaken so far as the oil paintings were concerned by Messrs. H. W. B. Davis, J. MacWilliam, W. G. Osmarson, V. C. Prinsep and H. Woods. The arrangement of the sculpture, water colours, and black and white drawings was entrusted to Mr. Alfred Gilbert, and the architectural works were hung by Mr. L. G. Jackson. The number of exhibited works, which had been 1,067 in 1900 and 1,823 in 1901, fell this year to 1,726, 925 of which were paintings in oil. The central position at the head of the Third Gallery was of course allotted to the State portrait of the King by Mr. Luke Fildes. The other places of honour in the Third Gallery were filled by a small canvas of the President's and by Mr. Osmarson's "The Birgitta." But Mr. Sargent's portraits were again the sensation of the year, and of the American painter's canvases the one that attracted the most attention was the group of three young girls in white - "The Ladies Alexandra, Mary and Theo Adheson," a picture that recalled in composition a famous Reynolds - "The Graces Decorating a Terminal Figure of Hymen." In the Sixth Gallery another striking work by Mr. Sargent, a full-length portrait of the Duchess of Portland, was hung as a pendant to a full length of "Mrs. Charles S. Henry," by the master of Sargent, M. Cassin Duran. The Fourth Gallery was dominated by another Sargent, a group of three seated girls - "The Misses Hunter," the low tones of which were in striking contrast to the brilliant key of "The Ladies Alexandra, Mary and Theo Adheson." Mr. J. H. F. Bacon's large picture of the reception of the City Imperial Volunteers at the Guildhall on their return from the South African War, was a popular success, and in the opinion of some painters an artistic one also. Other painters and sculptors were worthily represented at the Academy, but the exhibition as a whole was not remarkable. This appears to have been the opinion of the Academicians themselves, for they refrained from making any purchases for the Chantry collection. The absence of Chantry purchases, added to the lack of public interest, due to the Coronation, brought the Academy sales down to a very low figure. The total sales effected amounted to less than 12,000*l*. Among the principal pictures sold were Mr. H. H. La Thangue's "Tucking the Rick" 500*l*., Mr. Arnesby Brown's "The River Bank" 500*l*., Mr. John Collier's "The Plague" 600*l*., Mr. H. S. Tuke's "Ruby, Gold and Malachite" 525*l*., Miss Lucy Kemp-Welch's "The Morning" 500*l*., and Mr. Napier Hemy's "The Pilot" 500*l*.,

The International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers extended its operations abroad, but held no exhibition in London. At the New Gallery, in the summer, Mr. Edward Stott and Mr. J. J. Shannon were among the strongest exhibitors, but here, as at the Academy, Mr. Sargent figured more largely in the public eye, and his group at the end of the north room, the "Children of A. Wertheimer, Esq.," was one of the best of the pictures of the year. Mr. Watts contributed to the exhibit a large and recently executed picture, "Love Steering the ship," which, though not fairly representative of the great painter's work, was shown to more advantage in the same gallery

later on in the year, at the exhibition of the Society of Portrait Painters. In the galleries at the Guildhall the loan exhibition of the year was composed chiefly of the work of eighteenth century French painters. This exhibition, which was perhaps more attractive to the student of painting than to the general public, contained examples of Watteau, Pater, Fragonard, Largillière, Nattier, Lancret, Boucher, Drouais and Coypel. A few fine portraits by Gainsborough, Reynolds and Romney, and other less known English painters of the eighteenth century were shown with the French work. In December the Guildhall galleries were reopened to show the collection of modern pictures bequeathed to the City of London by the late Mr. Charles Gassiot. There was nothing to call for special remark at any of the exhibitions of the various art societies in London, except the increasing popularity of water colour. The pictures at the exhibitions of both the water-colour societies sold excellently, although for the oil painter the year was, generally speaking, disastrous.

In January, Mr. G. F. Bodley, architect, who had been an Associate of the Royal Academy for more than twenty years, was elected an Academician, in the place of the late Onslow Ford, and Mr. M. R. Corbet, landscape painter, succeeded Mr. John Brett as an Associate. Mr. Corbet's death a few month's later was greatly deplored. In March, Mr. G. J. Frampton, sculptor, whom Mr. Bodley had defeated by a narrow majority of votes at the January election, was promoted to an Academicianship in the place of the late Mr. Sidney Cooper. At the Royal Scottish Academy Mr. James Guthrie succeeded to the Presidency, which had become vacant owing to the resignation of Sir George Reid. Mr. Whistler was made an Honorary Scottish Academician. The Royal Society of British Artists made a new departure by electing women to membership. Recently the exhibitions of the British Artists had been confined to the works of members only, to the entire exclusion of women's work, and this inequality was modified by the election in the summer of Mrs. Jopling, Miss Lucy Kemp-Welch and Mrs. Anna Lea Merritt. The advance of the feminine artist was further shown by the election of Miss Fortescue-Brickdale to membership of the Society of Oil Painters, a society which had hitherto refused admission to women.

The National Gallery was safeguarded from fire on its western border by the pulling down of an adjoining silversmith's, whose house was purchased by the Treasury in 1902. The pictures acquired for the gallery included altar-pieces by Jacopo Pacchiarotto and Lorenzo Monaco, "Sporting Dogs and Game," by Jan Fyt, an "Interior of a Church in Holland," by Pieter Saenredam, and a portrait of a man by Jacob Jordaens. The National Portrait Gallery received several additions, including portraits by various artists of Bunyan, J. M. W. Turner, Richard Wilson and Opie, and of the late Marquess of Dufferin by Mr. G. F. Watts. The Print Room at the British Museum was enriched by the bequest of a fine collection of English mezzotints, formed by the late Lord Cheylesmore, and drawings by Reynolds, Gainsborough, Mantegna and others. At the Victoria and Albert Museum notice was given that all objects lent for exhibition must be removed by their owners within a certain limit of time. Want of space was the reason assigned for this

notice. A replica of Rodin's "John the Baptist" was purchased by subscription early in the year and placed in the galleries of the Victoria and Albert Museum in the summer. The cleansing and restoration of the Royal Albert Memorial—a difficult and costly operation—was undertaken this year.

In June some interest was excited by a description in the *Times* of a new method of oil painting, the invention of a well-known French artist, M. J. F. Raffaelli. It was M. Raffaelli's idea to dispense with both brush and palette, and to effect this he prepared oil paints in solid pencils, something like pastels in size and shape. "I have succeeded," said the French artist, in a letter to the *Magazine of Art*, "in producing oil colours in a solid form, while so far preserving their fluidity that when they are applied to any surface they can afterwards be rubbed down if necessary by the tip of the finger. I have been able to ensure that the little sticks of oil paint shall never become too dry, while the colour, spread on canvas or paper, dries in a few days like ordinary oil paint." The new paints were used by many French artists, and in November an exhibition of seventy-five paintings executed with them was held in Paris at Durand-Ruel's. Late in the year the "solid oil paints" were placed on the English market, and were the subjects of many experiments by English artists.

Although modern pictures sold poorly, large prices were paid in the auction room for works by deceased masters. Romney's full-length portrait of "Miss Sarah Rodbard" was sold for 10,500 guineas, a portrait of "Lady Mary Arundell" by Hoppner for 7,800 guineas, a Raeburn (the "Sons of D. M. Binning") for 6,500 guineas, and a portrait by Gainsborough of his daughters for 5,600 guineas. In addition to these a Hobbema was sold for 9,200 guineas, a Troyon for 7,000 guineas, and a portrait of an old woman by Rembrandt for 5,500 guineas. A slight but charming miniature of Madame du Barry fetched the record price (for a miniature) of 1,000 guineas, and 900 guineas was paid for a mezzotint after Sir Joshua's portrait of the Hon. Miss Monckton. Great sums were given for pieces of furniture, porcelain, tapestry and ivory, and there was a remarkable advance in the price of old silver. At the dispersal of the famous Dunn-Gardner collection in April, 4,100*l.* was paid for a Tudor cup weighing less than fifteen ounces, and 690*l.* for a single silver spoon of the fifteenth century. In December a beautiful "standing salt" of silver and crystal, made by an Elizabethan silversmith, Thomas Bampton, came under the hammer. The name of the seller did not transpire, but it was said that he sent the salt-cellar to the auctioneers by parcels post, asking them to put a reserve of 100*l.* upon it. It realised 3,000*l.*—about 325*l.* an ounce—a record price for silver.

II. DRAMA.

It cannot be said that 1902 was a year productive of any very remarkable dramatic work; on the other hand there were several highly successful plays, and some events of more than passing interest. Amongst these latter must be mentioned Sir Henry Irving's final leave-taking of the Lyceum Theatre, the scene of so many personal triumphs

for himself, and the birthplace of that modern luxury of production which the present-day playgoer has come to look upon as so much his right that he will scarcely tolerate its absence. Whether such a standard of stage production is altogether desirable is a question that cannot now be decided, but that it has come to stay all will agree. Apart from this, Sir Henry Irving's influence on the dramatic art in England has been unquestionable and always to the good, and it is to be sincerely hoped that he will shortly be able to find a suitable house in which Londoners can watch the play of his great talents. The only play he gave in London in 1902 was Mr. Wills' version of "Faust," in which his own performance was as ingenious and subtle as ever—a fact which seemed to emphasise the essential mediocrity of the play. Miss Ellen Terry's old part was admirably taken by Miss Cissy Loftus, who thus made her first appearance in tragedy in England.

In February Mr. Tree staged Mr. Stephen Phillips' play "Ulysses," with all that gorgeousness and wealth of detail which has marked his management of His Majesty's Theatre. The play ran till the end of June, despite the lukewarmness of the critics, who, with the strongest desire to speak well of so ambitious an effort, were right in describing it as a poor play, and this notwithstanding the unquestionable beauty of much of the poetry. This was followed by a revival of the highly successful performance of "Twelfth Night" of the preceding year—an admirable production in which Mr. Tree and Miss Lily Brayton were seen at their best. In June "The Merry Wives of Windsor" was given with perhaps the strongest cast of modern times—Mrs. Kendal and Miss Ellen Terry appearing on the same stage. The spirited and artistic efforts of these two great actresses were almost sufficient to make us believe we were seeing a great comedy; at any rate they filled the house during the hottest month in the year with enthusiastic audiences. Mr. Tree's other novelty was the adaptation of Mr. Hall Caine's phenomenally successful book, "The Eternal City." It is to be regretted that so much magnificence of setting should have been expended on such poor and crude material.

At the Haymarket Mr. Cyril Maude began with Mr. Sidney Grundy's adaptation named "Frocks and Frills," following this with a revival of "Caste," and another adaptation by Captain Marshall called "There's many a Slip," and ending with a new play by the same author, "The Unforeseen." The last named was probably the best of this highly successful series, written as it was with all the skill and neatness that Captain Marshall invariably shows, and having just that knack of hitting the public taste of the moment which would seem to be his special prerogative. All the plays were excellently given by the admirably trained company of comedians whom Mr. Cyril Maude and Miss Winifred Emery have collected round them. At the St. James's, after a short revival of "The Importance of Being Earnest"—a farce that is likely to become a classic—Mr. George Alexander produced Mr. Stephen Phillips' poetic drama, "Paolo and Francesca." This proved a great success, filling the theatre from March 14 till July 5, and it was a success well earned by both the author and the actors; for the play contains so much really fine poetry and sustained dramatic interest,

that if a largely redundant last act could be modified, and a certain academic flavour eliminated, it would be likely to hold its place amongst its classical predecessors. For the acting nothing but praise can be given, Mr. Alexander, Miss Evelyn Millard, Mr. Ainley and Miss Elizabeth Robins all playing with the greatest skill. An equally successful venture was made by Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy's romantic drama, "If I were King," in which Mr. Alexander and Miss Julia Oppore bore the chief honours of the performance. Sir Charles Wyndham did not appear in any new play during the year, contenting himself with a series of revivals pending the completion of his new theatre. Chief amongst these must be mentioned "The Tyranny of Tears," "Still Waters Run Deep," "Mrs. Dane's Defence" and "David Garrick."

At the Garrick Mr. Anthony Hope's brilliant comedy, "Pilkerton's Peerage," admirably played by Mr. Bouchier and Miss Eva Moore, held its own from January to June. The success of this play was a thoroughly well deserved one, for in construction, dialogue and representation it will rank amongst the best comedies of the year. After a run of French plays Mr. Bouchier continued his management with Mrs. Craigie's "The Bishop's Move"—a comedy which owed its undoubted success chiefly to Mr. Bouchier's really great acting as the Bishop. The year ended with Mr. Esmond's new play, "My Lady Virtue," in which again Mr. Bouchier and his cast scored an artistic triumph.

At Wyndham's Theatre was produced Mr. Henry Arthur Jones' most important contribution to the drama of the year, "Chance, the Idol." The scene of the play is laid at Monte Carlo and much of the interest lies in the deteriorating effects of the gambling mania on various individuals. The drama was unquestionably a profoundly interesting one and but for its unsatisfactory and inconclusive ending would probably have proved a great success. Amongst the performers Miss Lena Ashwell scored a real triumph with a splendid impersonation of the much harassed heroine, whilst Miss Jones' playing of an *ingénue* part was in all respects admirable. At the Criterion a very original and brilliant comedy, "The Country Mouse," ran from April till July. In this play Miss Annie Hughes was seen to great advantage, proving once more that she is one of the very best comedy players we have. One of the greatest successes of the year was gained by Mr. Forbes Robertson in "Mice and Men," which ran practically for the whole twelve months. This is not a play of any profound interest or of any startlingly clever construction, but it had the merit of providing Miss Gertrude Elliot with a really first-class part, of which opportunity she availed herself to the utmost.

At the Vaudeville "Quality Street," by Mr. J. M. Barrie, succeeded "Bluebell in Fairyland." Here again the unbounded admiration that the play won was due rather to the excellence of the interpretation and the general pleasant atmosphere of the comedy than to any intrinsic merit of plot or construction. Mr. Barrie's dialogue is always very easy and smooth, but the thinness of the true interest of the story and its artificial prolongation into four acts made rather a severe trial of the critic's patience. Much warmer praise may be given to the same author's brilliant fantasy, "The Admirable Crichton," which for real wit and

exquisite lightness of touch has not been surpassed in this generation. The author of this delightful play was fortunate in getting a cast the members of which so entirely entered into his spirit of fantasy, Mr. H. B. Irving, Miss Irene Vanbrugh and Mr. Henry Kemble being all of quite first-class merit. Earlier in the year these same actors failed to gain more than a qualified success for Mr. Jones' "The Princess's Nose," which cannot be reckoned amongst his best plays. That admirable comédienne, Miss Marie Tempest, with the aid of Mr. Leonard Boyne, scored a very well-deserved success in "The Marriage of Kitty," an adaptation from the French. This was put on in August and was still running at the end of the year.

At the Adelphi, after a conventional melodrama called "Arizona," we had the opportunity of once more seeing Miss Olga Nethersole. Unfortunately she chose Mr. Clyde Fitch's adaptation of "Sapho" for her reappearance in London, a play so crudely constructed and of so unpleasant an atmosphere that not even the highly skilful acting of the name part could reconcile us to it.

In the summer Mr. Ben Greet staged the old morality play, "Everyman," at the St. George's Hall. This proved to be so successful an experiment that it was performed at *matinées* for some months at the Imperial Theatre. This profoundly moving fragment of mediæval art owed much to its interpretation, for Miss Edith Mathison in the chief part gave a performance that cannot be praised too highly. The restraint, simplicity and real religious fervour of her portrayal all went to the making of a picture that will live long in the memories of those who saw it. The play was staged practically without modern accessories, a fact which added much to the air of strangeness and novelty which pervaded the theatre.

Amongst the many farces of the year the best were "There and Back," "My Artful Valet," "The New Clown," and "Are you a Mason?" all of which were well-marked successes.

Of the highly successful musical farces "The Country Girl" at Daly's, "The Toreador" at the Gaiety, and "Three Little Maids" at the Apollo, all held their own through many months, and their brightness and tunefulness and freedom from offence made their success thoroughly well deserved. Mention must be made of Mr. G. P. Huntley's performance in the "Three Little Maids," for it was a piece of character acting of such merit as to stand apart in plays of this kind.

At the Savoy Messrs. Edward German and Basil Hood proved themselves no unworthy successors to the immortal Gilbert and Sullivan, than which there can be no higher praise.

III. MUSIC.

The two great events of 1902, the conclusion of peace in South Africa and the Coronation of King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra, both left their mark, as was fitting and natural, on the music of the year, and the varied emotions aroused throughout the Empire by the ending of the war and the crowning of the King, found in music their best and deepest expression. At the great Thanksgiving Service at St.

Paul's Cathedral on June 8, which was attended by the King and Queen, there was performed a "Te Deum Laudamus" in E flat, the last finished work of Sir Arthur Sullivan, written specially as a thanksgiving for victory. The setting is distinguished by all the composer's lucidity of style and easy mastery of effect, and the treatment of the tune "Onward, Christian Soldiers," introduced first in fragments, and at the end as an accompaniment to a broad unison passage for the voices, is ingenious in the extreme, and gives an appropriately military colour to the music. The news of the King's serious illness was announced with great dramatic impressiveness at the final rehearsal of the Coronation music in Westminster Abbey, and the famous five-part Litany of Tallis, which had been carefully prepared as part of the joyous ceremonial, was converted at once into a solemn intercession and sung with strangely moving effect. On June 26, the day originally fixed for the Coronation, the Litany was sung in procession in St. Paul's Cathedral for the first time for more than two centuries, and the service was completed by the exquisite unaccompanied rendering by the choir of the anthem, "Lord, for Thy tender mercies' sake." At last, on August 9, the great ceremony took place, and the elaborate musical service, which had been prepared with such care and diligence under the direction of Sir Frederick Bridge, was carried out in its entirety. The music on this occasion was designed to represent the highest achievements of English Church music of every age, from sixteenth-century Tallis down to composers of the present day. Of the masters of the seventeenth century, there were the great names of Orlando Gibbons, with an exquisite threefold Amen sung at the end of the whole service; and Henry Purcell, with an Offertorium adapted from a Latin setting of the Third Psalm, of the most eloquent and moving beauty. The eighteenth century was represented by Handel, whose anthem, "Zadok, the Priest," composed for the Coronation of George II., has been sung at every succeeding ceremonial; and the nineteenth by Samuel Sebastian Wesley with a setting of the creed taken from his service in E, John Stainer with his familiar sevenfold Amen, and Charles Villiers Stanford with his "Te Deum" in B flat. Three works, according to precedent, were composed expressly for the occasion by contemporary musicians, a Homage Anthem by Sir Frederick Bridge, a short "Comfortare" by Sir Walter Parratt, and a processional anthem by Sir Hubert Parry, "I was glad when they said unto me," in which the traditional acclamations of the Westminster scholars, "Vivat Rex Eduardus" and "Vivat Regina Alexandra," were incorporated with peculiarly felicitous effect. The rendering of this admirably chosen programme of music by a specially selected choir and orchestra reached a high level of excellence, and contributed in no small degree to the beauty and impressiveness of the Coronation rite.

In London much the same musical conditions prevailed as in former years, that is to say there was a plethora of orchestral and chamber concerts and comparatively little opportunity of hearing the masterpieces of choral music or opera. In regard to the last-named branch of the art, however, an important new departure is to be chronicled in the shape of a season of English opera given at Covent Garden in August

and September by the Moody-Manners Company. That there is an abundant audience in England for classical opera at reasonable prices was proved beyond question by the striking success of this venture, a series of performances of such things as "Faust," "Carmen," "Pagliacci," "Lohengrin" and "Siegfried" being given each night before a crowded house in the so-called dead season of the year. The singers who were responsible for the principal parts included such capable artists as Madame Fanny Moody, Madame Blanche Marchesi, Miss Zélie de Lussan, Mr. Joseph O'Mara, Mr. John Coates, and Mr. Philip Brozel, and the absence of stars of the first magnitude was fully compensated for by the care shown in the grouping and stage management and by the general excellence of the *ensemble*. The orchestra was the weakest feature in the enterprise, and if the experiment is to be repeated it would be well to engage a body of players who would not show an obvious inability to cope with the intricacies of a Wagnerian score. The summer season of the Royal Opera at Covent Garden ran during its earlier weeks on familiar and well-recognised lines, and the abandonment of the great gala performance, which had been prepared as part of the Coronation festivities, necessarily deprived it of much of its brilliance. It was not until the month of July that any new operas were brought to a hearing, and for the most part the interest of the season lay rather in the eminent singers of various nationalities who performed the works, than in the works themselves. Undoubtedly the greatest success was scored by Sgr. Caruso, a typical Italian tenor with a ringing voice and notable skill of vocalisation. After a brilliant *début* as the Duke in "Rigoletto," he was heard again in a revival of Donizetti's "L'Elisir d'Amore," in the same composer's "Lucia," and as Rodolfo in "La Bohème," in each case with signal success. Other singers new to Covent Garden were, Herr Pennarini, of Hamburg, whose interpretation of Wagnerian tenor parts was rather too aggressively Teutonic to please a London audience, Frau Lohse, the wife of the conductor, a mezzo-soprano of no great power but considerable artistic attainments, Mdlle. Pacini, whose vocal agility was of great service in some old-fashioned Italian operas, and Miss Mary Garden, a Scotch-American, who won great favour by her dramatic and vivacious rendering of the title part in Massenet's "Manon." Of the artists of established fame Madame Nordica, Herr Van Rooy, and M. Plançon were especially prominent throughout the season, while both Madame Melba and Madame Calvé attracted enormous audiences on the rare occasions when they appeared.

The two new works were both by English composers, but, curiously enough, both were settings of foreign librettos, that of Mr. Herbert Bunning's "La Princesse Osra" being from the French of M. Bérenger, and the text of Miss Ethel Smyth's "Der Wald" being written by the composer in German. Of the two operas Miss Smyth's had undoubtedly the most solid musical value. The music is steeped in a characteristically German atmosphere of romance, and the orchestration is original and picturesque to a remarkable degree. The most beautiful passage, perhaps, is a love duet, where Miss Smyth allows full play to her fine gift of melody, which had been somewhat kept in restraint in

the rest of the opera. Mr. Bunning's work is of a slighter and more lyrical nature, modelled rather on Massenet than on Wagner. It has a certain airy delicacy and charm, but, on the whole, has too little individuality to secure more than a passing tribute of applause. Besides the two seasons at Covent Garden and a presentation of "Fidelio" by the pupils of the Royal College of Music, the only operatic performance in London was an interesting revival in March by the Purcell Society of Handel's Serenata "Acis and Galatea," which hardly gained much from a somewhat bizarre stage setting, and of the "Masque of Love," from Purcell's opera "Diocletian." Abroad, it is to be noted that Professor Stanford's "Much Ado about Nothing" was produced at Leipzig in April, and was received both by critics and public with the greatest favour. Wagner festivals were held both at Munich and at Bayreuth, the two towns between them accounting for the whole series of the master's works, from "Der Fliegende Holländer" to "Parsifal."

In the realm of orchestral music the bright particular star of the year was unquestionably Richard Strauss. Interest in the music of the foremost composer of Germany had been steadily growing for some time in this country, until it culminated in the great excitement that was aroused by the production of "Heldenleben" in December. This, the latest and most characteristic of Strauss's "Tondichtungen," was played by the Queen's Hall Orchestra, under the direction of the composer himself, and was instantly recognised as a notable, soul-stirring work. Apart from one section, in which the great conflict of the hero's life is portrayed by the most noisy and unintelligible passage that modern music has yet produced, the work is as a whole clear and lucid in outline, noble in conception, and glowing with an unequalled richness of tone-colour. In the course of the year several of the master's earlier works were given with great success by Mr. Wood and the Queen's Hall Orchestra, and in June Herr Strauss himself paid a visit to London and took part in a series of concerts, at which, among other things, he introduced to us his incidental pianoforte music to "Enoch Arden," the poem being recited in German by Herr von Possart with great impressiveness. His latest production, the one-act opera "Feuersnot," which made a great sensation in Berlin at its first performance in October, has yet to be heard in this country, though an orchestral extract from it was twice performed during the year at Queen's Hall.

The symphony concerts under Mr. Newman's management showed as usual a decided preference for works of the Russian school. In the autumn season the conductor, Mr. Henry Wood, broke down in health owing to the strain of his arduous labours, and his place was filled on one occasion by M. Colonne, on another by Herr Emil Paur, and on another by Dr. Elgar, who directed the first performance in London of his Coronation Ode. A series of Promenade Concerts were given at Queen's Hall both in the early spring and in the autumn, and were as usual distinguished by a number of interesting novelties, such for instance as the first three symphonies of Tschaikowsky, M. Fauré's incidental music to "Pelléas et Mélisande," and Vincent d'Indy's trilogy "Wallenstein." The so-called London Musical Festival was again held at the end of April, and as in previous years was the means of introducing

several eminent foreign conductors to the London public. M. Ysaye was responsible for a very broad and virile reading of Beethoven's fifth symphony; Herr Weingartner conducted the second symphony of Brahms, besides introducing a brilliantly clever symphonic poem of his own, based on the tragedy of "King Lear"; and M. Saint-Saëns at the final concert superintended some rather tame performances of his own compositions. But the sensation of the Festival was the appearance of Herr Nikisch, the Gewandhaus conductor, who gave a rendering of Tschaiowsky's E minor symphony of such passionate intensity and superb dramatic power as to rouse the audience to an unwonted display of enthusiasm. The ninetieth season of the Philharmonic Society was not very eventful, the chief novelties produced being an orchestral suite by Mr. William Bell, a Coronation March by Dr. Cowen, and a very effective pianoforte concerto by Rachmaninoff. The Richter Concerts that were given in November were announced, to every one's regret, to be the last of the long series that have been connected with the name of the great conductor, but the hope was held out that Dr. Richter would in the future often visit London at the head of the famous Hallé Orchestra. A notable event of the London autumn season was the appearance of the Meiningen Orchestra under Herr Steinbach at St. James's Hall, and the five concerts given by them aroused an unusual amount of interest among music lovers. Their unrivalled powers of interpreting Brahms were conclusively demonstrated, and memorable performances of some of the master's most representative works were given, including the four symphonies, the violin concerto, and the variations on a theme of Haydn.

London again suffered from a deplorable dearth of choral music, the solitary performances, outside those of the Royal Choral Society at the Albert Hall, being a praiseworthy revival of Alexander Balus by the Handel Society, and an inaugural performance at the new Westminster Cathedral in the summer, when some fine specimens of early motets by Palestrina, Byrd, and Blow, were beautifully sung under the direction of Mr. R. Terry and Mr. A. Barclay. The Albert Hall season consisted mainly, as usual, in the production of entirely familiar oratorios, the exceptions being Dvorak's "Spectre's Bride" and Sir Frederick Bridge's Cantata, "Forging of the Anchor," the latter of which did very little to add to the composer's reputation.

Turning to chamber music we record yet another visit of the Joachim quartet, who gave wonderfully luminous interpretations of those works which they have made peculiarly their own, the posthumous quartets of Beethoven. Their veteran leader surprised his hearers by his unabated buoyancy of spirit and freshness of style, and the complete accord prevailing between the four players produced results which were an unequalled object lesson in *ensemble* performance. The disadvantage under which the Popular Concerts had for so long laboured in not having a permanent quartet was removed in the autumn season by the engagement of a quartet led by Professor Johann Kruse, and the quality of the concerted performances showed, as was natural, a very marked improvement. A number of new foreign works were brought forward, including a string sextet and quartet of Herr Weingartner,

but a strange and quite unjustifiable attitude of neglect was adopted towards British artists, whether composers or performers. The line adopted in this respect by the authorities, both of Queen's Hall and St. James's Hall, called forth a considerable amount of public criticism, and may have partly supplied the motive for an important new undertaking on the part of the oldest of English pianoforte firms, Messrs. John Broadwood & Sons. Under their auspices a series of twelve chamber concerts was organised, the chief features of which were the cheapness of the prices and the shortness of the programmes. Special attention was paid to the productions of native artists, while, at the same time, there were several interesting revivals of the less familiar works of classical masters. These concerts may not always have been so attractive to listen to as they were laudable in design and intention, but their main value consists in the fact that they deliberately encourage British musicians, and give opportunities, which hardly existed before, for the production of new and untried works.

Coincidentally with the movement in England of which the Broadwood Concerts were the outcome, the appreciation of British music abroad showed a notable advance during the year. One of the chief features of the Lower Rhenish Musical Festival at Düsseldorf in May was a performance of Dr. Elgar's "Dream of Gerontius," under the conductorship of Julius Butts, the work producing, as it always does, a profound impression. It was also noteworthy that perhaps the most successful of the solo artists was an Englishwoman, Miss Muriel Foster, whose singing of the part of the Angel was warmly praised by the most eminent German critics. At a supper given at the end of the Festival the health of Dr. Elgar was proposed by Richard Strauss in a memorable speech, in which he used these words: "I raise my glass to the welfare and success of the first English progressivist, Meister Edward Elgar, and of the young progressive school of English composers," a generous and well-deserved tribute from one eminent man to a brother artist of another race. The toast was received with abundant enthusiasm, and there is no doubt that Dr. Elgar is the first British composer who has ever met with any real appreciation in Germany.

The number of provincial festivals increases yearly, and in 1902 there was an unusually plentiful crop. The small village of Hovingham in Yorkshire led the way with two days' music-making in August under the zealous direction of Canon Pemberton, and, as in previous years, the artistic standard was of the highest. Dr. Joachim again honoured the festival by playing the solo part in Beethoven's violin concerto. A cantata by Dr. Wood, called "The Song of the Tempest," a work of considerable power, was performed for the first time, and the programme also included Sir Hubert Parry's "Judith," which was given by chorus and orchestra alike with admirable appreciation of its dramatic spirit. The Three Choirs Festival was at Worcester, and was distinguished rather by the performance of Dr. Elgar's "Dream of Gerontius" than by the production of any startling novelties. Of the latter, the most important was "The Temple," by Dr. Walford Davies, an oratorio of somewhat old-fashioned type, with a biblical text and a good deal of conventional contrapuntal writing. The work, however,

is marked by a sustained elevation of style, and the choral numbers are broadly conceived and impressive in general effect. The second festival at Scarborough showed a great improvement on the standard of choral performance attained on the opening occasion in 1899, and a programme of familiar character, including the "Messiah," "Elijah," Berlioz's "Faust," and Stanford's "Revenge," was carried through with very praiseworthy success. In the month of October no fewer than five festivals took place, but that at Sheffield eclipsed all its rivals in interest and attractiveness. This was mainly owing to the quality of the chorus, who fully sustained their already high reputation, by their magnificent body of tone, vigour of attack and profound musical intelligence. The performance of the "Elijah," with which the festival opened, was in itself a memorable one, both from the great distinction of Mr. Ffrangcon Davies's rendering of the title part, and from the highly original interpretation by Mr. Henry Wood of many of the choral numbers, which seemed to endue them with new vitality and interest. As at Worcester, Dr. Elgar's "Dream of Gerontius" was the *pièce de résistance* of the festival, and curiously enough the Sheffield chorus showed themselves no more capable than that of the Three Choirs of singing a certain celebrated passage in tune. But the performance as a whole was an extremely fine one, and the demoniacal section was given with such intensely realistic force as to be quite a revelation to those who had only heard it in the sedate surroundings of a cathedral. The soloists were Mr. John Coates, Mr. Ffrangcon Davies and Miss Muriel Foster, the latter of whom, as at Düsseldorf earlier in the year, achieved a real triumph by her exquisite singing of the part of the Angel. The novelties were a cantata called "Meg Blane," by Mr. Coleridge Taylor, in which the composer showed again some of those fine qualities which brought him such success in "Hiawatha," and "Gareth and Linet," by Dr. Coward, the chorus-master, a work full of brilliant choral effects, but of very little musical value. The chorus won numberless triumphs through the week, the greatest of all being, perhaps, in Sir Hubert Parry's "Blest Pair of Sirens," and in Mendelssohn's "Hymn of Praise." At Bristol the chief feature was a revival of Berlioz' "Messe des Morts," but the full effect of this gigantic work was not realised owing to the injudicious cutting down of the number of brass instruments named in the composer's score. Dr. Horatio Parker's "St. Christopher" was also given, and proved to be a brilliant and attractive work. The Festival at Cardiff made a great hit by producing César Franck's "The Beatitudes," which, though composed as long ago as 1871, had only once before been heard in this country. It is difficult to account for such extraordinary neglect, for the work bears the impress of true genius, and is also finely devotional in tone. Lastly, at Norwich, a long and miscellaneous programme was carried through, including Sir Hubert Parry's beautiful "Ode to Music," Sir A. C. Mackenzie's humorous and piquant suite, "London Day by Day," a new Coronation Ode by Dr. Cowen, an Irish rhapsody by Dr. Stanford, and a one act opera by Mr. Randegger, junior, the nephew of the festival conductor.

Of individual performers who were prominent during the year pride

of place must again be given to the brilliant young violinist Kubelik, who invariably drew a large and enthusiastic audience whenever he appeared. Another violinist of hardly less remarkable attainments, Fritz Kreisler, made his *début* at a Richter Concert, and the ranks of virtuosi were further swelled by the appearance of Földesy, a violoncellist of the most astounding technical proficiency, but of apparently little feeling for the higher things of his art. Among the concert singers the great advance made by Miss Muriel Foster has already been noticed, and of the rest Mr. Ffrangcon Davies, Dr. Lierhammer, Mr. McInnes, Miss Agnes Nicholls and Miss Ada Crossley won an increasing amount of popular favour and appreciation.

The number of well-known musicians who died during the year was comparatively small, the list including G. B. Arnold, the organist of Winchester Cathedral; Emil Bach, the composer; Piccolomini, the writer of several well-known drawing-room ballads; James Higgs, the organ professor; Thomas Chappell of the famous music publishing firm; and A. C. White, the contrabassist.

J. E. TALBOT.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1902.

JANUARY.

On the 1st, at his Suffolk residence, Aldeburgh Lodge, aged 70, **Thomas Frederick Charles Vernon-Wentworth**, of Wentworth Castle, Barnsley, s. of F. W. T. Vernon-Wentworth, by Lady Augusta, 2nd dau. of 1st Marquess of Ailesbury. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. M., Lady Harriet de Burgh, dau. of 1st Marquess of Clanricarde. As a Liberal contested Ailesbury, 1859, and tied with the second of the Conservative candidates, who, however, was awarded the seat on a scrutiny. Served in one of the Yorkshire Militia regiments. On the 1st, **William Henry Hodges**, b. 1830, rose from being clerk in the accountants' department of the Midland Railway Company, to the position of chief accountant, which he held for more than thirty years. Was made a Director of the railway on retiring from the staff. On the 1st, aged 65, **Dr. John Birrell**, Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. Educated at St. Andrews University and at Halle. Entering the ministry of the Scottish Established Church, he was minister (1864-73) of Dunino, Fife; was appointed (1871) by the Crown to the chair of Hebrew and Oriental Languages at St. Mary's College. Was a member of the Old Testament Revision Committee, and Examiner of Secondary Schools in Scotland, 1876-86; for fifteen years chairman of the St. Andrews School Board; had the honorary D.D. of Edinburgh. On the 2nd, at Portsmouth, **Lieutenant James Webber**. As boatswain of the *Monarch* he was present at the bombardment of Alexandria, and commended by the Admiralty for services there; served with the Naval Brigade in the Soudan, and in the Nile Expedition for the relief of General Gordon; was mentioned in despatches by Lord Charles Beresford, and in 1887 received a commission as lieutenant in the Navy, being the first chief boatswain so promoted. On the 2nd, **W. Henry Lumley**, aged 63, a well-known auctioneer, author of several novels, and of a highly considered pamphlet on "Leasehold Emfranchisement." He made a practical survey, 1872, for Sir Moses Montefiore, of the water supply of Jerusalem, and his scheme was adopted; was made by Victor Emmanuel a Chevalier of the Crown of Italy as inventor of "Lumley's Patent Rudder," adopted by the Italian Navy, 1862. On the 3rd, in Florence, **Prebendary Henry William Tucker**. Educated at Exeter Grammar School and Magdalen Hall, Oxford. After holding two curacies he was appointed assistant-secretary to the S.P.G. in 1865, and chief secretary, 1879; he devoted his whole life to the service of the Society, and practically ruled it for many years. He was a great master of detail, though somewhat lacking in sympathy and geniality. He wrote several books bearing on missionary subjects, including "Under His Banner," and the lives of Bishop Field and Bishop George Selwyn. On the 3rd, in London, aged 80, **Sir James Parker Deane**, s. of Mr. Henry Deane, of Hurst Grove, Berks. Educated at Winchester and St. John's College, Oxford; called to the Bar, 1841; his practice lay chiefly in ecclesiastical suits; he stood unsuccessfully for Oxford City in 1868 as a Conservative against Mr. Cardwell and Mr. Vernon Harcourt, the election causing great excitement; was appointed Vicar-General of the province and diocese of Canterbury, and held that office till within a few days of his death; was also Admiralty Advocate and

trained for the clergy of the Dutch Remonstrant Brotherhood; officiated in several churches, and was one of the leading professors in the Remonstrant Seminary; a chair was created for him at Leyden University to teach the science of religion, and history of the world's religions; he wrote "Comparative History of the Religions of Egypt and Mesopotamia," and "Outlines of the History of Religion"; was a member of many learned societies in different countries, and held honorary degrees at Dublin and Edinburgh, and was recognised everywhere as one of the greatest authorities on the subjects which he studied. On the 14th, at Brighton, aged 77, **Rev. Arthur Douglas Wagner**, s. of Rev. Henry Wagner. He and other members of his family built eight of the churches in Brighton, and for fifty-two years he was incumbent of St. Paul's. A leader of the Ritualist party, he had more than once to endure open attacks in the streets of Brighton. On the 15th, in London, aged 76, **Lord Rookwood**. Henry John Selwin took the additional surname of Ibbetson on his second marriage to the widow of Sir Charles Ibbetson; sat for South Essex as a Conservative, 1865-8, and for West Essex, 1868-92; was Under-Secretary for the Home Department, 1874-8, and Financial Secretary to the Treasury, 1878-80; was responsible for the Act giving Epping Forest to the public, and for Bills introducing the block system on railways. On the 18th, in London, aged 53, **Sir Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett**. He was born in Brooklyn, U.S.A., s. of a professor of Classics at Plymouth, New England. Educated at Torquay and Christ Church, Oxford; was an Examiner in the Education Department, 1874-80; sat in the Conservative interest for the borough of Eye, 1880-5, and for the Ecclesall Division of Sheffield till his death; was Civil Lord of the Admiralty in 1885 and 1886-92, and received knighthood, 1892. He was for many years a very popular speaker outside the House of Commons, but failed to adapt himself to the House. He was throughout his life an ardent advocate of Imperialism. For some years he edited a weekly paper called *England*, which was not financially successful; this and other unfortunate ventures brought him into money difficulties during the last months of his life. M., in 1874, Frances Christina, dau. of Mr. H. E. Walsh. On the 18th, at St. Leonard's, aged 84, **Henry Cadman Jones**, s. of Rev. Joseph Jones. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he was elected Fellow. Best known as a law reporter, reporting Chancery Appeals from 1865-99. He drafted the consolidated orders of the Court of Chancery, 1860. On the 20th, at Curragh Chase, Ireland, aged 88, **Aubrey de Vere**, s. of Sir Aubrey de Vere. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, he devoted his life to literature, and was at various times a close friend of many leading literary men. He published in 1897 an interesting volume of "Recollections," in which he recorded his acquaintance with the poet Wordsworth. In 1842 he published his first volume, "The Waldenses," in which the poems show his strong classical taste. In 1851 he joined the Church of Rome, and became till the end of his life a passionately devout member of that Church, many of his poems dealing with its legends and doctrine. He was a strong Unionist, but would never allow that the bishops and priests in Ireland did wrong, and dwelt on their condemnation of secret societies. He published a large number of poems, including "The Search after Proserpine," 1843; "Poems, Miscellaneous and Sacred," 1853; "Irish Odes," 1869; and was also the author of prose works dealing with literary, ethical and political subjects. His poems, though never widely popular, were highly thought of by the best judges. On the 20th, aged 26, from wounds received in action at Driekuil, Cape Colony, **Captain Charles Henry Fitz-Gerald**, only s. of Major J. G. Fitz-Gerald, Royal Marines (retired); joined the Imperial Yeomanry as a trooper, and rose to rank of captain. On the 21st, aged 63, **Captain William Greenhall Silverlock, R.N.** After serving as midshipman, 1852-3, in suppressing the slave trade on the Brazilian Coast, he was employed in the Baltic in the Russian War and promoted Lieutenant for his services at the bombardment of Sveaborg, August, 1855, and appointed to the command of the *Grappler* till the end of the war. Commander, 1865; retired, 1873. On the 23rd, aged 70, **Rev. Dr. Frederick George Lee**, eldest s. of Rev. F. Lee, Rector of Easington. Educated at Thame Grammar School and St. Edmund Hall, Oxford; won the Newdigate Prize, 1854, for a poem on the martyrs of Vienna and Lyons, which afterwards reached a fifth edition. He held a curacy at Sunningwell, Berks, 1854, and subsequently founded and became first incumbent of St. Mary's Church, Aberdeen. He was one of the founders of the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom, and of the Order for Corporate Reunion: Vicar, 1867-99, of All Saints', Lambeth; was author of about 100 books on various subjects, including "The Validity of the Holy Orders of the Church of England Maintained and Vindicated" (1870), "The Beauty of Holiness" (1869), and the "Directorium Anglicanum," some of which went

through several editions. Rumours were current as to his having secretly received Roman Catholic Episcopal Consecration, and he was said to have refused either to deny or affirm these stories. He was in any case openly received into the Roman Catholic Church a few weeks before his death. His honorary D.D. was from the Washington and Lee University, Virginia. On the 23rd, aged 77, **Captain Bourke Toivan**, late 11th Hussars. Was present at all the chief Crimean battles, for which he received the medal with four stars and also the French war medal for conspicuous gallantry in the Balacava charge, in which he was wounded. He became Quarter Master, 1865, and Hon. Captain, 1876. On the 23rd, **Alfred William Bennett**. Born, 1833; educated at University College, London. An able and well-known botanist; took part with other eminent men of science in the production of valuable botanical handbooks; his most popular work was the "Flora of the Alps." He was a popular lecturer on botanical subjects, and was editor of the *Journal of the Royal Microscopical Society*. On the 25th, at Edinburgh, aged 68, **Captain Christie**. He served in the Indian Mutiny as lieutenant in the Black Watch, and led the storming party at the relief of Lucknow, being mentioned in despatches; was Governor of Chatham Prison, 1871-4, and of Calton Gaol, Edinburgh, 1874-1900. On the 26th, **D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson**, for more than forty years Professor of Greek at Queen's College, Galway. Born, 1829; educated at Christ's Hospital and Cambridge. A refined scholar; he was the author of "The Wit and Wisdom of the Athenian Drama" and "Wayside Thoughts," a series of lectures delivered in the Lowell Institution, Boston. On the 26th, aged 62, the **Rev. A. B. Davidson**, Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the New College of the United Free Church of Scotland. He was an acknowledged authority among Hebrew scholars, and wrote a Hebrew grammar, which has gone through many editions, also commentaries on many books of the Old Testament and articles in "Clark's Dictionary of the Bible"; held the degree of LL.D. at Cambridge and Glasgow. On the 28th, **Lieutenant-Colonel Henry William Keays-Young**. Born, 1836; eldest s. of Henry Young, formerly Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay. Saw much hard service with the Bombay Rifles in the Persian campaign of 1856-7, and in the Indian Mutiny campaigns, 1857-9, with the same regiment and the Poona Irregular Horse; served afterwards with 17th Lancers and 18th Foot, now the Royal Irish Regiment, retiring 1881. On the 28th, killed in action near Koffyenstein, Orange Colony, aged 44, **Lieutenant-Colonel Louis Eugene Du Moulin**, second in command of the first Battalion Royal Sussex Regiment, who after seeing much service in Indian border warfare (twice mentioned in despatches) served in South Africa, winningrevet lieutenant-colonelcy, and was described by Lord Kitchener as "a promising young commander who had done excellent service throughout the campaign." On the 29th, **General George Palmer Whish**. Born, 1813; eldest s. of General Sir William Sampson Whish. Served under General Pollock in Afghan campaign, 1842; Captain, 1844; Assistant Adjutant-General in Punjab campaign, 1848-9, for services in which promoted Major; became General in 1877 on Bengal Staff Corps. On the 31st, at Winchester, aged 70, **Dr. G. B. Arnold**, organist of the Cathedral. He was trained as an organist under Dr. Chard and Dr. S. S. Wesley, at Winchester, to whom he was assistant for four years. After holding the post of organist at Torquay and New College, Oxford, he was appointed in 1865 organist to Winchester Cathedral, and held that post till his death. He wrote an oratorio "Ahab," a cantata "Sennacherib," and several anthems. In January, at Pekin, **Dr. Wordsworth Poole**, M.B., C.M.G., Physician to the British Legation. Made C.M.G. for services as principal medical officer of the West African Field Force, 1897-9; was highly commended by Sir Claude Macdonald for his work as Legation Physician at Pekin during the Boxer outbreak. In January, **W. Griffiths**. Educated Llandovery School and St. John's College, Cambridge (24th Wrangler, 1865); held various educational appointments under the Government of India, ending with that of Principal of the Presidency College, Calcutta, 1892-6. In January, **Lieutenant-General Estace Fane Bouchier**, s. of Commander W. Bouchier, R.N., joined Royal Engineers, 1842; mentioned in despatches for services in command of a native levy on the eastern frontier, Cape of Good Hope, 1846, when Assistant Adjutant-General; was slightly wounded before Simonopol, 1855; subsequently held "A.G." in Ireland for two years. In January, aged 63, **Lieutenant-General** **John** **Wesley**, formerly of the 79th Cameron Highlanders, 1855, where he earned a medal for conduct, 1855, and at the Cape. Of late years held "Corps; was also an artist of some repute. In 1851, Jean de Bloch. He was of Polish Semitic

origin, a banker by profession ; devoted his leisure to studies in political economy, specialising on the evils resulting from war ; published in 1898 "*La Guerre*," in six volumes—a book dealing with modern developments of the machinery of war and their results. It had considerable effect on the Tsar Nicholas II., leading him to propose the Peace Conference at The Hague, at which M. Bloch was unofficially present. An abridged version of the book in English was published in 1900. In January, **Nicolas Christitch**, Prime Minister of Servia, after the *Coup d'état* of 1894 until July, 1895, when he resigned and was appointed President of the Council of State. He was a statesman of Progressist views and a staunch supporter of the Obrenovitch dynasty.

FEBRUARY.

The Marquess of Dufferin.—One of the most distinguished and successful of British public servants in the fields of diplomacy and Imperial administration, Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, first Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, passed away peacefully at his seat, Clondeboye, near Belfast, on February 12. Born June 21, 1826, he was the only son of Price, fourth Baron Dufferin, in the peerage of Ireland (a captain in the Royal Navy), and Helen Selina, daughter of Thomas Sheridan, and granddaughter of Richard Brinsley Sheridan ; she was sister to the Hon. Mrs. Norton, and that Duchess of Somerset who was Queen of Beauty at the Eglinton tournament. The Blackwoods are a family of Scottish origin, but settled in Ireland for over 250 years. Of the subject of the present notice it was truly said by the *Times* that, in him, "with the sensitive organisation, the quick intelligence, the sparkling wit, and the remarkable versatility of the Sheridans were blended the cool-headedness, the power of prolonged effort, the tenacity of purpose, and the far-seeing prudence of the Scottish character." Succeeding to his father's peerage in 1841, the fifth Lord Dufferin passed through Eton and Christ Church without giving any striking promise of future achievement. After leaving Oxford he spent a good deal of time on his estate in Ulster, studying Irish economic problems, especially those of land tenure, in regard to which as early as 1855 he advocated not only compensation for improvements, but compensation for disturbance in cases of capricious eviction ; but though a Liberal in politics, he was not anxious for a life of political conflict, and after being a Lord-in-waiting to Queen Victoria, 1849-50, in connection with Lord John Russell's first Administration, he accepted (1850) a peerage of the United Kingdom, and took his seat in the House of Lords. In 1855 he was attached to the same statesman's special mission to Vienna, and in 1856

he proved his possession of high literary gifts by his very popular book entitled "*Letters from High Latitudes*," describing a yachting voyage to Iceland. Henceforward, however, his pen was to be confined (except for a very able critical pamphlet—"Mr. Mill's Plan for the Pacification of Ireland Examined"—published in 1868, and a delightful memoir of his mother, in 1894) to the drafting of diplomatic correspondence and other State papers. In the diplomatic field he won his spurs, and a good deal more, as British member of the International Commission appointed to deal with Syria after the massacres of 1860. Most emphatically he justified Lord John Russell's selection of him for this important post. He not only himself soon grasped the essential features of an extremely difficult and complex situation, but obtained so much influence with his foreign colleagues that calamitous errors were avoided, and the scheme of settlement which he advocated was in its main features ultimately adopted by the Powers. The result was that all ground for a continuance of the French occupation of Syria disappeared, and that the province of Lebanon has enjoyed, under a Governor-General practically independent of interference from Constantinople, and a political and judicial system giving fair representation to the diverse religious and racial elements, a high degree of tranquillity and prosperity. Lord Dufferin's Syrian services were acknowledged with the K.C.B., and other honours followed in quick succession, such as the riband of St. Patrick and the Lord-Lieutenancy of Co. Down. In November, 1864, Lord Palmerston named him Under-Secretary of State for India, a post which he held till February, 1866, when Earl Russell, who had succeeded to the Premiership, transferred him, in the same capacity, to the War Department ; he resigned office, of course, on the overthrow of the Ministry the

was one of the most distinguished members of a distinguished family of Anglo-Indian soldiers. Born 1820, he was the second son of Sir Henry Orlando Chamberlain, first baronet, by his second wife, daughter of Mr. William Morgan. After being educated for a short time at Woolwich, he joined the Bengal Army when only seventeen, and almost immediately began his long fighting career. Attached as a leader of irregular horse to General Nott's force operating near Quetta, he subsequently took part in the capture and re-occupation of Ghazni, and in fighting at Kandahar, Kabul and elsewhere, displaying conspicuous gallantry throughout—being wounded six times—once dangerously and twice severely—and gaining mention in despatches. This honour was renewed in the second Sikh war when he was present at the battles of Gujarat and Chilianwala, and Lord Gough reported that he was greatly indebted to Captain Chamberlain for his assistance and his example in several hand-to-hand affairs with a furious enemy. As Commandant of the Punjab Frontier Force, in later years preceding the Mutiny, he commanded several expeditions against the hill tribes, and received the thanks of the Government of India on four occasions. During the Mutiny Chamberlain was Adjutant-General of the Army before Delhi, in the siege of which he took part till disabled by a very severe wound from a grape-shot which splintered the bone of his left arm. Thereafter he was made C.B. and A.D.C. to Queen Victoria. The K.C.B. came to him two years later for his leadership of operations against the Waziris. His active fighting ended characteristically in 1863 when, being in command of the whole Umbeyla Field Force, he placed himself at the head of a party climbing to the assault of a very difficult position, in the ascent to which he was severely wounded and placed *hors de combat*. The position, however, was taken, and he was promoted Major-General for his conduct of the operations.

In 1873 he was made G.C.S.I., in 1875 G.C.B., and in 1876 appointed to the command of the Madras Army. While holding that post he was selected to proceed as head of the special mission despatched by Lord Lytton to the Ameer Shere Ali, the stopping of which at Ali Musjid was the immediate ground of the war then declared by Great Britain against Afghanistan. Personally Sir Neville, despite his magnificent record of fight-

ing, in Afghanistan as elsewhere, was against Lord Lytton's policy of active interference with Kabul. He was also a severe critic of the policy of the concentration camps during the Boer War of 1899-1902. In April, 1900, he received from Queen Victoria the baton of Field Marshal. He married, 1873, Charlotte Cuyler, a daughter of Major-General Sir William Reid, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

The Rev. Dr. Newman Hall.—In Dr. Newman Hall, who died at Hampstead on February 18 in his eighty-sixth year, British Nonconformity lost one of its most eminent and universally esteemed representatives. A son of the proprietor and printer of the *Maidstone Journal*, he was led by early evangelical zeal to give up the intention of following his father's occupation and prepare himself for the Congregational ministry. With that view he went to Highbury College and thence took a first-class B.A. at London University, after which he was ordained (1842) to the pastorate of the newly formed Albion Congregational Church at Hull. He laboured there with great vigour, being equally successful in the ordinary work of a minister, as an open-air preacher, and as a writer of evangelistic tractates. One of them entitled "Come to Jesus" has had a circulation of more than four millions in more than forty languages. He also was throughout life an extremely earnest and powerful advocate of the cause of total abstinence. In 1854 he accepted a call to Surrey Chapel, where he readily accommodated himself to the liturgical form of service which its original pastor, Rowland Hill, had brought with him from the Church of England. In discipline and order, however, the church at Surrey Chapel was always Congregational. During the American Civil War he espoused the cause of the North with great vigour and eloquence, addressing large audiences in its behalf in the leading provincial towns. Consequently, when he visited the States in 1867, he had an enthusiastic reception, preached in the House of Representatives at the Speaker's request, and at that of the Senate delivered an address, in a great Presbyterian church, on the relations between England and America. His influence undoubtedly contributed to the gradual improvement of those relations, and the warm regard in which he was held by citizens of the United States was shown, among

other ways, by their contributions to the tower of the Surrey Chapel congregation's new place of worship, Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road. This was opened on American Independence Day, July 4, 1876, the tower being a special memorial of President Lincoln and the abolition of slavery. There Dr. Hall laboured with unvarying activity and acceptance till 1892, when, holding that a younger man could better bear so responsible a charge, he handed over to the Rev. F. B. Meyer a church of 800 members and very large affiliated Sunday Schools. He had been largely assisted for several years by the Rev. Henry Grainger. In the midst of his early pastoral labours in London, to which he added the organising, and often the delivery, of secular lectures to working men, Newman Hall succeeded in preparing himself for the London LL.B. honours examination, and even won the University Law Scholarship. He had the honorary D.D. of Edinburgh (1892). In politics he was a Liberal and personally attached to Mr. Gladstone, but he refused to follow him on the Home Rule question. Part of his life was clouded by an estrangement from his first wife, daughter of the late Dr. Gordon, but his treatment of her, from whom he ultimately obtained a divorce (1879), was highly praised by the President of the Divorce Court. In 1880 he married Miss Knipe. He was the author of several small but widely circulated religious works, in tract form, of some volumes of verse, and of books on "The Atonement, the Fundamental Fact of Christianity," and other theological subjects. An attractive and cultivated personality, full of earnestness and devotion, Dr. Hall maintained the highest traditions of British Nonconformity.

Dr. S. R. Gardiner.—On February 23, within ten days of the completion of his seventy-third year, there died at his house at Sevenoaks Samuel Rawson Gardiner, one of the most eminent of modern English historians. The eldest son of Mr. Rawson Boddam Gardiner of Ropley, Devonshire, S. R. Gardiner was educated at Winchester and Christ Church, Oxford, of which foundation he was elected a student, 1850. In the following year he took a first class in *Litt. Hum.* In 1855 he married Isabella, youngest daughter of Edward Irving, the founder of the Catholic Apostolic Church, in which Gardiner came to hold high office, remaining a member for more than twenty years.

Shortly after his marriage he set himself the great task of his life—that of writing a history of the whole Stuart period down to the Restoration. This was undertaken, as the excellent *Time* biography observed, "in the light of exhaustive original researches which were conceived on an heroic scale." The earliest instalment appeared in two volumes in 1863, entitled "A History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Disgrace of Chief Justice Coke, 1603-1616." Not till 1883-4, when the ten volumes, which he had completed in 1881, were re-issued in a more accessible form than previously, under the title of "A History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642," were the great merits of Gardiner's work at all widely recognised—its intimate acquaintance with the "sources," and its entirely sober and judicial treatment of the facts drawn from them. Meanwhile he had done much "bread-work" of excellent quality. From 1871 for fourteen years he was Professor of History at King's College, London. He contributed two volumes to the "Epochs of Modern History" series, and wrote some useful books on English history generally for students; but he did still more for that class as a lecturer, between 1880 and 1894, for the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching, for whom, in various parts of the metropolis, he delivered to large audiences very valuable and instructive lectures on various periods of foreign as well as English history. In 1881 Mr. Gladstone conferred on him a Civil List pension of 150*l.* a year, and in 1884 he was elected to a Research Fellowship at All Souls College. This lasted till 1892, when Merton College elected him to a Fellowship, which he retained till his death. In 1894 Lord Rosebery offered him the Regius Professorship of History at Oxford, but he declined it lest the social and other claims it would involve should hinder the progress of his History. At different periods from 1886 to 1901 he was Historical Examiner for his own University (which made him D.C.L., 1895) and for that of London. But he happily had sufficient freedom during the last twenty years of his life to approach within measurable distance of the completion of the great task he had early set before himself. This involved the examination, in the original, not only of the vast mass of MS. and printed materials in the Record Office and the British Museum, but those to be found

in French, German, Italian, Spanish, Dutch and Swedish libraries and State Paper offices. To the great advantage of those who might follow in his steps, Gardiner edited for the Camden Society (of which he was long director), the Clarendon Press, and the Scottish History Society, many volumes embodying original materials bearing on the study of the seventeenth century. From 1890 he was editor of the *English Historical Review*, and he was an extensive contributor to the "Dictionary of National Biography." But his great title to fame rests on his having carried to within four years of the Restoration of Charles II. his consecutive study of the troubles of the century which he had made his own. His "History of the Civil War, 1643-9," appeared first in three volumes, 1886, 1889 and 1891, being afterwards revised and re-issued in four volumes uniform with his "History of England." In 1894 he produced the first volume of

the "History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate," and the third, carrying the work down to the end of 1656, was brought out in the spring of 1901. Soon after his health failed, and he had to leave the actual completion of the great undertaking to his friend, Mr. C. H. Firth. His complete view of Cromwell may, however, be gathered from his monograph (1899) in Messrs. Goupil's series of illustrated biographies, and his article in the *Contemporary Review*, February, 1901, criticising Mr. John Morley's recent book on that famous man. Without striking gifts of style, Gardiner's narrative gained in spirit as it advanced, and increasingly commanded the interest as well as the profound respect of all honest and intelligent students of the period which he had laboured so strenuously and so successfully to illuminate. After the death of his first wife, Dr. Gardiner married (1875) Miss Bertha Meriton Cordery.

On the 2nd, **William Martindale**. Born in Cumberland, 1840; apprenticed to a Carlisle chemist; carried on for many years an important chemist's business in London; member of several scientific societies; author with Dr. Wynn-Westcott of the "Extra Pharmacopœia," a work highly considered by physicians and pharmacists. At the time of his death was serving on a committee appointed by the Privy Council to inquire into the sale of poisons. On the 2nd, at Lace Mines, S. Africa, aged 43, **Geoffrey George Gordon Fitzclarence**, third Earl of Munster, third son of the second earl. He served in the Afghan War, 1879-80, in the 60th Rifles, and accompanied Lord Roberts on the march to Kandahar; also saw service in the Boer War of 1881. Retiring, 1895, he soon joined the Militia Battalion of the Royal Scots, in which he became Major, and served with it in S. Africa; was mentioned in despatches, and received the D.S.O. On the 3rd, in London, aged 70, **Sir John Braddick Monckton**. Practised as a solicitor till his election, after a spirited contest, as Town Clerk of London in 1873; was re-elected annually for thirty years; he was a leading Freemason, much liked and respected in the City, where he was the trusted adviser of thirty Lord Mayors. On the 4th, at Ashton-under-Lyne, aged 54, **James Mawdsley**. Son of an operative, he worked as a cotton-spinner from the age of nine up to thirty; he was appointed, after competitive examination, Secretary of the Amalgamation of the Operative Cotton Spinners' Associations, 1878, and held the post till his death. Under his organisation the amalgamation grew in numbers from 997 to over 18,000, and acquired a position of great power; he was a magistrate for Lancashire and Manchester, and member of several public bodies. On the 6th, in London, aged 60, **Colonel William Arthur James Wallace, C.I.E.** He played a prominent part in railway development in India; was deputy-consulting engineer for guaranteed railways, 1871-8; secretary for fourteen years of the conference which worked out Lord Lytton's policy of railway construction; saw field service in Afghanistan, 1879, and in Egypt, 1882, obtaining a medal with clasp, and bronze star; engineer-in-chief and manager of North Bengal State Railway, 1879-87, when he became director of North-Western State Railway. On the 7th, aged 98, **Thomas Sidney Cooper, R.A.** Of humble origin and very slender education, he early displayed a passion for drawing, and was encouraged therein by Archbishop Manners Sutton, who bought one of his earliest pictures for 5*l.* At the age of twelve he painted coaches for a coach-builder, and later became a scene-painter. With the assistance of an uncle he went up to London, and through the influence of Sir Thomas Lawrence was admitted into the Royal Academy schools. In 1827 he settled in Brussels, and was greatly impressed by the work of Verboeckhoven, "The Belgian Paul Potter." Returning to England and exhibiting at the Suffolk Street Gallery, 1833, he earned from the critics the soubriquet of the British Paul Potter, and in 1834 first exhibited at the Royal Academy. About ten years later his pictures

of cattle attracted general attention. He obtained many commissions, and a 20*l.* prize and the Heywood medal at the Manchester Exhibition. Henceforward he became a regular exhibitor at the Royal Academy, and was elected an Associate, 1845. His collaboration for some time with the late F. R. Lee, landscape painter, earned for them the playful description by the Prince Consort of "the Beaumont and Fletcher of art." In 1848 Queen Victoria summoned Cooper to Osborne to paint a picture from her own stock there. In the early sixties he painted some considerable pictures of sheep and goats in mountain scenery, and in 1867 was elected R.A. His "Monarch of the Meadows" (1873) was bought for 2,700*l.*, mysteriously stolen from the owner, and secretly restored. He continued to exhibit at the Royal Academy up to the end of his prolonged life. His style had long ceased to be in fashion, but his devotion to his art and the skill he still often showed in fulfilling his conception of it could not but be admired. In 1882 he presented the city of Canterbury with a gallery of art which he had formed, and at which he desired that tuition should be given at a nominal fee to members of the artisan class. On the 8th, aged 78, **Colonel the Right Hon. William Brownlow Forde**, of Seaforde. In early life he held a commission in 67th Foot; later became Hon. Colonel of 5th battalion Royal Irish Rifles; sat as Conservative for County Down, 1857-74; in 1889 was appointed a member of the Irish Privy Council. M., 1855, Adelaide, dau. of General the Hon. R. Meade. On the 8th, in London, aged 74, **Rev. Abel Gerald Wilson Blunt**, s. of Rev. Henry Blunt. Educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge. He was Vicar of Crewe Green and domestic chaplain to Lord Crewe, 1856-60, and Rector of Chelsea from 1860 till his death. A clergyman of the old Broad Church school, he was on terms of intimacy with Thomas Carlyle, and among his friends were numbered Maurice, Dean Stanley, Froude, General Gordon and Professor Hort. On the 9th, at Walmer, aged 75, the **Rev. Sir George W. Cox**, s. of Mr. George Hamilton Cox. Educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Oxford. After holding two curacies, he was assistant master at Cheltenham, 1860-1, and for many years literary adviser to Messrs. Longmans. He wrote historical works, paying special attention to mythologies. He was an ardent supporter of Bishop Colenso, and was nominated to the Natal Bishopric, but never consecrated. From 1881-97 was Rector of Scrayingham, Yorks. Claimed a baronetcy. On the 9th, at Falkland Palace, Fifeshire, **Major William Wood**. He served with the 42nd Highlanders in the Crimean War, 1854-5, receiving the medal with three clasps, Knighthood of the Legion of Honour and Turkish medal. As adjutant he served in the Indian Mutiny, 1857-8, receiving medal and clasp. On the 9th, at Alberton, Gippsland, Australia, aged 95, **Commander Edgar Slade, R.N.**, retired, one of the last survivors of the Battle of Navarino, in which he took part as mate; after retiring from the Navy was for many years a police magistrate in Australia. On the 10th, at Cape Town, aged 70, **Right Rev. Henry Brougham Bousfield**, s. of William Cheek Bousfield. Educated at Merchant Taylors' School, and Caius College, Cambridge. Ordained 1851, he was Rector of St. Maurice, Winchester, 1861-70, and Vicar of Andover, 1870-8, when he was appointed first Bishop of Pretoria. On the 11th, at Lugwardine Court, Herefordshire, aged 64, **Sir Herbert George Denman Croft**, ninth Baronet. Educated at Eton and Merton College, Oxford. Sat for Herefordshire, 1868-74; Inspector of Constabulary for the North of England from 1892. M., 1865, Georgina, daughter and co-heiress of Matthew Marsh, M.P., of Ramridge House, Hants. On the 13th, in London, aged 70, **Lieutenant-General Coote Syngé-Hutchinson**. He served with the 2nd Dragoon Guards in the Indian Campaign, 1858-9, including the siege and capture of Lucknow, and commanded a squadron in the action of Barree and Trans-Gogra affairs, being mentioned in despatches and receiving the medal with clasps. Was Colonel of the 19th Hussars since 1889. On the 14th, in London, aged 68, **Sir Archibald John Scott Milman, K.C.B.**, third son of Dean Milman of St. Paul's. Educated at Westminster, and Trinity College, Cambridge. Entered the service of the House of Commons as clerk. 1857; appointed to one of the chairs at the table, 1870; became Clerk-Assistant in 1886, and Clerk of the House, 1900. On his retirement, because of ill-health, at the beginning of the session of 1902, Mr. Balfour moved and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman seconded a vote of thanks to him for his services, and he was made a K.C.B. His accurate knowledge of Parliamentary precedents and history made him very valuable to the House and he was very popular with its members. On the 16th, at Wilton Lodge, Fareham, Hants, aged 84, **Captain William Thomas Mainprize, R.N., C.B.** Saw service as midshipman on the East India station, also as second master of the *Talbot* frigate in the Mediterranean at the bombardment of St. Jean d'Acre; appointed Master of the *Britannia*, 1851, in which ship he took part in the bombardment of Sevastopol;

appointed Master of the Fleet and was mentioned in despatches for his action in sounding under Fort Constantine and other batteries; was Master Attendant to Malta Dockyard. He received the C.B. (1867), naval medal with Syria clasp and Turkish medal, Order of the Mejidieh (Fifth Class), and rank of Knight of the Legion of Honour. On the 18th, in London, aged 41, **Colonel Eustace Chaloner Knox**, s. of Lieutenant-General Richard Knox. He enlisted in the 18th Hussars (for fifteen years commanded by his father) in 1878, and received a commission after three and a half years' service as trooper; served in the Nile campaign, 1884-5. His regiment was stationed in South Africa when war broke out and he took part in the first action of Talana Hill, the defence of Ladysmith and many other actions, being frequently mentioned in despatches and receiving brevet of Colonel; succeeded to the command of his regiment, 1900, and was appointed to command 2nd Cavalry Brigade. From wounds received in action at Klippan, near Springs, on the 18th, **Major Cecil William Montague Feilden, D.S.O.**, of the Scots Greys, eldest s. of the late General R. J. Feilden, of Witton Park, Lancs. Entered the army, 1882, was for two years private secretary to Lord Wolseley, when Commander-in-Chief; received the D.S.O. for services in the earlier part of the South African War. From wounds received in the same mishap to a part of the Scots Greys, **Captain Edward Ussher, D.S.O.**, Adjutant of the regiment, who also had won the D.S.O. in South Africa, eldest s. of John Ussher, of The Dene, Great Budworth, Cheshire. On the 19th, in London, aged 75, **Peter William Clayden**. Was a Unitarian minister, 1855-84, combining for many years that work with that, first, of leader-writer on the *Daily News*, and, later, of its assistant editor (1868-87), and was night editor, 1887-96; wrote "The Religious Value of the Doctrine of Continuity," "Early Life of Samuel Rogers," and other books as well as a great number of pamphlets and articles. On the 19th, killed in action near Vryheid, **Major Robert Bruce Blunt**, of the Lancashire Fusiliers. Born, 1873; s. of G. Blunt, solicitor, of Leicester; served as Adjutant with second battalion of his regiment in Soudan Campaign, 1898; with same battalion served in Ladysmith Relief Force, being severely wounded at Venters Spruit, and receiving brevet majority for his conduct in the field; had latterly been acting as intelligence officer. On the 20th, at Wentworth-Woodhouse, Yorkshire, aged 87, **William Thomas Spencer Wentworth-Fitzwilliam**, sixth Earl Fitzwilliam, s. of the fifth Earl. As Viscount Milton he sat for Malton, 1837-41, when he stood for the West Riding but was not returned; sat again for Malton, 1846, and for Wicklow, 1847-57, when he succeeded to the peerage. He was a Liberal but not a Home Ruler, a keen sportsman and strong Churchman, giving efficient support to the cause of Church education. He was much beloved by his neighbours and tenantry, both in Yorkshire and Ireland. He was A.D.C. to Queen Victoria and Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding, and commanded the 1st West York Yeomanry, for forty years. On the 20th, at Sheffield, aged 75, **Sir William Christopher Leng**. He began life as a wholesale chemist, but became leader-writer and reviewer for the *Dundee Advertiser*; bought, 1864, the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* in partnership with Mr. Frederick Clifford, raised it to a considerable position, his own writings and attacks on the abuses of trade unionism in Sheffield attracting great attention. In recognition of his services he was presented with his portrait and a purse of 600 guineas; he was knighted, 1887. On the 21st, at Vienna, aged 54, **Dr. Emil Holub**, an eminent African traveller, whose books, "Seven Years in South Africa," "The Colonisation of Africa," and "From Cape Town to the Mashukulumbé"—where he spent four years in 1883-7—have been translated into many languages. On the 23rd, in Kensington, aged 79, **Charles Kent**, poet and biographer. Edited issues of the works of famous authors, contributed to the "Dictionary of National Biography" and "Encyclopædia Britannica"; edited the *Sun*, 1845-70, and the *Weekly Register*, 1874-81. On the 24th, **General Sir Penrose Charles Penrose**. Born in 1822; served with the Royal Marines on the north coast of Spain, 1838, and in 1841-2 in China; in 1856 commanded the Royal Marines at the storming of the breach in the walls of Canton, for which and his services in the subsequent operations he was mentioned in despatches and received the brevet of Major; was again mentioned for his conduct in command of Royal Marine Battalion at the operations in Japan, 1864; he became General in 1879 and retired in 1887, when also he received the K.C.B., and in 1892 was awarded the Good Service Pension for general officers. On the 24th, killed in action, near Holspruit, Orange Colony, **Captain A. R. G. Begbie, R.F.A.**, who had taken part in many hard-fought actions in South Africa, and been mentioned in despatches. On the 26th, **Henry Gurdon Marquand**, a wealthy New York banker, born 1819. He used his riches largely in the patronage of

art, of which he possessed remarkable technical knowledge; largely owing to his efforts the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York was founded and a very large number of its treasures, including masterpieces by Italian, Dutch and English painters, were his gift to the public. On the 26th, aged 86, **Professor Maxwell Simpson**. He devoted his life to chemistry, living for many years in foreign universities for purposes of research; Professor of Chemistry in Queen's College, Cork, 1872-92. On the 26th, in London, aged 69, **Sir Thomas Villiers Lister**, s. of Thomas Henry Lister of Armitage Park, Staffordshire. Educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge; was a clerk in the Foreign Office and private secretary to Lord Clarendon for various periods; appointed Assistant Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1873, and made K.C.M.G., 1885. On the 26th, of enteric, at Bloemfontein, **Major N. E. Young, D.S.O.**, of the Royal Field Artillery, s. of Major-General Young, of Guildford; received the D.S.O. and brevet major for services in command of a battery of Horse Artillery with the Dongola Expeditionary Force, 1896, and in the late war was at Magersfontein, and with the force which captured Cronje. On the 28th, at Kew, aged 94, **Fourteenth Earl of Perth and Sixth of Melfort**. He held the titles of Viscount Melfort and Forth, Baron Drummond of Cargill, Baron Drummond of Stobhall and Montifex, Baron Drummond of Richertoun, Castlemaine and Galstoun, all in the peerage of Scotland; hereditary Thane of Lennox and Steward of Menteith and Strathearn; Duc de Melfort, Comte de Lussan, and Baron de Valrose in France. The Earldoms of Perth and Melfort were restored to him by special command of Queen Victoria, 1853. He married, first, Baroness Albertine de Rothberg, widow of General Comte Rapp, and secondly, Susan, widow of Colonel Burrowes of Dangan Castle, Meath, dau. of Mr. Thomas Sewell of Athenry. In February, **Sir John Colton**, former Premier of South Australia. Born in Devonshire, 1823; emigrated to South Australia at the age of sixteen; elected to the Legislative Assembly for Noarlunga, 1865; he held office in the Strangways Ministry, 1868-70, and in the Boucaut Ministry, 1875-6. In June of that year he became Premier and Commissioner of Public Works and held that position for a year; he was again Premier in 1884-5, and was gazetted K.C.M.G. in 1891. In February, **Francis Stevenson**, late chief engineer of the London and North-Western Railway Company; this post he occupied for more than twenty years from 1879, having risen to it from subordinate positions on the engineering staff of the Company. Born 1827. In February, **Lewis Sergeant**. Educated at St. Catherine's College, Cambridge; a valued member of the *Daily Chronicle* staff; editor of the *Educational Times*; author of several historical works, including "William Pitt" (1882), "A Study of John Wiclif" (1893), and "The Franks" (1898); was also an active organiser and writer in the interests of modern Greece, being honorary secretary since 1878 of the Greek Committee in London, and having been created for his services by King George Knight of the Greek Order of the Redeemer. In February, aged 72, **Madame Clémence Royer**. Educated at the Sorbonne and the Collège de France; shared with Prudhomme a Government prize for an essay on the "Theory of Taxation"; translated Darwin's "Origin of Species" into French, prefixing to it a remarkable essay of her own; was author of "Le Bien et la Loi Morale" (1881), "La Constitution du Monde" (1900), described by the *Times* Paris correspondent as "a brilliant and truly philosophical synthesis of the laws of atomic movements," and wrote many original memoirs on archæology and anthropology. Received, 1900, the Cross of the Legion of Honour which had been solicited for her five years previously by several eminent men of Science; was an ardent advocate of women's rights. In February, **Kosta Tauschanovitch**, Servian statesman, born 1851. Was imprisoned for some time with other Radical leaders for taking part in a rising, but in 1888 was President of the great Skupstchina for the reform of the constitution; in 1889 he was Premier and Minister of the Interior in the Radical Cabinet and he again held office as Minister of Agriculture, 1892-3. In February, at Torquay, aged 78, **Major-General Samuel Stallard**, late of Bengal Artillery. He saw service on the North-West Frontier, 1852-3 (mentioned in despatches); was present at the outbreak and destruction of the 51st Native Infantry in the Indian Mutiny. In February, in Glasgow, aged 50, **Dr. Robert Adamson**, s. of Robert Adamson. Educated in Edinburgh, where he had a very distinguished career at school and college; studied also at Heidelberg; he was elected Professor of Logic and Philosophy at Owens College, Manchester, 1876, Professor of Logic at Aberdeen, 1893, and Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in Glasgow, 1895; received honorary degree of LL.D. at the early age of thirty-one; wrote many articles on Kant and his Philosophy, a volume on Fichte, and a

"History of Psychology"; he was a great force in university matters, and was active in introducing reforms in Glasgow University. In February, in India, aged 62, **Sir Vikar-ul-Umra**. He represented the Shamsiya family, succeeding his cousin in the Premiership of Haidarabad 1893, which office he held till 1901.

MARCH.

The Right Hon. Cecil Rhodes.—On March 26, at Groote Schuur, his residence near Cape Town, after much suffering very bravely borne, there passed away, in his forty-ninth year, Cecil John Rhodes, who had played, for good and also for evil, one of the most striking and influential parts in the history of modern British Imperial development. The fourth son of the late Rev. F. W. Rhodes, Vicar of Bishop Stortford, in Hertfordshire, he was born on July 5, 1853. He received his education in the first instance at the Grammar School of Bishop Stortford, and was preparing for Oxford when his health, which had always been delicate, gave serious cause of alarm, and it was thought that a voyage to Natal, where one of his brothers had a farm, would do him good. Two years of open-air life in South Africa apparently made him a strong man; and in the same time he had gained, at the age of eighteen, financial independence—the result of a stay at the Kimberley diamond fields, which were then beginning to be worked. In 1872 he returned to England and matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford, reading simply for a pass degree and amusing himself with rowing and hunting. Again, however, his health broke down, and a chest specialist advised him to return to South Africa at once—"Not six months to live," being said to have been part of the doctor's entry in his case. In the autumn of 1873 Mr. Rhodes again sailed for the Cape; returned to Kimberley and spent some three years more in diamond-mining, with excellent results to his health and fortune. It should be mentioned here that his business transactions appear, latterly, at any rate, to have been, for the most part, of a solid character—having to do with genuine investments, not with gambling in stocks and shares. One who had the best reason for knowing remarked of him, in the last few years of his life, that he had a horror of speculation, adding: "He has a remarkable instinct, which amounts to genius, for investment, but in the Stock Exchange sense of the word—that is, buying and selling in a moving market—he never speculates." In 1876 he was back at

Oriel, and thenceforth "oscillated," as he put it, "between Oxford and Kimberley" till 1881, when he took his M.A. degree. It was during this period that he succeeded in the great business undertaking of amalgamating the larger number of the diamond mines at Kimberley with the De Beers Company, an operation which established his reputation as a practical financier, and secured him the large following in the City which ever afterwards remained attached to him, believing in his star, and also influenced by the touch of imagination which was associated with his financial undertakings. That money-making for its own sake, or for the sake of the luxuries or even the power it would secure, was never his aim is certain. When travelling slowly northward from Kimberley as far as Mafeking, during his first stay in South Africa, he had been deeply impressed by the possibilities of that country as a place of settlement for a white population, and had felt strongly that that unappropriated country ought to be secured for England.

This aspiration dominated his public life from the date when, early in 1881, he entered Cape politics as member for Barkly West in the Legislative Assembly. At that period, under the influence of the settlement made with the Transvaal Boers after Majuba Hill, British prestige was very low in South Africa, and Rhodes held it to be necessary for the furtherance of his projects to form an alliance with Mr. Hofmeyr and the Boer organisation known as the Afrikander Bond. His ideal was that of a great united self-governing South Africa from the Cape to the Zambesi, with Cape Colony as its leading State (or, perhaps, even absorbing all the others), but the whole as an integral part of the British Empire. The Bond were for a United South Africa, but their feeling towards Great Britain was in many cases one of resolute disloyalty, and in other cases the acceptance of the British flag as part of the future of the country was only inspired by a sense of the value of the naval protection of England. The suspicion, widely current for many years at home, that Rhodes's temper and aims differed little, if at all, from those

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of the Bond was essentially groundless, but was by no means inexcusable. He dwelt indeed from time to time on the flag, but he also made it appear not less decidedly that he was anxious for the Cape Colony and South Africa generally to be free from any Downing Street interference in regard to South African matters, and the native question in particular. He succeeded in rallying Cape Dutch as well as Cape English feeling against the lawless developments of a Republican outgrowth from the Transvaal into Bechuanaland in 1882-4, as cutting off the possibility of northward expansion for the Cape Colony, and he used such influence as he then had at home for the prevention of that issue. But it was largely due to the strenuous representations made in Great Britain by the Rev. John Mackenzie, a missionary with great knowledge of the natives, and a profound sense of Imperial duty to them, backed by Mr. Forster, that a strong military expedition was sent out in 1884, under Sir Charles Warren, to protect the Bechuana, who had stood by us in the war of 1880-1. In the result, after a conference at Fourteen Streams between Sir Charles Warren and President Kruger, at which Rhodes, who had succeeded Mr. Mackenzie as Resident in Bechuanaland, and Mr. Mackenzie were both present, it was agreed, without a shot having been fired, that Bechuanaland should be left unannexed to British possession.

The road for northward expansion was thus secured, but beyond ruling the friendly Bechuana tribes the Imperial Government was not for a long time prepared to add to its burdens in that region, and the Cape Colony was not strong enough to undertake responsibilities there. So it was that the British South Africa Company was evolved, under Rhodes's auspices, to carry out an effective occupation of Mashonaland, and received an Imperial Charter in 1890 giving it very large powers of administration. In the first instance the military element alone monopolised its operations. Mashonaland was occupied without any military towns were built, roads made, and railways dug up, and the produce appropriated it without the smallest share being paid to the natives who were ruled by British officers, and a British military force was stationed in a small Cape of Good Hope, waiting for Khartoum in 1898.

General Gordon telegraphed asking Rhodes to join him, the reply was that he could not do so now, his work being "mapped out," but that he hoped to meet him at Khartoum some day "from the south." In 1893 there came a war with Lobengula and the Matabele, who had been harrying the Mashonas, which resulted in the conquest and subjection of the more warlike tribesmen.

In the meantime, Rhodes had been a chief party to two singular politico-financial transactions. In 1888 he contributed 10,000*l.* to the funds of the Irish Home Rule party, but only, and very definitely, on the understanding that the Irish representation at Westminster should be continued. His object in this proceeding, which was the occasion of much unfavourable criticism of his motives and methods, was, as he subsequently explained to a friend, to aid in bringing the question of the federal union of the Empire to a practical issue. Two years later he contributed 5,000*l.* to the campaign funds of the Liberal party, then in the hands of Mr. Schreiner, on an assurance from that gentleman that if it came into office there would be no question of an abandonment of Egypt.

In the meantime, also, Rhodes had become in 1890 Premier of Cape Colony, in which position he was supported by the Dutch vote. Personally sympathetic towards the Dutch farmers, he secured them the protective duties they wanted, and they treated him as most benevolent intelligence the development of his northern projects. He carried through native legislation which they approved in respect of the extension of the franchise to the more advanced Kafirs, and acquiesced in, in respect of his interesting and important provisions for the organisation of individual tenure of land of natives and the gradual evolution of local self-government among them. Rhodes looked on the natives as destined to be kept firmly in their place, but still treated and also helped to grow. The arrangements in connection with the "bushveldts" of the native reserves at the Kimberley mines under his control have in the whole been approved by colonial authorities.

In 1895 Cecil Rhodes was on the recommendation of Lord Salisbury, admitted to the Privy Council, and shortly after received a peerage appointment to the magnitude of his Imperial services, but at the end of the same year his reputation as a far-seeing statesman was at the time at its

rate, utterly broken by the occurrence of the Raid from Mafeking into the Transvaal, under the leadership of his lieutenant, Dr. Jameson. That Rhodes did not order the Raid at that time, and would have stopped it if he could, was known, and was recognised by the Committee of the House of Commons which inquired into the subject and examined Mr. Rhodes at length in 1896; but they strongly censured him in their Report for "subsidising, organising, and stimulating an armed insurrection against the Government of the South African Republic, and employing the forces and resources of the Chartered Company to support such a revolution"; and no other conclusion was possible. Moreover, he did all this while Prime Minister of the Cape, and deceived the Governor and High Commissioner. Rhodes raised no question as to his moral responsibility for the Raid. The grounds which he stated before the Committee of the House of Commons for the part he had played were, mainly, that as one largely interested in the Transvaal he shared the despair of the British population of the Rand gold fields as to the possibility of obtaining redress of their serious grievances against Mr. Kruger's Government by constitutional means; and that he believed that the policy of the Transvaal Government was "to introduce the influence of another foreign Power into the already complicated system of South Africa, and thereby render more difficult in future the close union of the several States."

The Imperial Government declined to prosecute Mr. Rhodes or to remove him from the Privy Council. He himself promptly resigned the Premiership of the Cape Colony, and applied himself to the affairs of the Chartered Company. In 1896 a fierce insurrection arose among the Matabele, induced, there seemed good reason to believe, in large measure by mismanagement and even harsh treatment, for which he was not personally responsible, but which he should have been aware of and prevented. He went far to atone for any shortcomings in that connection by the singularly courageous manner in which he threw himself, without arms or escort, into the power of the native chiefs and their followers, and by his personal influence brought about a peaceful settlement. The opinions he expressed in 1899, as to the unlikelihood of President Kruger pushing matters to extremes if the British Government were firm in their demands, again reflected unfavourably

on his judgment, but the spirit in which he threw himself into Kimberley just before the siege and exerted himself for the strengthening of the defence and the mitigation of its hardships to the resident population won general sympathy. It was generally held that he had an important part to play in the future of South Africa, and the prevailing opinion at home and to some extent among the Cape Dutch, as well as the English Colonists, was that he had learned the lessons of his own faults and blunders. His private habits were simple and his generosity to individuals large. He was not always scrupulous as to the persons he employed, or as to the means by which he secured their services. But even before his death, and still more in the light of his remarkable will (see pp. 104-6 in the first part of this volume), it was recognised that his ideals were lofty and his purposes in accumulating wealth the absolute reverse of narrow-minded or self-seeking. It should be added that in 1899, notwithstanding the opposition of a certain number of influential local graduates, the University of Oxford conferred on Mr. Rhodes the honorary degree of D.C.L., to which he had been nominated in the year preceding the Jameson Raid.

The Right Hon. Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.B.I.—An Anglo-Indian administrator of very high distinction was Sir Richard Temple, who died at his residence, Heath Brow, Hampstead Heath, on March 15, at the age of 76. He was the eldest son of Mr. Richard Temple, of The Nash, Hempsey, Worcestershire, whose grandfather, William Dickon, of Shenton, Salop, had married a daughter and co-heiress of Sir William Temple, fifth baronet, of Stowe, and taken the name and arms of that famous family. Young Richard Temple's mother was the sister of Sir James Rivett-Carnac, Governor of Bombay, and after several years at Rugby he went, with a view to an Indian career, to Haileybury, whence he passed out as head student, and sailed for India in 1846. He had not been long in India before he came under the notice of John Lawrence, then engaged in the establishment of British administration in the recently conquered Punjab, who, after giving him one or two local appointments, made him his private secretary. In that capacity, having an immense power of work, and a singular gift in the composition of state papers, Temple was of invaluable service to his chief. His subsequent rise

was steady and rapid. In 1860 he was appointed assistant to James Wilson, the Finance Member of Council. During the next few years he became successively Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, and Resident at Hyderabad—a highly coveted but very arduous post. Successful in the fulfilment of its duties, and made K.C.S.I. in 1867, Temple became Foreign Secretary to the Indian Government in 1868. After only a few months of service in that post, however, he was made Finance Member of Council, in which capacity he had to deal with the problem of lean years, and incurred great unpopularity through the repeated imposition of an income-tax, which, however, he was able to reduce in 1872, and dispense with in 1873. But, in the latter year, there was a very extensive failure of crops in Bengal, and having been, in January, 1874, appointed by Lord Northbrook Special Famine Commissioner for Behar, in April Temple succeeded Sir George Campbell as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. By the order of the Supreme Government no cost was spared, and, with lavish expenditure, the famine, under Sir R. Temple's energetic administration, was grappled with very successfully. He was made a baronet in 1876, and at the end of that year went as Famine Commissioner to Southern India to discharge the painful, though in the opinion of Lord Lytton's Government necessary, duty of checking wasteful relief expenditure. He was then appointed Governor of Bombay, and while there displayed his characteristic energy conspicuously in connection with the construction of the Quetta railway, so much needed for the use of the troops in Southern Afghanistan in the war of 1878-80. In the latter year he retired in order to enter public life at home. Defeated in 1880 as a Conservative candidate for East Worcestershire, by Mr. Herbert Colvile, he sat for the Preston Division, 1885-88 and 1890-5 for the Kingston Division of Surrey. He attended Parliament with the greatest assiduity, and though not very successful as a speaker, was distinguished as an administrator, and especially in Indian affairs. In 1892 he was appointed Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee of the House of Commons, and was in the same capacity in 1894 and 1895. He was also in 1894 and 1895 a member of the Select Committee on the Indian Revenue. In 1896 he was appointed a member of the Select Committee on the Indian Revenue. In 1896 he was appointed a member of the Select Committee on the Indian Revenue.

our public work which shows some of his later years, he added the production of several books, mostly relating to his Indian experiences. He was President of the Royal Geographical Society. Sir Richard Temple married first, in 1849, Charlotte Frances, daughter of Mr. Benjamin Martin, who died in 1855, and secondly, in 1871, Mary Augusta, daughter of Mr. C. R. Lindsay, of the Punjab High Court.

Lieutenant-General Sir Andrew Clarke—Another life of Imperial service as highly distinguished as, and even more varied than, Sir Richard Temple's was that of Sir Andrew Clarke, who died at his residence in Portland Place on March 29, in his seventy-eighth year. The son of Colonel Andrew Clarke, of Belmont, Donegal, the first Governor of Western Australia, he was educated at King's School, Canterbury, and at Woolwich, and obtained a commission in the Royal Engineers in 1844. Having acted as A.D.C. to Sir William Denison, Governor of Tasmania, he proceeded to New Zealand to take part in the Maori War, and served for some years on the staff of Sir George Grey, who was very sorry when he left him for the appointment of Surveyor-General to Victoria. There, besides his professional work, he took a prominent part in framing the Victorian Constitution, the draft of which, as his pride, was adopted by the home Government without alteration. Entering the Legislative Assembly for Melbourne, he was Minister for Public Lands for two years, but then, declining an invitation to form an Administration of his own, he returned to England. For nine years he was Director of Works for the Navy, and under his auspices very important undertakings were carried out at several of the chief naval ports at home and abroad. Then followed a total change of occupation, Clarke being appointed, in 1875, Governor of the Straits Settlements, where his tenure of office was very successful, being signalled through his firmness and tact by the agreement of the heads of the Malay States to the Treaty of Pangkor, to accept British Residency. From 1875 to 1884 he was Minister of Public Works in India, where among other valuable services he was instrumental in the provision of a new water supply to Calcutta. In 1884 he went to England, and was made a member of the Select Committee on the Indian Revenue. In 1884 he was appointed a member of the Select Committee on the Indian Revenue.

first bridging battalion in that corps, and took the necessary steps to ensure at all times a proper complement of trained artisans. In 1882 he rose to the very important position of Inspector-General of Fortifications, which he held for four years with great advantage to the national security against attack. In 1886 Sir Andrew Clarke, who had become K.C.M.G. in 1873, and G.C.M.G. in 1885, retired as Lieutenant-General. Only two months before his death, however, he was restored to the active list of the Army by being appointed Colonel-Commandant of the Royal Engineers. In the meantime he had unsuccessfully contested Chatham in 1886, and again in 1893, as a supporter of Home Rule for Ireland, on which question, however, according to the *Times* biography, he subsequently modified his views in an Imperialist direction. For most of his last years and at the time of his death, Sir Andrew Clarke occupied the post of Agent-General to the Colony of Victoria, with which, as has been seen, he was connected in the early part of his career. He married a daughter of Mr. Charles MacKillop, of Bath.

M. Tisza.—On March 23rd, there died at Budapesth, Koloman Tisza, the eminent Hungarian Liberal statesman. Born of a noble family, December 10, 1830, he was intended for the Civil Service, but went abroad after the crushing of Hungarian liberties in 1849 to complete his education, and travelled for some years; was first known in politics as a leading opponent of the Imperial policy embodied in the patent for the regulation of the hitherto autonomous Protestant churches. He was resolutely bent on the recovery of the Constitution of 1848, and deprecated the acceptance of smaller concessions as sufficient. To the Reichstag convoked in 1861 Tisza was returned for the town of Debreczin; elected as the first Vice-President of the Parliament, and became leader of a section of Liberals somewhat more advanced in their methods, though not in their constitutional aims, than those led by Francis Déak. During the renewed suspension of Hungarian political life, as the result of addresses presented to the Emperor asking for the restoration of the old Constitution, with full Hun-

garian autonomy, Tisza wrote powerfully in a journal, founded by Maurice Jokai, advocating, among other things, free trade, free industry, and free intercourse of peoples. He was an active member of the Reichstag convoked in 1865, and when at last, after the Austrian disasters of 1866, the 1848 Constitution was restored, and the Déak party supported the Ministry formed under Count Julius Andrassy, Tisza and his party became the Opposition. He strongly denounced, however, some socialist and agrarian disturbances in 1869, and was often offered Ministerial office. He always declined these offers, until 1875, when on the formation of the Wenckheim coalition Cabinet he became Minister of the Interior, and his and the Déak parties became united in support of that Administration. After a few months the Premier, Baron Bela Wenckheim, retired, and (October, 1875) M. Tisza succeeded him. He retained the portfolio of the Interior for several years, and also for a considerable time managed the national finances, which he succeeded in placing on a sound basis. His loyal and strenuous devotion to the public interests and his high capacity secured his retention of the Premiership for more than fourteen years. During that period he twice renewed the *Ausgleich* with Austria, vigorously promoted railway extension, and used his influence against Russia and Pan Slavism in 1876-8, and for the maintenance of the Berlin Treaty and Bulgarian independence, 1887. On his retirement, 1890, the Emperor Francis Joseph expressed the highest appreciation of his public services. He remained in Parliament, wielding a dominant influence over his party, and being chairman of important committees, and in the Hungarian Delegation, in which he was President of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. He was a leading member of the Calvinist Church, and a resolute opponent of Clericalism. A very decided Liberal, he had wielded a powerful influence in support of the existing constitutional relations between Hungary and Austria. His high personal character combined with his political ability to secure for him in a marked degree the respect of his countrymen.

On the 2nd, killed in action at Doornlaagte, **Captain Percy Neville Field**, of the Scottish Horse, who enlisted as a trooper in the Natal Mounted Rifles at the beginning of the war, and won his way to a captain's commission by sheer gallantry and hard fighting, being severely wounded in no fewer than four engagements, beginning with Elandslaagte. On the 2nd, at his residence in Herefordshire, **Thomas Duckham**, a well-known agriculturist and agricultural writer, who

had represented Herefordshire in the House of Commons as a Liberal, 1884-5, and North Herefordshire, 1885-6. On the 2nd, at Roeliff Hall, Leicestershire, **William Unwin Heygate**. Born, 1825; second s. of Sir William Heygate, 2nd baronet; educated at Eton and Merton College, Oxford; sat as Conservative for Leicester in the House of Commons, 1861-5, and for South Leicestershire, 1870-4. M., 1852, Constance Mary, only dau. of Sir George Beaumont, eighth baronet, at Cole Orton Hall, Leicestershire. On the 2nd, at Clapham, aged 62, **John Francis Bentley**, architect of the new Roman Catholic Cathedral at Westminster. The Royal Gold Medal had been voted to him by the Royal Institute of British Architects, of which he was not a member, but it had not been presented before his death. On the 3rd, aged 65, **George Tansley, M.A.** He joined the Working Men's College in Great Ormond Street the year after its foundation, 1855, and maintained his connection with it throughout his life, teaching there gratuitously for many years and superintending the whole of its educational work as Dean of Studies. He succeeded to a business when very young, and carried it on very successfully till 1884, when he gave it up to devote his whole energies to the Great Ormond Street College. On the 4th, aged 67, **Bryan Donkin**. He was an eminent engineer, working in his family's firm in Bermondsey and inventing several improvements in steam engines, including a "steam-revealer." On the 6th, at Liverpool, aged 83, **William Rathbone**. Worked in his father's firm in Liverpool after visiting the United States; was chairman of the Liverpool Liberal Association, and sat as Liberal minority member for Liverpool, 1868-80, for Carnarvonshire, 1880-5, and for North Carnarvonshire, 1885-95. He took an active part in passing the Bankruptcy Bill, 1869, and with Mr. Samuel Whitbread and Mr. R. S. Wright drew up a comprehensive scheme for the remodelling of Local Government. He took great interest in temperance and licensing reform, and undertook to obtain information on those subjects by sending Mr. E. L. Fanshawe to study and report on their progress in America. He founded and supported a system of nursing the poor of Liverpool in their homes, with a training school and home for nurses, and helped to start the movement for obtaining trained nursing in workhouse infirmaries. He was vice-president and afterwards president of University College, Liverpool, and took an active part in promoting many philanthropic works in and near Liverpool. He married, first, a dau. of Mr. S. S. Gair of Liverpool, and second, Emily, daughter of Mr. Acheson Lyle of The Oaks, Londonderry. On the 6th, at Hyères, **Lord Malcolm of Poltalloch**, the first and last holder of the title. Born, 1833, John Wingfield Malcolm, s. of the late John Malcolm of Poltalloch; educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. Sat as Conservative for Boston, 1860-80, and 1886-92 for Argyleshire; was raised to the Peerage, 1896. M., first, 1861, a daughter of the fourth Lord Boston, and secondly, 1897, the widow of Mr. H. Gardner Lister of the United States, but had no son by either marriage. On the 7th, at Guildford, **Lieutenant-General John Patrick Redmond, C.B.**, uncle of Messrs. John and William Redmond, M.P.s. Born, 1824; served throughout the Punjab campaign, 1848-9 (medal with two clasps); took part in the forcing of the Kohat Pass, 1850, under Sir Colin Campbell (medal with clasps); was severely wounded in command of a detachment of the 61st Regiment, which repulsed the attack of the mutinous Sepoys on the magazine of Ferozepore, 1857; and served at the siege and capture of Delhi (medal with clasps and C.B.). On the 7th, both aged 21, killed while gallantly serving their guns during the attack on Lord Methuen's column near Tweebosch, Transvaal, **Lieutenant Gordon Ralph Venning**, who had already won the D.S.O., and **Lieutenant Thomas Peere Williams Nesham**, both of the Royal Field Artillery. In the same engagement fell **Colonel John Gerald Wilson, C.B.**, of Cliffe Hall, near Darlington, commanding the 3rd (Militia) Battalion York and Lancaster Regiment, with which, though over sixty years of age, he had gone out when it volunteered for active service in December, 1901; had been made C.B. for his services to the auxiliary forces. M., 1873, Angelina, dau. of the Rev. and Hon. H. O'Brien. Also on the same occasion, **Lieutenant G. Hartley**, of Steinaecker's Horse, who had obtained his commission from the ranks of Paget's Horse. On the 8th, aged 91, **Admiral Charles Luxmoor Hockin**. After being present as Lieutenant of the *Dido* at the capture of Djebel (Syrian and Turkish medals), he did excellent and dangerous service on the West Coast of Africa, 1844-6, in suppressing the slave trade (promoted Commander). In command of the *Colossus* in the Baltic in the Russian War, he was wounded and promoted Captain, in which rank he retired, 1864, and became Admiral, 1884. On the 8th, in London, aged 67, **Dr. Lumsden Propert**, a successful and accomplished physician, also widely known for his study of miniatures, modern and ancient. He wrote a "History of Miniature Art," and was a recognised authority

on that and other arts. On the 12th, **Major Walter Henry Beaumont**, a veteran of the Mutiny campaigns, including the relief and defence of Lucknow; was mentioned in despatches for services in command of the transport train in the Abyssinian war, 1868. On the 13th, at Keswick, **Robert Pendlebury**. Born at Liverpool, 1848; educated, first, at Liverpool Royal Collegiate Institute; Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge; Senior Wrangler, 1870, also Senior University Scholar for Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the University of London, where he also graduated; Fellow of St. John's College and University Lecturer in Mathematics; was a distinguished Alpine climber and an accomplished pianist, and promoted the study of music in the University. On the 14th, at Upper Norwood, aged 73, **Surgeon-General Sir William Guyer Hunter**. Educated at King's College, London, and Aberdeen University; entered the Bombay medical department, and served in the second Burmese war and Indian Mutiny; subsequently was Principal and Professor of Medicine in the Grant Medical College, Bombay, and Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University. Sat in the Conservative interest for Central Hackney, 1885-92. On the 15th, at Sydenham Hill, **Nicholas Chevalier**, a naturalised Swiss. He lived in Australia and New Zealand, where he did much work in water-colour, and was a promoter of the first Australian Art Gallery at Melbourne and honorary purchaser for the Sydney gallery for twenty-three years. On the 17th, in Bombay, aged 72, **Dosabhoj Framjee, C.S.I.** He was manager of the *Bombay Times*; censor of the vernacular Press in Bombay, 1857; published a book, "The Parsis," 1858, a standard authority on the subject; was third magistrate, 1864, and second magistrate, 1874. On the 19th, in London, aged 81, **Dr. Charles Pierre Henri Rieu**, formerly Professor of Arabic and Persian at University College, London; Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University since 1894; he published catalogues of the Persian and Turkish MSS. at the British Museum. On the 21st, aged 75, **Colonel Andrew Green**. He served with the Rifle Brigade in the Indian Mutiny, in which he was severely wounded, and was mentioned in Lord Clyde's despatches, and thanked by the Governor-General in Council. On the 24th, at Baghdad, aged 83, **Surgeon-Captain George Ramsay**; since 1896 Residency Surgeon and Assistant Political Agent at Baghdad, after doing good service as medical officer in the Chitral campaign, and having charge for two years of the heir of the Sikkim State. His early death, caused by heart failure, after severe fever, cut short a promising career. On the 25th, at Culford, Coonoor, South India, aged 81, **Right Rev. Frederick Gell, D.D.**, s. of Rev. Philip Gell. He was a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and worked for ten years as tutor and lecturer of Christ's College; became Bishop of Madras, 1861, and held that office for thirty-seven years, resigning it in 1898. During his episcopate the diocese of Tinnevely was (1896) taken out of that of Madras. On the 26th, at Fulbrook, Elsted, Surrey, aged 38, **Captain Eric Streatfeild**, fifth s. of Henry Dorian Streatfeild, of Chiddingstone, Kent; took a prominent part as Captain in the Gordon Highlanders in the defence of Ladysmith, being mentioned in despatches, and awarded the D.S.O. On the 26th, **Robert Romney Kane, LL.D.** Born, 1842; s. of Sir Robert Kane, a distinguished scientist; Professor (1873) of Equity, Jurisprudence and International Law at the King's Inns, Dublin; an authority on Irish agrarian legislation. He was one of the first two legal sub-Commissioners under the Land Act of 1881; from 1892 till his death was County Court Judge and Chairman of Quarter Sessions for Kildare, Carlow, Wicklow and Wexford. On the 27th, in Glasgow, **Archbishop Eyre**, s. of John Lewis Eyre. Educated at Ushaw College and at Rome. He worked in Newcastle as assistant and senior priest. In 1868 he was sent to Scotland as Vicar-General; became Archbishop for the western districts; received title of Archbishop of Glasgow, 1878. On the 28th, at Cairo, aged 55, **William Stephen Temple-Gore-Langton**, fourth **Earl Temple** of Stowe, eldest s. of William Henry Powell Gore-Langton. Sat as a Conservative for Mid-Somerset, 1878-85; succeeded to the Earldom of Temple on the death of his uncle, the third Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. He m., 1870, Helen Mabel, dau. of Sir Graham Graham-Montgomery. On the 28th, at Hanover, aged 81, **Prince Münster von Derneburg**, formerly German Ambassador in London. Born in London, where his father was Hanoverian Minister at the court of George IV., he entered the Hanoverian diplomatic service, and was Hanoverian Minister in St. Petersburg, 1856-64. During the crisis of 1866, Count Münster, as he then was, exerted himself in vain to bring about an understanding between Prussia and Hanover. Subsequently, however, he freely admitted the ascendancy of Prussia as essential to the salvation of Germany; sat in the Reichstag, 1867-73, and was then chosen by Prince Bismarck to succeed Count Bernstorff as German Ambassador at the British Court. The

remaining years of his life were spent successively at the German embassies in London and Paris. He also represented Germany at the Hague Conference. The Emperor highly valued his diplomatic services, and in 1899 raised him to the rank of Prince. He was twice married; first, 1874, to the Dowager Princess Dolgorouki, *née* Galitzin; and second, in 1865, to Lady Elizabeth St. Clair Erskine. On the 29th, aged 79, **George Fergusson Wilson, F.R.S., F.L.S.** For more than forty years noted as a cultivator of lilies. He discovered the means of obtaining pure glycerine. On the 29th, in London, aged 64, **Sir Sidney Godolphin Shippard, K.C.M.G.**, eldest s. of Captain William Shippard, late 2nd regiment. Educated at King's College School, and Oriel and Hertford Colleges Oxford; called to the Bar, 1867. After holding legal posts in Griqualand, sat as Judge of the Supreme Court of Cape Colony, 1880-5, acting also as British Commissioner on the Anglo-German Commission for settling the Angra Pequena and West Coast claims. From 1885-95 was administrator of British Bechuanaland and resident Commissioner for the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Kalahari. During his term of office, as he stated in a speech at the Colonial Institute, 1896, the law prohibiting the sale of liquor to the natives was most strictly enforced with the happiest results on their prosperity and behaviour. In January, 1906, Sir Sidney Shippard, who had obtained the K.C.M.G. for his services in Bechuanaland, supported the appeal addressed by Sir Jacobus de Wet to the Johannesburgers to disarm, and so supported the appeal was successful. On the 30th, **George Anthony Hawtayne, C.M.G.**, Administrator-General of British Guiana, 1883-99. On the 31st, at Camberg, near Wiesbaden, aged 64, **Dr. Lieber**, leader of the Centre party in the Reichstag; from 1871 was one of the most active members of the Democratic wing of the Ultramontane party in the Reichstag, and sometime after the death of Dr. Windthorst, in 1891, was able to establish his claim to the reversion of the leadership of the party as a whole, of which he succeeded in preserving the powerful parliamentary position. On the 31st, aged 62, **Lieutenant-Colonel John Gilbert**. For thirty years member of the Lichfield Corporation, and three times Mayor; connected for twenty years with the 2nd V.B. North Staffordshire Regiment, from which he retired with field rank. He completed the purchase of Dr. Johnson's house, 1900, and presented it to the town. On the 31st, at Montreal, **Hon. Alexander Walter Ogilvie**. For many years head of a great flour business in Canada; represented Montreal West in the Legislative Assembly, 1867-71, and 1875-8; received a seat in the Federal Senate, 1881; Lieutenant-Colonel Montreal Cavalry. In March, **Rev. George Vance Smith, Ph.D.**, a learned Unitarian; was Tutor and Theological Professor at Manchester College, York, and also Minister of a chapel in that city; Principal of the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, 1876-88; published "The Prophecies Relating to Nineveh and the Assyrians," and other works. He was invited to join the revisers of the New Testament in 1870, his presence among them arousing much criticism and resentment at the time. In March, **Venerable John Palmer, B.D.**, acting head of the Melanesian Mission. He had devoted his whole ministerial life to Melanesia, as missionary in Norfolk Island, becoming head of the Mission, 1892-4, and Archdeacon of Southern Melanesia from 1894. In March, in Japan, **Archdeacon Alexander Croft Shaw**, missionary in Japan from 1873; for twenty-one years chaplain to the British Legation in Tokio. In March, at Blackmore Park, near Malvern, aged 84, **John Vincent Hornyold**, lord of the manor of Hanley Castle, Worcester; Marquis and Count Gandolfi of the Genoese Republic; Marquis of Montecrescenzo and Melati of the Duchy of Mantua; Count of Gazzein and Chiosanica; s. of John Vincent Gandolfi; he assumed his mother's name on succeeding to her Worcestershire estates. M., 1846. Charlotte Mary, dau. of the Hon. Charles Langdale. In March, **Sir Hugh Edward Adair**, third baronet of Flixton Hall, Suffolk. Born, 1815; educated at Harrow and St. John's College, Oxford; sat for Ipswich as a Liberal, 1847-74. In March, **Captain Gaetano Casati**. Born, 1838; fought under Cialdini in the campaign of 1866. In later years was well known as an African explorer. After travelling through the Bahr-el-Gazal district, he explored the country of the Niam-Niam and the Monbuttu, and in 1883 in company with Dr. Junker joined Emin Pasha at Lado, and stood by him in his struggle against Mahdism. After many adventures was ultimately relieved with Emin by the expedition under Sir H. M. Stanley; afterwards published "Dieci Anni in Equatoria." In March, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, **Professor James Bradley Thayer**, an eminent American authority on constitutional law and the law of evidence. Born, 1831; after very successful practice at the Boston Bar, he retired, 1874, to accept the Royall Professorship of Law in Harvard University; in 1893 he was promoted to the Weld Professorship, which he held till his death; was the author of numer-

ous legal works. In March, at Karachi, aged 80, **Major-General Edward Charles Marston**, who at the battle of the Meeanee, 1843, encountered and slew with his sword three huge Beluchis who were making for the General, Sir Charles Napier. He was subsequently Commandant of Police in Scinde; Major-General, 1891. In March, killed in action at Dehoop, **Lieutenant H. H. Ward**, promoted from driver to bombardier in the C.I.V. Battery of the Honourable Artillery Company in 1900, and mentioned in despatches; came home; went out again, 1901, as private in Bethune's Horse, and obtained commission in Imperial Yeomanry.

APRIL.

The Earl of Kimberley, K.G.—John Wodehouse, first Earl of Kimberley, was born in 1826, the eldest son of the Hon. Henry Wodehouse, by his marriage with Miss Anne Gordon. Succeeding his grandfather as third Baron Wodehouse in 1846, he passed his whole adult life as a member of the Upper House. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, he took a first class in *Litt. Hum.* in 1847, and in the same year married Lady Florence Fitzgibbon, daughter and co-heir of the last Earl of Clare. Having served as Under-Foreign Secretary in the Administrations of Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston, through the time of the Crimean War, he was selected in 1863 for the mission of promoting a peaceful settlement of the Schleswig-Holstein question, but it did not offer the conditions of success. Under-Secretary for India, for a few months, in 1864—the first year of Lord Lawrence's Viceroyalty—he was, in October, appointed Viceroy of Ireland. His tenure of office there included the suppression of the Fenian movement, which was conducted by Lord Wodehouse with much energy and resolution, and on his retirement from Dublin he was created Earl of Kimberley in recognition of his services at an anxious period. In 1868 Lord Kimberley became Lord Privy Seal in Mr. Gladstone's first Administration; but in 1870 he took over the Colonial Office. There his occupation was marked by important events in colonial development, including the grant of responsible government to Cape Colony, and the passage of the British North America Act, providing for the formation of new provinces, and the establishment of a Federal Dominion from Atlantic to Pacific. Much less happy was his second term at the Colonial Office, when Mr. Gladstone returned to power in 1880. It included the first Transvaal War, and the peace which followed the British defeats at Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill. For this policy, of course, the whole Cabinet were re-

sponsible, but Lord Kimberley was its executive agent, and he energetically defended it. Passing in 1882 to the India Office, Lord Kimberley was associated with the British withdrawal from Kandahar, which, though unpopular at the time, has been vindicated by the course of events and by the best opinion. On the other hand he recognised the necessity of a firm attitude towards Russia in regard to the Afghan frontier, and later, when out of office, he approved the policy which resulted in the annexation of Upper Burmah. He was again Secretary for India in Mr. Gladstone's short-lived Government of 1885-6, and, once more, in that statesman's fourth Administration, formed in 1892, besides becoming then Lord President of the Council. He agreed reluctantly to the policy urged upon him by the Indian Government of checking the depreciation of silver—by which Indian finances were so much damaged—by closing the Indian mints and restricting for a time the sale of Council bills. On Mr. Gladstone's retirement Lord Kimberley became Foreign Secretary under Lord Rosebery. In that capacity he was unfortunate in the negotiation of a territorial agreement with the Congo Free State, to the execution of which strong objections were raised by both Germany and France. On the other hand, by refusing to join in pressure upon Japan after her victorious war with China, Lord Kimberley and his chief facilitated the subsequent development of friendly relations, and ultimately of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. He led the Liberal minority in the House of Lords after Lord Rosebery's retirement (as he had done from Lord Granville's death till Lord Rosebery became Premier), and in that difficult position he maintained an attitude of dignity, and a sober and patriotic, but not ineffective criticism of Unionist policy. Lord Kimberley was universally liked and respected, and those who knew him and his work best had a very high opinion of his ability.

On the 1st, killed in action near Boschman's Kop, **Major John Charles Arthington Walker**, of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, who had served with the 13th Hussars in the Soudan Expedition, 1884 (medal with clasps), and Nile Expedition, 1884-5. On the 1st, at Winchester, aged 82, **General William Charles Forrest, C.B.**, of Lieutenant-Colonel William Forrest. He served with the 4th Dragoon Guards in the Crimean Campaign, 1854-5, taking part in the heavy charge at Balaklava and battle of Inkerman. In 1855 he was in command of the 4th Royal Irish Dragoons, and received the medal with three clasps and brevet of lieutenant-colonel. On the 1st, **Rev. Robert Williams**, Rector of Llanfaelog, Anglesey, and Hon. Canon of Bangor. Born 1814. Aided in establishing in the 'forties the North Wales Training College at Carmarthen, and through life generously helped the education of poor young men desiring to take Holy Orders. On the 5th, at London, aged 67, **Major-General Sir John F. D. Donnelly**. He served with the Royal Engineers in the Crimea, being twice mentioned in despatches, and receiving the medal and the ribbon of the Legion of Honour. He was seconded, 1857, for duties on the grounds of the South Kensington Museum, and remained there till 1884, when he was made Secretary to the Science and Art Department, a post he held till he retired in 1899. He was a faithful and active public servant, but not regarded as an influence making for educational progress. On the 5th, at Ashford, Kent, aged 71, **Professor John M. D. Meiklejohn**. Educated at Edinburgh. Gold Medal for Latin. He was Assistant Commissioner to the Endowed Schools Commission for Scotland, 1874, and first occupant (1876) of the chair of Education in St. Andrews University. He wrote many school books on history, geography and literature. On the 8th, at Barmouth, aged 82, **Rev. Robert Owen**, an authority on canon law, author of "Institutes of Canon Law," "The Kymry: Their Origin, History and International Relations," and other works. On the 11th, aged 84, **General Wade Hampton**, who took a prominent part on the side of the South in the Civil War. He enlisted as a private, but raised a command, which was known as Hampton's Legion, and was successful in several actions. He was made a Major-General, 1864, and continued to fight till the end of the war. He afterwards engaged in cotton-planting in his native State, South Carolina, where he was nominated as Governor against Mr. Daniel Chamberlain, 1876; each claiming to be elected, two Governments were organised, till Mr. Chamberlain resigned. After the war his policy to the negroes was conciliatory. He was elected to the Senate, 1878, as Conservative Democrat. On the 13th, at Washington, aged 70, **Dr. De Witt Talmage**, a well-known Presbyterian preacher. He was pastor of several churches in the States, before he accepted, 1869, the pastorate of the Central Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn. His preaching attracted enormous crowds, and his church was three times rebuilt after being destroyed by fire. He visited Europe 1870, 1879, 1885 and 1889, where his preaching made considerable stir. His sermons were published regularly for several years in numerous journals; he also published several works. On the 13th, at Newton Abbot, aged 89, **Sir Thomas Lawrence Seccombe, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., C.B.**, s. of John Seccombe, of Trewinnow. He entered the service of the East India Company, 1829, in the department of auditor of Indian accounts; was employed in financial and economic reforms under Lord William Bentinck's Administration; was appointed Assistant Secretary in the Financial Department of the India Office, 1858; rising through the office of Assistant Secretary of State to that of Financial Secretary, which he resigned, 1879, after fifty years' service. On the 15th, in London, aged 74, **Sir Edward Temperley Gourley**, a leading shipowner at Sunderland; three times Mayor of that town, and its representative in the Liberal interest, 1868-1900. On the 17th, at Epinay-sur-Seine, aged 80, **Don Francisco d'Assisi**, ex-King of Spain, s. of the Infante Francisco de Paul, Duke of Cadiz, brother of King Ferdinand VII. M., 1846, Queen Isabella II. of Spain; retired to Paris, 1868, and lived in retirement at Epinay after formal separation from the Queen, 1870. On the 17th, **Inspector-General Alexander Watson, M.D.** After serving in the Crimean War was mentioned in despatches for services at the capture of the Pei-ho forts, 1858; was wounded (1859) at the second attack on the same forts. Removed the bullet from the Duke of Edinburgh on the occasion of the attempted assassination of H.R.H. at Sydney, 1868, and attended the Duke till his recovery, for which service he was specially promoted and subsequently served on the Duke's staff. On the 19th, at Greiz, aged 56, **Prince Henry XXII. of Reuss** (elder line). He maintained undisguised enmity against Prussia, and always opposed her policy in the Federal Council. At the end of the war, 1860, Reuss-Greiz was allowed to retain its political independence on payment of an indemnity of 300,000 marks. He m., 1872, Princess Ida of Schaumburg-Lippe. On the 19th, **Captain William Elliot**

Cairnes, Secretary to the Committee on the Education and Training of Officers, and a well-known writer of books on military subjects, including "The Absent-Minded War," "The Army from Within," etc. He obtained his lieutenant's commission in the 2nd Battalion Royal Irish Fusiliers, 1884. On the 20th, at Oxford, aged 88, **Prebendary George Druce Wynne Ommanney**, formerly Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge; held successively several curacies and livings in Wilts and Somerset, and was the author of a number of works, dealing chiefly with the Athanasian Creed. On the 21st, at Swanage, aged 80, **Rev. Henry Pix**, a Wrangler and Third Class Classic, at Cambridge, 1843; Senior Mathematical Master at Marlborough College, 1847-55; Second Master, 1855-72; and Head Master, 1872-5, of Wimborne Grammar School; and Rector, 1875-87, of Minterne Magna. On the 22nd, in London, aged 67, **Phillip Richard Morris, A.R.A.**, s. of an ironfounder at Devonport. He devoted himself to art from the age of twenty-two, and had a brilliant career as student. He exhibited at Burlington House for many years; was elected Associate, 1877, painting chiefly subject pictures and portraits. On the 23rd, **Gerald Geoghegan**, a barrister with extensive practice in criminal and licensing cases. On the 24th, in Dublin, aged 75, **Sir Malcolm Inglis**, President of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce; Commissioner of National Education for Ireland; head of the firm of Heiton & Co., iron and coal merchants, and Secretary to the Liberal Union of Ireland. On the 27th, aged 70, **Julius Sterling Morton**. He made his home at Nebraska City, 1854, then only a village, and did much to encourage forestry and agriculture in his State. He was several times an unsuccessful candidate for the State Legislature or for Congress, being a strong opponent of protection, of the paper money movement and the silver craze; was Secretary of Agriculture in President Cleveland's second Cabinet. On the 28th, at Government House, St. Lucia, aged 45, **Sir Harry Langhorne Thompson, K.C.M.G.**, s. of Sir Ralph Thompson, K.C.B. Educated at Winchester; had been Assistant Commissioner and Commissioner of Paphos, Cyprus, and Chief Secretary to the Government of Cyprus before he was appointed, 1895, Administrator of St. Vincent. In 1898 the island was devastated by a hurricane, the results of which he did much to alleviate. He was appointed Administrator of St. Lucia, 1900. In April, at Wimbledon, **William M'Kinley Osborne**, Consul-General of the United States in London since 1897, and a cousin of the late President M'Kinley. In April, at Washington, aged 68, **Francis Richard Stockton**, author of "Rudder Grange," "The Lady or the Tiger," "Mrs. Cliff's Yacht," "a Bicycle of Cathay," and many other short stories and novels. In April, **Dr. Richard Hughes**, a leading homœopathic doctor and writer, his work on Pharmacodynamics (1867) having passed through six English editions, and been translated into most European languages. He was permanent Honorary Secretary of the Quinquennial International Homœopathic Conferences. In April, **Professor Alfred Cornu**, a very distinguished French scientist. Born, 1841; was for more than the last thirty years of his life Professor of Experimental Physics at L'Ecole Polytechnique in Paris; specially devoted himself to researches in optics, in which his reputation was made by improvements in the determination of the velocity of light by Fizeau's method. In 1878 he received the Rumford Medal of the London Royal Society; in 1899 he gave the Rede Lecture at Cambridge on the Wave Theory of Light, and was made Hon. Doctor of Science. On the 30th, at Norwood, aged 81, **Sir William Olpherts**, s. of William Olpherts, of Dartry, Armagh, a gallant and fiery fighter, who was known throughout the army by the *sobriquet* of "Hell-Fire Jack." His first service was in the Burma War of 1841, where he commanded four guns; he subsequently raised and commanded the artillery of the Bundelkund Legion, 1844-5; served under Sir Colin Campbell, 1852, and through the Crimean War; he returned to India as the Mutiny was beginning, and by his prompt action in firing on mutinous Sikhs he saved Benares; he joined Havelock and took part in the first relief and capture of Lucknow. During the Mutiny he was wounded; he was repeatedly mentioned in despatches for his gallantry; received the V.C. for his rescue of two captured guns at Lucknow; brevets of Major and Lieutenant-Colonel, and C.B. He subsequently served in Oudh, and against the Waziris; held a district command in India, 1870-5; was appointed Colonel Commandant of Royal Artillery, 1888; K.C.B., 1886, and G.C.B., 1900. In April, killed in action near Bultfontein, Transvaal, **Captain Percival Coode**, of the Duke of Wellington's West Riding Regiment; born, 1871; was wounded in Rhodesian operations, 1896; mentioned in despatches, and received D.S.O. for services in Boer War.

MAY.

Lord Pauncefoot.—On the 24th, at Washington, there died Julian, first Lord Pauncefoot, third son of Robert Pauncefoot of Preston Court, Gloucestershire. He was born in 1828, and was educated at Marlborough College, and abroad at Paris and Geneva. Called to the Bar in 1852, he left the legal profession for a short time to be private secretary to Sir William Molesworth, Secretary for the Colonies, but returned to the Bar on that Minister's death (1855) and practised as a conveyancer. He went to Hong-Kong (1862), where an opening was offered to him at the Bar, and immediately stepped into large practice. In 1865 he became Attorney-General, and at different periods he acted as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Hong-Kong. He left Hong-Kong (1872), his next post being that of Chief Justice of the Leeward Islands. He received knighthood, 1874. In the Leeward Islands he opened the new Federal Supreme Court and put the whole administration of justice in working order. He returned to England in the end of 1874, and was shortly afterwards appointed Legal Assistant Under-Secretary to the Colonial Office, proceeding to the same post at the Foreign Office (1876). In 1882 he was appointed Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which post he held till 1889, being sent by Lord Granville (1885) to represent Great Britain with Sir Rivers Wilson on the Suez Canal International Commission which sat in Paris for three months of that year.

In 1889 Lord Salisbury appointed him British Minister to the United States. In this post he succeeded Sir Lionel Sackville-West, who had been roughly dismissed by President Cleveland on account of his having been beguiled into writing a letter bearing on the Presidential election of 1888. From the first Sir Julian Pauncefoot inspired liking and trust among the Americans, and although his term of office in Washington was not without times of great anxiety and difficulty, his personal popularity was never injured. First among the difficult problems with which he had to deal was that of the long-standing Behring Sea fishery dispute, in regard to which an arbitration was first agreed to in 1890, and a treaty arranging for such arbitration was negotiated in 1892. In the following year, the Minister of the United States to Great Britain and ours to that Republic were respectively raised to the

rank of Ambassadors. A like promotion happened in regard to the Minister of other great Powers and the States, but Sir J. Pauncefoot was, by Lord Rosebery's arrangement, the first diplomatist at Washington to receive his credentials in the higher capacity, and he was thenceforward the doyen of the diplomatic body there—a position well he filled with great dignity and universal acceptability. He was the sympathetic and skilful agent of Lord Salisbury's earnest desire for securing of permanent peace between the United States and Great Britain, embodied in the Arbitration Treaty successfully negotiated between Sir J. Pauncefoot and Mr. Olney, but rejected by the Senate. His presence doubtless helped to lighten the tremendously severe strain on Anglo-American relations caused by President Cleveland's menacing message in regard to the frontier dispute between England and Venezuela. He was the natural exponent of the specially friendly feeling and policy of Great Britain towards the States in the crisis leading up to the Spanish-American War, and during that struggle. He negotiated with Mr. Hay the first Treaty in amendment of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty in regard to an isthmian canal, which was disrespectfully treated by the Senate, and the second Treaty, in which this country agreed to leave the construction and care of a canal between the two oceans entirely in American hands, subject only to a guarantee against any preferential dues. In 1899 he represented England with great ability at the Hague Peace Conference, and was largely influential in securing the establishment of a permanent Court available for adjudication in any international differences which may be referred to it by the parties. With special reference to his services in this connection he was raised to the peerage as Lord Pauncefoot of Preston. The entire failure of the attempts made by the German Foreign Office, in the early months of 1902, to show that he had been an active agent in an anti-American intrigue, just before the Spanish War, is referred to by Mr. Maurice Low in the section on the United States in Chap. VIII., Foreign and Colonial History. His illness and death elicited manifestations of American sympathy and regard unexampled in the case of a foreign diplomatist, and there can be no doubt that his prolonged representation of England at Washington powerfully aided in the development of friendly feeling between

the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. By his marriage, in 1858, with Selina Fitzgerald, daughter of the late Mr. William Cubitt, of Catfield, Norfolk, he left four daughters, but no son, so that his barony becomes extinct.

On the 5th, at a friend's house at Camberley, died **Francis Bret Harte**. Born at Albany, August, 1839, he went to California at the age of fifteen, after the death of his father. He tried many trades—gold mining, school teaching, printing and journalism—till at the age of twenty-five he was appointed Secretary to the United States Branch Mint at San Francisco. He thus gained varied experience of the rough life of the West, and soon turned his knowledge to account in short sketches and poems, which appeared in the San Francisco papers. In 1868 he and some friends started *The Overland Monthly*, which he edited. In its second number appeared "The Luck of Roaring Camp," a story which made Bret Harte famous all over America. This was shortly followed by "The Outcasts of Poker Flat," but it was not till the appearance in 1870 of the little poem, "The Heathen Chinnee" (originally published as "Plain Language from Truthful James"), that he became known and read in England. The poem made an extraordinary sensation, and had an enormous circulation both in America and Europe. From 1871-8 Bret Harte lived in New York and Boston, writing many short stories; in 1878 he was appointed Consul to Crefeld in Germany, and in 1880 to Glasgow, where he lived for five years, after which he made his home in London. He wrote continuously and somewhat monotonously, much the best of his work being that which dealt with the subjects which originally made his fame. In his last volume, "On the Old Trail," published only a few weeks before his death, he returned to Californian life, and wrote of it as well and freshly as ever, with the pathos and humour and insight which made his early books a revelation of the West to the East.

On the 6th, at Washington, Rear-Admiral **William T. Sampson**. He entered the United States Navy in 1857, remaining at the Naval Academy till 1860. He served in the *Potomac*, 1861,

and reached the rank of Lieutenant. 1862. In the Civil War he was in the *Patapsco*, being on board that vessel when she was blown up in Charleston Harbour, 1865. He was subsequently on several distant stations, with promotion to Lieutenant-Commander, 1866, and Commander, 1874. He became superintendent of the Naval Academy in 1886, and held the appointment for four years, exercising a great influence on the naval training of the United States. He kept the Academy in a high state of efficiency, and introduced all the newest methods of training. After 1890 the construction of the gun-factory was in his charge, when he was chief of the Bureau of Ordnance. His policy, which was fully justified when the war with Spain broke out, was to create a large reserve of ammunition: the introduction of modern processes of armour-plate making, the construction of guns, were all carried out under his immediate supervision, and very often from his designs. At the same time he superintended the gunnery training of the men, and prepared a new drill book for the fleet. In 1897 Captain Sampson was appointed to the *Iowa*, and in 1898 he was one of the court of inquiry appointed to investigate the cause of the blowing up of the *Maine* in Havana Harbour. On the outbreak of hostilities with Spain he was given the command of the North Atlantic Squadron with the rank of Admiral. He advised the reduction of the forts of Havana, but this plan was over-ruled by the Navy Department. He organised all the arrangements of the blockade of Cuba, and directed the bombardment of Matanzas, and of San Juan, Puerto Rico. Much controversy was aroused as to how far the credit for the decisive victory of Santiago (July 3, 1898) was due to Admiral Sampson or Admiral Schley, who was technically in chief command on that day. Without going into the details of a very unhappy dispute, which somewhat embittered Admiral Sampson's last years, there is no doubt that he contributed largely to the successful result, and fully deserved the warm words of acknowledgment addressed to him by Mr. McKinley, who spoke of "the most effective preparations consummating . . . the destruction of the Spanish fleet." Admiral Sampson was placed on the retired list, February, 1902, being then in failing health.

On the 1st, at Wood-green, aged 65, **William Tinsley**, of the firm of Tinsley Brothers, publishers. The firm rose into sudden prosperity through publishing "Lady Audley's Secret" and others of Miss Braddon's novels; they also published works by Captain Burton, Mrs. Lynn Linton, and Mrs. Henry Wood, but gradually decayed after the death of Edward Tinsley, and was finally extinguished. On the

2nd, in Berlin, aged 76, **Prince Frederick William George Ernest of Prussia**, s. of Prince Frederick of Prussia and Princess Louise of Anhalt-Bernburg. He entered the Prussian army, 1836, but never saw any service; his interests were literary and he was the author of several plays which were performed in the National Theatre. On the 3rd, at his residence, Whatcombe House, Dorset, aged 84, **J. C. Mansel-Pleydell**, a distinguished antiquary; an authority on the flora and fauna of Dorset, besides being the founder of the Milbourne Industrial School; prime mover in the construction of the Dorset and Somerset Railway, and a magistrate and member of the County Council. On the 5th, at New York, aged 63, **Dr. Corrigan**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Newark, New Jersey, 1873, and Archbishop of New York from 1880. On the 5th, at Gloucester, aged 71, **John Bellon**, an elder of the Society of Friends; printer, compiler of the pocket French Dictionary. He was a considerable archaeologist, receiving the honorary degree of M.A. in Harvard University for his work. He was sent to Paris to distribute the relief fund raised by the Society of Friends for sufferers in the Franco-German War; he was also a commissioner to distribute relief to Armenians. While deprecating war, he vindicated the justice of the British cause against the Boers, and defended the British soldiers, in a pamphlet entitled "The Truth about the War." On the 6th, in London, **Right Hon. Lord Robert Montagu**, second s. of George, sixth Duke of Manchester. Born, 1825; educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; Conservative M.P. for Hunts, 1859; Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, 1867-8; was also sworn a Privy Councillor, and nominated First Charity Commissioner, 1867; in 1874 was elected as Conservative Home Ruler for West Meath; three years later withdrew from the Home Rule organisation, and in 1880 retired from Parliament; was a member of the Roman Catholic Church, 1870-82, when he reverted to Protestantism; published many contributions to current political and theological controversy. M., first, 1850, a d. of John Cromie of Cromore, Co. Antrim, who died in 1857, and second, 1862, Miss Elizabeth Catherine Wade. On the 6th, at Barton-on-Sea, aged 61, **Horace George Bowen**, chief cashier of the Bank of England, 1893-1902. He entered the service of the bank, 1860. On the 7th, in London, aged 66, **Raymond Hervey de Montmorency, third Viscount Frankfort de Montmorency**, only son of the second Viscount. Educated at Eton; served in the 33rd Regiment in the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny. He commanded the Frontier Field Force in the Soudan operations, 1886-7, and the troops at Alexandria, 1887-90; commanded a district in Bengal, 1890-5, and the Dublin district, 1895-7. Sat as representative peer for Ireland since 1900. M., 1866, Rachel Mary, dau. of Field-Marshal Sir John Michel. On the 7th, in London, aged 68, **George Griffith**, s. of Rev. James Griffith. Science Lecturer at Winchester, 1864-6; First Science Master at Harrow, 1867-93; Assistant General Secretary to the British Association, 1862-78, and again, 1890, till his death. On the 9th, in Mandalay, the **Thibaw Sawbwa, C.I.E.**, the most prominent Shan chieftain, and the first to pay allegiance to England after the annexation of Burmah. He sent his two sons to be educated in England and himself visited this country, 1892. He was alive to the possibilities of his country, and anxious to develop trade and railways. On the 10th, at Bath, **Major Charles Edward Davis, F.S.A.**, Bath city architect. He reconstructed the mineral baths in the city and was largely instrumental in uncovering the remains of the Roman baths. On the 10th, at sea, having been invalided home, **Major Reginald Whitworth Porter**, of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry. He served in the North-West Frontier Campaign in 1897-8, and in the South African War, being second in command of the first battalion of his regiment since September, 1900, and receiving the D.S.O. On the 11th, at Hastings, **Captain Machell**, a well-known trainer and judge of racehorses. He had charge of Mr. Chaplin's, Lord Lonsdale's and the Duke of Beaufort's horses, besides many others, and was remarkably successful in the results he achieved for their owners. On the 11th, at Ottawa, aged 67, **Dr. George Munro Grant**, Principal of Queen's College, Kingston. A Presbyterian, who was for many years a missionary; author of "Ocean to Ocean," and many other works; an ardent supporter of the Imperial cause in Canada. On the 12th, at sea, aged 49, **Captain James Henry Thomas Burke, R.N., C.B.**, eldest son of Major-General J. H. Burke. He entered the Navy 1866, and was appointed to command the *Orlando*, 1899; her naval brigade undertook the defence of Tien-tsin, July, 1900, and Captain Burke's services were mentioned in several despatches. On the 13th, aged 92, **Sir George Floyd Duckett**. Educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford; wrote extensively on archaeological subjects, and gained considerable distinction in France and Germany by his "Technological Military Dictionary"; a claimant to the dormant barony of Wyndesore. M., 1845, Isabella, dau. of General Sir Lionel Smith. On the 14th, at Salisbury, **Dr. William Miller Ord**, s. of George Ord, M.R.C.S. He was

medically educated at St. Thomas's Hospital, where he took all the principal scholarships and prizes; he was member of the Council of the College of Physicians, and censor, 1897-8; secretary of the committee of the first decennial revision of the nomenclature of diseases, 1880; chairman and director of the investigation into Myxœdema, 1884-8; President of the Medical Society, 1885; and author of "A New Theory of Hyperpyrexia," and other works. On the 15th, at Poplar, aged 50, **Rev. Robert William Radclyffe Dolling**. Educated at Harrow and Cambridge, he went into business, and did much work in the East end among the lowest classes. He was ordained, 1883, and after holding a curacy in Dorset, accepted the charge of the Winchester College Mission at Landport, 1885, which he held till 1895, when owing to his advanced ritualistic practices, the school authorities felt obliged to ask him to resign. He had a great influence over the boys at Winchester, who constantly visited the Mission, and produced a wonderful effect on the slum district in Landport, where he worked. After an interval, during which he held no regular cure, he was appointed (1898) Vicar of St. Saviour's, Poplar, where he worked zealously till his death. On the 20th, in London, aged 67, **Sir Arthur Arnold**, s. of Robert Coles Arnold, of Framfield, Sussex. He was first editor of the *Echo*, and author of a "History of the Cotton Famine," "Free Land," "Social Politics," and other works. He stood unsuccessfully for the borough of Huntingdon as a Liberal, 1873, and sat for Salford, 1880-5. He was an Alderman of the London County Council, and Chairman, 1895-7. M., 1867, Amelia, dau. of Captain H. B. Hyde. On the 20th, in London, **General Sir John Irvine Murray, K.C.B.** He served in the Indian army in the Punjab Campaign, 1848-9; in the Indian Mutiny he raised and commanded "Murray's Jât Horse," with which he served in several actions, and in other campaigns in India. He was three times mentioned in despatches. On the 21st, at Brixham, South Devon, aged 68, **Edwin Lawrence Godkin**, s. of a Wicklow clergyman. Started as correspondent of the *Daily News* in the Crimea, and soon after went to America, where he founded the *New York Nation*, and edited it for many years. It made a new departure in American journalism, being completely independent of party; and was written with great care and literary ability. About 1887 he became also editor of the *New York Evening Post*, and used this position to support the purification of civic life in New York. He helped powerfully to bring about the defeat of Tammany, 1894, his papers becoming practically the organs of the "Independent Reformers" or "Mugwumps," though always maintaining their independence. He published three volumes of collected essays—"Reflections and Comments," "Democratic Tendencies" and "Problems of Democracy." He frequently visited England, and was an Hon. D.C.L. of Oxford. On the 20th, at Birmingham, **William Henry Austin**, a highly distinguished young mathematician who received his early education at a Board School. Born 1875; was Senior Wrangler, 1896, and Smith's Prizeman, 1899, when he was appointed to a Mathematical Lectureship at Mason College. On the 21st, at Nottingham, **Reuben Watson**. Born, 1821; had exceptional experience as an actuary; joined the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows, 1850, and took an active part in promoting the reforms leading to the present prosperity of that society, of which in 1875 he was Grand Master. On the 23rd, at Johannesburg, **Captain William Greer**, Reserve of Officers attached to the 8th Battalion Mounted Infantry. Enlisted early in 72nd Highlanders; was mentioned in despatches and received the distinguished conduct medal, and was promoted to a commission in his own regiment for his conduct in the Afghan campaign, 1878-80; was present also at Tel-el-Kebir. On the 24th, in London, **Edward Poste**, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, from 1848 to his death. He took a first class in Classics, 1844; was for many years Examiner and afterwards Director of Examinations to the Civil Service Commissioners; at different periods published an excellent version of the "Posterior Analytics of Aristotle," a highly esteemed edition, with translation and commentary, of the Institutes of Gaius, and a scholarly translation of the newly discovered text of Bacchylides. On the 24th, **Dr. Hubertus Simar**, Archbishop of Cologne. Born at Eupen in Rhenish Prussia, 1835; after nearly thirty years' tenure of professorships of Roman Catholic Theology at Bonn was appointed Bishop of Paderborn, 1891, and attracted such favourable notice as a patriotic prelate that his name appeared in the list of candidates approved by the Emperor William for the vacant Archbishopric of Cologne and was selected from it by the Metropolitan Chapter of Cologne and a Plenipotentiary of his Majesty. He would only accept office after receiving the Papal command to do so; but on taking the oath of allegiance to the Emperor he declared it his aim to be "a loyal, patriotic German Bishop," which he realised. On the 26th, in Paris, aged 55, **Benjamin Constant**, portrait painter. He first exhibited in the Paris Salon,

1869, a picture of a scene from Hamlet, and for many years painted subject pictures, chiefly Oriental scenes. Later he devoted himself entirely to portrait painting, becoming very popular in both Paris and London. His portrait of Queen Victoria, painted within a few weeks of her death, was hung in the Royal Academy, 1901, occupying one wall alone, and was much admired as an impressive representation of the idea of sovereignty. His portrait of his son was bought for the Luxembourg Gallery. On the 27th, in London, **Francis Broxholm Grey Jenkinson, C.B.**, Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons. He was appointed Second Clerk Assistant, 1886, and Clerk Assistant on the retirement of Sir Reginald Palgrave. He had remarkable knowledge of Parliamentary procedure, and was a valued official of the House. On the 31st, in London, aged 57, **Sir James More Carmichael**, third baronet, s. of the second baronet. Educated at Radley; he was clerk at the Admiralty till 1883; private secretary to Mr. Bright, Mr. Childers and Mr. Gladstone successively; sat for the St. Rollox division of Glasgow as a Liberal, 1892-5. In May, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, aged 85, **John Glover**, s. of a working man, for many years a working plumber; inventor of the "Glover Tower," which greatly facilitates and cheapens the manufacture of sulphuric acid. The Society of Chemical Industry gave him its gold medal, 1896, for conspicuous service to applied chemistry. In May, aged 80, **Lieutenant-General George Whitworth Talbot Rich, C.B.** He served in the Crimea, 1855, and during the Campaign in Central India, 1858, commanding the 71st Light Infantry at the capture of Gwalior; was twice mentioned in despatches; he commanded a field force in Central India, in 1858-9, in pursuit of rebel leaders, for which he was thanked by the Governor-General in Council. In May, aged 69, **Major-General Richard James Coombe Marter**, s. of Rev. R. Marter; served with the 1st Dragoon Guards in the Zulu War, 1879, and captured King Ketchwayo in the Ngome forest, being mentioned in despatches. He was A.D.C. to the Queen, 1883-8. In May, at Coolbawn, Castleconnell, **Captain Spencer Vansittart**, a very notable Shannon fisherman, who in 1866 on the Doonas water landed to his own rod 750 salmon. He gave evidence before select committees on Irish fisheries. In May, in Paris, aged 60, "**Henry Greville**" (Mme. Durand), dau. of Jean Fleury, novelist, author of "Dosia" and many other novels. She lived in Russia for several years, and many of her books describe Russian life. In May, at Sydney, **Judge J. S. Dowling**, District Court Judge of New South Wales since 1861, and s. of the late Sir James Dowling, formerly Chief Justice of the same Colony. In May, at New York, **Colonel Etienne St. George**. He saw much hard service, and held the medals with clasps for the Sutlej and Burmese Campaigns, and the Indian Mutiny, in which he was dangerously wounded at Lucknow. In May, **Schütz Wilson**, a well-known figure in literary, artistic and dramatic circles; was for some years assistant-secretary of the Electric Telegraph Company before it was taken over by the Post Office, when he retired on a pension; wrote several novels, and contributed largely to reviews and magazines on historical and literary subjects, and especially on Alpine climbing. In May, aged 65, **Dr. Henry Morton**, President of the Stevens Institute of Technology. For that post he was designated under the will of the founder, Edwin A. Stevens, and he filled it with great distinction from 1870 to his death, choosing the teachers, formulating the curricula, which have been very widely imitated, and lavishing his private means on its equipment. He thus rendered eminent service to the development of American manufacture and commerce. In May, at Parkgate, Cheshire, aged 81, **Hon. H. Holbrook**. After being a contractor in the Crimea during the war, he went out to British Columbia, 1859; was five times Mayor of New Westminster; a member of the Legislative Council of British Columbia, and worked hard for the admission of the Colony into the Confederation. Later was President of the Executive Council; for several years Chairman of the Salmon Canneries Association, New Westminster; a leading Freemason.

JUNE.

Lord Acton.—On the 19th, at Tegerusee, Bavaria, died John Emerick Edward Dalberg-Acton, eighth Baronet and first Baron Acton of Aldenham, County Salop, who was born 1834, son of Sir Richard Acton, who assumed the surname of Dalberg on his marriage with the daughter and heir of the Duke

Dalberg. Sir Richard died 1836 and Lady Acton subsequently married the second Earl Granville, Minister of Foreign Affairs and leader of the House of Lords in Mr. Gladstone's Administrations. Sir John Acton was sent to Oscott School at nine years old and remained there for five years under

Cardinal Wiseman, at that time President. On leaving Oscott he went to Edinburgh, where he lived and read with Dr. Logan, a Roman Catholic priest. Rejected for his religion by three Cambridge colleges, he went to Munich, and lived there in the house of Dr. Dollinger, with whom he travelled in Italy in 1857. At this time Dr. Newman had just withdrawn from the editorship of the *Rambler*, a Roman Catholic periodical, in which he had written an article on consulting the laity in matters of doctrine which was much disliked by the Roman Catholic authorities. Sir John Acton took the editorship and shortly turned the *Rambler* into the *Home and Foreign Review*. In his hands it became one of the most learned periodicals of its time, articles being contributed to it by Robert Lowe, Roscher (the Leipzig professor), Renouf, Denis MacCarthy, W. G. Palgrave, and Sir John himself. His contributions included two remarkable articles, one on "Cardinal Wiseman and the *Home and Foreign Review*," and one on "Conflicts with Rome." In 1869 he was raised to the peerage, and in 1870 stopped the issue of the *Home and Foreign Review*, because of the attitude of the Church authorities towards it. But he continued to offer the vigorous opposition to ultramontane doctrines for which the *Review* had been blamed, being specially active in this direction during the Council held at Rome in 1870. He was mainly responsible for the series of letters which then appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* at Munich and were republished under the name of "Quirinus." For these Lord Acton obtained information from several leading Bishops in the Council—Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans; Darboy, Archbishop of Paris; Hefele, a German Bishop; Connolly of Halifax, and others. In the course of the same controversy Lord Acton wrote four letters to the *Times* in November and December 1874, containing crushing arguments against Ultramontanism, which roused furious attacks on their writer from members of the Roman Church, from whom, however, his differences were historical rather than doctrinal. Lord Acton devoted much care and time to the collection of an enormous library of 60,000 volumes, chiefly concerned with modern European history, both secular and ecclesiastical. To house the collection he built a special library at Aldenham. But in spite of his extraordinary range of reading and knowledge, and a faultless memory, he produced very little,

and his writing was obscure and overburdened with allusions and laboured accuracy. He shone most in conversation, and could speak with perfect ease in German, French and Italian. He sat in Parliament for Carlisle, 1859-65, but made no mark in the House of Commons, nor afterwards in the House of Lords, though he produced an effect on politics through his intimacy with Mr. Gladstone, over whom he had great influence. He also greatly impressed Queen Victoria during the time that he was Lord-in-Waiting, 1892-5. In 1895 he was appointed Regius Professor of History at Cambridge, and alluded in his inaugural address to his unsuccessful efforts for admission to the University forty-five years before. He received the honorary degrees of Oxford, D.C.L. (1887), and Cambridge, LL.D. (1888), and was elected (1890) to an honorary fellowship at All Souls, and was made a K.C.V.O. by Queen Victoria (1897). At one time he might, had he wished it, have been appointed Ambassador at Berlin, having shown great capacity and knowledge in some confidential negotiations with Bismarck, as to which he had been consulted. Lord Acton married, 1865, Countess Marie Arco, daughter of Count Arco Valley, and left a son and three daughters.

King of Saxony.—On the 19th, aged 75, there died Albert Frederick August, King of Saxony, eldest son of King John of Saxony. Of strong military bent, his first campaign was in Schleswig Holstein, 1849, in which he served as captain of Saxon artillery. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Saxon Army in the Austro-Prussian War, 1866, and fought unsuccessfully against the Prussian Army with the Austrian General Clam Gallas at Gitschin and Königgratz. After peace was concluded, he received under the North German Confederation the command of the Saxon Army Corps, at the head of which he distinguished himself at the Battle of Gravelotte. He subsequently received the supreme command of the United Prussian Guards Corps, which formed part of the army of the Maas, and repulsed General Douay at Nouart and General Faily at Beaumont, forming part of the force which won the victory of Sedan. He succeeded to the throne of Saxony, 1873, and has had an uneventful reign, being much beloved by his people, and showing great interest in art, music and the drama. He married, 1853, Princess Carola, daughter of Prince Gustavus Wasa of Sweden.

On the 4th, in London, aged 80, **Sir William James Richmond Cotton**, partner and head of the firm of Culverwell, Brooks, Cotton & Co. He took a leading part in raising a Mansion House relief fund for the sufferers in the cotton famine. He was elected at the head of the poll for the City, 1874, and in 1880, but was defeated, 1885, when the representatives of the City were reduced from four to two. He was Lord Mayor, 1875-6, presiding at the splendid banquet given to the Prince of Wales on his return from India. He was made City Chamberlain, 1892, and was member, and in several cases master, of many of the City Companies. On the 4th, at Bandar Abbas, on the Persian Gulf, aged 33, **Captain Edward Hood Shrapnel Boxer**, of the 2nd Garwhal Rifles. He had invented a new intrenching tool, was the author of books on Pushtu and Hindustani, and on account of his knowledge of Arabic, Hindustani and Persian was appointed Vice-Consul at Bandar Abbas, December, 1901. On the 5th, in London, aged 56, **Dr. John Curnow**, a distinguished and popular physician of Cornish birth; house physician at King's College Hospital, 1869, and demonstrator of anatomy, 1870; Gulstonian Lecturer at the Royal College of Physicians (1879); Professor of Clinical Medicine at King's College since 1896. He contributed to leading medical journals, and wrote several important articles in Quain's "Dictionary of Medicine." On the 5th, aged 82, **Mrs. Anne Ayre Hely**, one of Miss Florence Nightingale's staff of Crimean nurses, who after excellent service under Dr. Parkes in the Dardanelles, nursed Miss Nightingale for some months on her return to England. Queen Victoria gave her the Royal Red Cross, 1897. On the 5th, at Cambridge, aged 81, **Rev. Henry Latham**, Tutor of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, 1847-88, and Master from 1888 till his death. He was much beloved as both Tutor and Master, and gave generous help to the College for its buildings. He was member of the Council of the Senate, and of important syndicates. He published "A Service of Angels," "Pastor Pastorum," and "The Risen Master," all written after he was sixty-nine. On the 5th, in London, **Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart.**, s. of Thomas Cooper, of New South Wales. Educated at University College, London, he went out to Australia, 1843, where he was elected to the Legislative Council of New South Wales, 1850, and was chosen first Speaker of Legislative Assembly, 1856-60. He returned to England, where he acted as Agent-General for New South Wales, and represented the Colony at some of the great Exhibitions in Europe and America. On the 6th, at Tunbridge Wells, aged 73, **Major-General Alexander Davidson**. He was in the Bombay Engineers, 1848-78, serving in the Indian Mutiny as Field Engineer in the Rajputana Field Force, and was mentioned in despatches. On the 6th, aged 55, **Rahimtulla Mahomed Sayani**, a leading Bombay Mussulman, who had served on the bench of magistrates, and in various municipal offices, becoming President of the Corporation, a member of the Provincial Legislature, and representative of Bombay on the Viceroy's Legislative Council. He presided over the twelfth National Congress, 1896, speaking in a tone of moderation. On the 7th, at Montreal, aged 87, **Lieutenant-Colonel John Fletcher, C.M.G.** Emigrating as a boy from Scotland, he entered on a mereantile career, but on the outbreak of the rebellion of 1837 joined the Montreal Light Infantry, becoming Lieutenant, 1847; Adjutant and Brevet-Captain, 1850. The Imperial authorities declined an offer which he made of one hundred Montreal Volunteers for the Crimea. Nevertheless, he joined in raising two rifle companies in Montreal, and was active in raising the force for protecting the frontier against the Fenian raid, 1866, when he commanded a brigade. On the 10th, aged 78, **Charles Eley**, one of the founders, in 1869, of the well-known firm of Eley Brothers, ammunition manufacturers. On the 10th, in London, aged 79, **James Shand**, an engineer who was well known for his success in bringing the steam fire-engine to its present degree of utility. Such an engine had been constructed in 1830, but was not recognised in London till introduced by Shand & Mason, 1852, for the London Fire Brigade. On the 11th, **All Bey**, the Bey of Tunis. He loyally accepted the French protectorate, and ruled with great dignity and honour, keeping up feudal state, and dispensing wide charity. On the 13th, in Dublin, aged 65, **Philip Callan**, an Irish politician, who was returned first for the borough of Dundalk, as a supporter of Mr. Isaac Butt, 1868, but later became completely identified with the Parnellite policy, and took much part in obstruction in Parliament. In 1885, however, he was defeated in North Louth, after a stormy election, Mr. Parnell supporting his own nominee, Joseph Nolan. He again stood unsuccessfully for North Louth against Timothy Healy, 1892, and in 1896. On the 14th, while travelling by train, aged 63, **Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur John Rait, C.B.**, of Arniston, Forfarshire, s. of Major James Rait. Entered the Royal Artillery, 1857; served in the New Zealand War, 1863-4, when he was in command of the drivers of his battery acting as cavalry, and took part in several

engagements, being mentioned in despatches; accompanied Lord Wolseley to the Gold Coast, 1873, where he organised and commanded "Rait's Artillery" through the Ashanti War, 1873-4, being several times mentioned in despatches, and receiving the Brevet of Major and C.B. On the 15th, **Francis Wall Mackenzie Ravenscroft**. Born 1829, in 1851, at the age of twenty-two, he founded the Birkbeck Bank, which now has over 91,000 customers and members, and cash investments, according to the last balance-sheet, in the British Funds and other securities amounting to nearly 10,500,000*l*. Mr. Ravenscroft's ability and the confidence placed in him by large City houses, through whose support he obtained a large advance from the Bank of England, helped materially to enable the Birkbeck Bank to meet a serious run in 1892. On the 18th, aged 66, **Samuel Butler**, chiefly known as the author of "Erewhon, or Over the Range," a satirical work published 1872. He also wrote "Life and Habit," "Evolution, Old and New," and other books in opposition to Darwin, translations of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey," and a biography of his grandfather, the scholarly headmaster of Shrewsbury and Bishop of Lichfield. He was a considerable musician, and published some compositions in the style of Handel. On the 18th, in London, aged 68, **Major-General Sir John Hills, K.C.B.** Born 1834. Educated at Edinburgh Academy and University; served with the Royal (Bombay) Engineers in the Persian Expeditionary Force, 1854, and in the Afghan War, 1879-80, taking part in the defence of Kandahar, for which he was mentioned in despatches and made C.B. On the 19th, aged 79, **Douglas Brymner**, archivist of the Dominion of Canada since 1872, in which capacity he had rendered great service to Canadian history. On the 20th, at Tunbridge Wells, aged 38, **Dr. John Wychenford Washbourn, C.M.G.**, s. of William Washbourn, of Gloucester. Educated at King's College, Gloucester, Guy's Hospital, and the Universities of Vienna and Königsberg. After a brilliant career as student, winning the gold medals for forensic medicine and chemistry at London University, he was appointed (1888) Demonstrator of Anatomy at Guy's Hospital, and Assistant Physician, 1890. He was employed to advise on the typhoid epidemic at Maidstone, 1897, and from 1900-1 was Consulting Physician to the Imperial Yeomanry Hospital at Dulfontein and Pretoria. He published various papers in medical journals, and at the time of his death had nearly completed the preparation of material for the Croonian lectures on pneumonia. On the 23rd, aged 87, **General Alfred Fox Place**. Saw much dangerous service during the Indian Mutiny in Bengal, when amongst other services he commanded a small party, which in 1858 surprised the rebel port of Mairodura, and captured twenty-six boats. On the 24th, at Perth, Western Australia, the **Hon. George Leake**, Premier and Attorney-General of Western Australia. Called to the Bar of Western Australia, 1880, he held various minor offices till 1886, when he was appointed Acting Attorney-General and member of the Executive Council. In May, 1901, he undertook the formation of a Ministry. On the 25th, **Horace Alfred Damer Seymour**, youngest s. of Frederick C. W. Seymour and Lady Augusta, eldest dau. of the first Marquis of Bristol. Born 1843. Educated at Marlborough and Trinity College, Cambridge. Entered the Treasury, 1867; was private secretary to Mr. Lowe and Mr. Gladstone when Chancellor of the Exchequer; Commissioner or Deputy Chairman of the Board of Customs, 1885-94, when he became Deputy-Master and Controller of the Mint; Public Works Loan Commissioner and C.B. since 1898, and was included among the Coronation K.C.B.'s. M., 1880, Elizabeth, dau. of Colonel Frederick Romilly and Lady Elizabeth, dau. of the first Earl of Minto. On the 25th, aged 52, **Ridley Corbett, A.R.A.**, a very striking and poetic painter of Italian landscape. On the 25th, aged 68, **Colonel Sir Frederick John Keane, K.C.B.**, a veteran of the central fights of the Indian Mutiny campaigns, and of frontier and Afghan warfare. For his later services he was made Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel and C.B. On the 26th, the **Right Hon. William Lidderdale**, born 1832 at St. Petersburg, his father being a Russia merchant. In 1864 he became a partner in Rathbone Brothers (in whose service he had been for several years) and opened the firm's London house. In 1870 he was chosen a Director of the Bank of England, and in due course became Governor, 1889. His period of Governorship was anxious and exciting. On November 7, 1890, the Bank rate was suddenly raised to 6 per cent. and three days later it was announced that the Bank had arranged to borrow 3,000,000*l*. in gold from the Bank of France as a precautionary measure. In addition it borrowed half that sum in gold from the Russian Treasury. These measures were in view of the help which it had been decided that the Bank should give to Messrs. Baring Brothers in the financial embarrassments which had overtaken that firm. The crisis was successfully tided over and Mr. Lidderdale's courageous acceptance of responsibility was rewarded by a Privy Councillorship

and the freedom of the city. He remained Governor of the Bank till March, 1892. M., 1868, Mary, elder dau. of Wadsworth D. Busk, formerly of St. Petersburg. On the 26th, in London, aged 67, **Major-General Sir Francis Cunningham Scott**. Served with the 42nd Highlanders in the Crimean and Indian Mutiny campaigns; was mentioned in despatches and received brevet promotion and C.B. for service in the Ashanti War, 1874; was appointed, 1891, Inspector-General of the Gold Coast Constabulary; led successful expeditions against the Jebus, 1892; the Attabubus, 1894; and, 1895-6, led an important expedition to Kumassi, taking the King prisoner. Since 1898 he had been Inspector-General of Police in Trinidad. M., 1859, Mary Olivia, dau. of Rev. E. J. Ward, Rector of East Clandon, Surrey. On the 27th, aged 68, **Sir James Bellett Richey, K.C.I.E.** Entered the Bombay Civil Service, 1856, and rose steadily till he became, 1885, Chief Secretary to the Government, and, 1887, Member of Council. M., 1872, Blanche, dau. of W. Perkins of Louisiana. On the 27th, aged 81, **Drummond Percy Chase**, Principal, since 1857, of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, where he graduated from Oriel, becoming a Fellow of that foundation in 1842. Under his rule St. Mary Hall improved greatly in numbers, the economical living possible there attracting many poor men, and in vigour of corporate life. He was Vicar of St. Mary's, 1855-63 and 1876-8. Moderate in his Church views and a Conservative in academical matters, his wit and geniality made him a very popular member of Oxford society. On the 27th, John Major Henniker-Major, fifth **Baron Henniker**, born 1842. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. Represented East Suffolk in the House of Commons, 1866-70, when he succeeded to the Peerage; was at several periods Lord-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria and in 1895 was appointed Governor of the Isle of Man, having previously been Chairman of Quarter Sessions and of the County Council for East Suffolk. M., 1864, Lady Alice Mary, only dau. of third Earl of Desart. On the 29th, **Rev. Robert Berry**, a highly esteemed Congregational minister, for a long time in charge of the Luton Congregational Church and afterwards for sixteen years at Islington Chapel. On the 30th, in London, aged 74, **Colonel Charles Henry Barchard, C.B.** Entered the Bengal Army when seventeen, and served in the Punjab campaign, 1848-9, and on Sir Archdale Wilson's staff through the Indian Mutiny, being wounded before Lucknow; repeatedly mentioned in despatches and received the Brevet of Major and C.B. In June, **General Mariano Escobedo**, a survivor of the revolutionary period in Mexico, in which he played a prominent part, with many vicissitudes. Sent by the Government of Juarez, 1861, against the remnant of the Church party, he was taken prisoner and ordered to be shot, but escaped. Having fled into Texas on the establishment of the Empire under Maximilian by the French, 1864, he returned, 1865, with an expedition which was uniformly victorious, and rose to be Commander-in-Chief of all the armies in Mexico. To him the Emperor Maximilian surrendered, 1867, and was shortly afterwards shot by sentence of court-martial. He was a prisoner for some years before 1879 under the presidency of General Diaz, against whom he had been employed, but was ultimately pardoned and accepted office under the Government. In June, at Wellington, New Zealand, the **Most Rev. William Garden Cowie**, Bishop of Auckland, and Primate of New Zealand. Born at Aberdeen, 1831, educated at Eton and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, he was appointed Chaplain to the Forces in India, 1857, and served at the capture of Lucknow, for which, and again for being present at the storming of Laloo, 1863, he received medal with clasp. He returned to England, 1867, and was appointed first Bishop of Auckland, 1869. In June, at Sydney, New South Wales, aged 92, **Very Rev. William Macquarie Cowper**, s. of Archdeacon Cowper of St. Philip's, Sydney. Educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, he returned to Australia, 1836. He was Chaplain to the Australian Agricultural Company at Port Stephen, 1836-56; President of Moore Theological College, 1856-8, and Dean of Sydney, 1858, till his death. In June, aged 72, **G. T. Crooke**, formerly Inspector of Machinery in the Royal Navy. Rendered valuable service during the Egyptian War of 1882, when his ability and courage won him mention in despatches, as again in the Eastern Soudan in 1884.

JULY.

On the 1st, at Marienbad, **Frederick Smart**, for some years Master of the Horse to the Khedive of Egypt, where he was very popular with visitors from England and other countries. On the 3rd, **W. F. Faviell**, the contractor, who with his partner, Mr. Fowler, constructed the first railway in India from Bombay towards Poona, in the early fifties. On the 7th, **Colonel John Davis**. Born 1834;

Honorary Colonel third Militia Battalion, the Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment, and an A.D.C. to the King as he had been to Queen Victoria; chosen by the King to represent the Militia in the Coronation processions. On the 8th, at Arundel Castle, aged 23, **Philip Joseph Mary**, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, only s. of the Duke of Norfolk. He had been a complete invalid from his birth, being deaf, dumb and blind. On the 9th, at Salso Maggiore, **The Duchess of Atholl**, eldest dau. of Sir Thomas Moncreiffe and his wife, Lady Louisa, eldest dau. of the tenth Earl of Kinnoull. She married the seventh Duke of Atholl, 1863, and had three sons and three daughters. On the 10th, at Alexisbad, aged 90, **Duchess Frederica of Anhalt Bernburg**, second dau. of Prince Frederick William of Schleswig Holstein Sonderburg-Glücksburg. M. Duke Alexander of Anhalt Bernburg, 1834, and became Regent of the Duchy, owing to his failing health, 1855; sister of King Christian IX. of Denmark. On the 10th, in London, aged 59, **William Meriton Eaton**, second **Baron Cheylesmore**. Educated at Eton, he unsuccessfully contested the borough of Macclesfield as a Conservative in 1868, 1874 and 1880, succeeding to the peerage, 1891. He had the largest private collection of English mezzotint portraits, numbering nearly 14,000, which he bequeathed to the nation. On the 12th, aged 66, **Sirdar Khan Bahadur Dorabji Pudamji**, head of the Parsee community of Poona, where he established several industries; President for two years of the Poona City municipality; member for a time of the Bombay Legislature, and of the governing body of the Fergusson College; champion rifle shot of India; a most skilful photographer; his titles represented the Government's recognition of his public services and distinction. On the 14th, **Sir Joseph Little**, Chief Justice, since 1895, of Newfoundland, in which all his life had been passed. On the 15th, at Blackheath, aged 77, **Benjamin Martell**, Chief Surveyor to "Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping," 1866-99. He prepared tables of freeboard to solve the difficulty of marking on vessel's sides the depth to which they might be loaded, which were adopted by the Load Line Committee, and placed on the Statute-book, 1896. On the 16th, aged 81, **Henry Dunning Macleod**, a well-known and highly esteemed writer on subjects connected with commercial law, banking and economics generally. On the 17th, at Ballykilbeg, aged 73, **William Johnston, M.P.**, eldest s. of John Brett Johnston, of Ballykilbeg. He sat as a Unionist for Belfast, 1868-78, and for South Belfast, 1885, till his death. He was Inspector of Fisheries, 1878-85, when he was dismissed because of a speech in the General Synod of the Church of Ireland. He was prominently identified with the Orange party, and was in the House the avowed representative of uncompromising Protestantism, but he was popular with all parties. On the 18th, at Zanzibar, aged 49, **Hamud bin Muhamad bin Said, G.C.S.I.**, Sultan of Zanzibar. He succeeded to the throne, 1896, his predecessor being his cousin, Hamid bin Thwain, but his succession was disputed by another cousin, Said Khalid, who seized the palace, and had to be expelled by force, the British warships bombarding the palace. Hamud was proclaimed Sultan, and ruled for six years, being friendly to the British. He issued a decree, 1897, ceasing to recognise the legal status of slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba. On the 18th, at Arlington, near Barnstaple, aged 75, **General Sir Mark Walker, V.C.**, s. of Captain Alexander Walker, of Westmeath. He served as Adjutant of the 30th Regiment through the Crimean War, 1854-5, being wounded at the Alma. For his gallantry at Inkerman he received the Victoria Cross, and shortly after was promoted for his services in leading a party which destroyed a Russian rifle-pit. He was dangerously wounded, and had his right arm amputated. He served through the China Campaign, 1860, commanded a brigade in Madras, 1875-9, and held home appointments till 1893. M., 1881, Miss Catherine Chichester. On the 18th, aged 81, **Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Robert Grindley**, late 21st Lancers. A veteran of the Punjab campaign, 1845-6, in which he was severely wounded at Chillianwallah, and of the Indian Mutiny, when he received a brevet majority for services as A.Q.M.G. to Brigadier General Nicholson, at the defeat of the Sealkote mutineers, July, 1857. On the 18th, in London, aged 68, **Andrew Yule**, founder of the house of Andrew Yule & Company, and prominent in the work of developing the industrial resources of India. He was a pioneer in the extension of the cotton spinning industry to Bengal and initiated the manufacture of jute in India. On the 19th, aged 74, **Charles Kegan Paul**, publisher. Educated at Eton and Exeter College, Oxford, he was ordained, 1851, to a curacy. He was a master at Eton, 1853-62, and Vicar of Sturminster, Dorset, 1862-74, when he came to London and set up for himself as a publisher. He was in turn an Anglican, Agnostic, Positivist, and finally Roman Catholic. He published a small volume of verse, his own "Memories," and other works. On the 20th, in London, aged 71, **J. W. Mackay**. Born in Dublin, he went to New York in 1840, and was educated in America. He

went to Nevada, 1860, where he became a leader among the mining community, and with others discovered, 1872, the Bonanza lode, which discovery produced the great fall in silver of 1875 and following years. Mr. Mackay was prominent in the management of the great Nevada property, helped to found the Bank of Nevada, 1878, and with Mr. James Gordon Bennett laid two cables across the Atlantic, 1884, which for some time kept the telegraphic rate down to 6*d.* a word. On the 22nd, aged 78, **Dr. Thomas William Croke**, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel and Emly. He was trained for the priesthood in foreign colleges, was President of St. Colman's College, Fermoy, 1858-65; Parish Priest of Doneraile for five years, and Bishop of Auckland, New Zealand, 1870-5, in which year he was recalled by the Pope to take the post of Archbishop of Cashel. The priests of the diocese received him very coldly, because he was chosen by the Pope on the recommendation of Cardinal Cullen instead of any of the three names submitted by them; but a patriotic oration he delivered at the O'Connell centenary, 1875, won him great popularity and the name of the "patriot Archbishop." In 1879, after some hesitation, on the earnest supplication of Mr. Parnell, who, he said, went on his knees to him, Dr. Croke gave his sanction to the Land League movement and followed it up by active support in letters and speeches. He condemned the no-rent manifesto, which was issued (1881) on the proclamation of the Land League, but mainly because it was aimed at private individuals rather than at the responsible Government. He advocated, 1883, a national testimonial to Mr. Parnell, which was condemned without effect by Pope Leo XIII., and the Archbishop, after being summoned to Rome to explain his conduct, declared on his return that he was "unchanged and unchangeable." In 1890, however, he was constrained to draw up an address to the Irish people on behalf of the Roman hierarchy, declaring Mr. Parnell, in the light of the O'Shea case, not a fit man to be their leader. He explained the delay in the appearance of this manifesto by the fact that it had to be sent to Bishop after Bishop for signature. Dr. Croke subsequently refused to have anything to do with Irish public life. In private he was hospitable, genial, and very warmly regarded. On the 22nd, at Rome, in his eightieth year, **Cardinal Miescelaus Ledochowski**. A Pole of noble descent, and originally a Russian subject, he was educated at the Jesuit College for Nobles at Rome, took priest's orders, 1845, and entered the diplomatic service of the Papacy, being employed between 1845 and 1861 at Lisbon, in South America, and at Brussels; was elected, 1865, by the Cathedral Chapter, Archbishop of Posen. He was *persona grata* with the Prussian authorities, whose policy he supported, and discountenanced Polish agitation. Having failed, however, to obtain Prussian support (1870) to the Temporal Power, Archbishop Ledochowski went into strong opposition to Prince Bismarck, leading the Ultramontanes in the Reichstag, with the help of Dr. Windhorst, and also advocating Polish national aspirations. Later came the Kulturkampf and the "May Laws" of 1873, in regard, among other things, to the requirement of a State certificate of educational proficiency from all candidates for Holy Orders, and of intimations from Bishops as to the appointment or transfer of clergy. Ledochowski defied the law, was repeatedly fined and distrained upon in default of payment, and at last sentenced (1874) to two years' imprisonment and deprived of his Archbishopric by the Prussian Government; was made Cardinal while in prison by Pope Pius IX.; was appointed by Pope Leo XIII. Prefect of the Congregation De Propaganda Fide, which post he held till his death. In 1885 he made his peace with the Crown Prince Frederick when in Rome, and afterwards used his influence on behalf of Germany in diplomatic questions, such as the protection of Roman Catholics in the East. On the 25th, in London, aged 71, **Rev. William Lewery Blackley**. He held the livings of North Walton, and King's and Little Somborne, Hants, 1867-89, and was Vicar of St. James-the-Less, Westminster, 1889, to his death. He devoted much attention to social problems, and was a keen advocate of a scheme for old-age pensions, based on compulsory insurance. On the 28th, aged 51, **Arthur Dunn-Gardner**. Educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, where he took high honours; devoted his life to philanthropic work in connection with the Charity Organisation Society, the Society for the Relief of Distress, of which he was for many years honorary secretary, and other agencies; was also at one time a Chelsea Guardian. On the 29th, at Cambridge, aged 74, **Rev. Charles Edward Searle, D.D.**, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Educated at Christ's Hospital and Pembroke College, he held various curacies till he returned to Pembroke as Dean and Tutor, 1870, and was elected Master, 1880. On the 29th, at Esher, aged 41, **John Watts**, for many years first jockey to the King. He rode the winning horse five times in the Oaks, and four times in the Derby, and in several smaller races, and was recognised as one of the very finest riders of his

day. On the 30th, as Ashford, Kent, aged 51, **William Cansfield Gerard**, second **Baron Gerard**. He served in Natal, 1899-1900, as extra A.D.C. to Sir Redvers Buller, and was mentioned in despatches and received the D.S.O. M., 1877, Mary, dau. of Henry Beilby Milner, of West Retford. On the 30th, at Shankill, Co. Dublin, aged 82, **Right Rev. William Pakenham Walsh, D.D.** He was incumbent of Sandford Church, Dublin, Dean of Cashel and Canon of Christ Church Cathedral, and in 1878 was elected Bishop of Ossory, which office he held till 1897, when he retired. He was author of "Heroes of the Mission Field," "The Voices of the Psalms," and other theological works. On the 31st, **Senator Gaetano Negri**, a volunteer in the war of 1859; for several years the energetic and high-minded Syndic of Milan; a trusted leader of the Italian Conservative party, and a distinguished historian and literary critic. On the 31st, killed on the railway at Helwan, **Colonel Forestier Walker**, Assistant Adjutant-General to the force in Egypt. He served with the Bechuanaland Expedition, 1884-5, being mentioned in despatches; with the Burmese Expedition, 1891-2, and with the Chitral Relief Force, 1895. In July, aged 62, **John Southward**, an expert writer, and also lecturer, on matters affecting the history of printing. He mainly compiled the famous "Bibliography of Printing," and wrote important books and articles for the "Encyclopædia Britannica" on kindred topics. In July, aged 38, **H. Pollak**, the only foreigner ever on the Council of the Institute of Journalists. An Austrian by birth, he was the London correspondent of several papers in his own country, France and Germany, and did his best to spread a friendly understanding of the English character. In July, near Lake Chad, **The Sheikh Senussi el Mahdi**, a noble Mussulman, descended from the Prophet, lived mostly at the Soudan oasis Jaghbul, whence he exercised an extensive and elevating spiritual influence among the Soudan States. He was constantly charged with organising intrigues against the French, and was said to possess a large army with modern equipment, but according to the apparently well-informed writer of an interesting biography of him in the *Times*, these statements were unfounded, and his influence was only spiritual and moral. In later years he moved south to the oasis of Borku.

AUGUST.

On the 2nd, **Lieutenant-Colonel George Sheppard Harvey, R.A.**, of Ainbarrow, Sandhurst. Had medal and clasps for service at the capture of the Taku forts. On the 3rd, **Lieutenant-Colonel Bryan Holme**, commanding 1st Battalion of the Buffs (East Kent Regiment). Had a record of varied service—in the Malay operations, 1875-6; Nile Campaign, 1884-5, and Indian Frontier expeditions, winning several medals and clasps; was on the Staff in the late Boer War. On the 4th, **His Honour Daniel O'Connell French**. Born 1843; after a distinguished career at the Bar became a County Court Judge, 1893, first at Leicester and afterwards at Bow and Shoreditch, in which capacity he was universally respected. On the 4th, at Richmond, Surrey, aged 78, **Sir Edward Hertslet**, s. of Lewis Hertslet, Librarian of the Foreign Office. He entered the Librarian's Department of the Foreign Office, 1840, and worked there as supernumerary clerk and Sub-librarian till 1857, when he was appointed Librarian and Keeper of the Archives. He was attached to the special embassy of Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury to Berlin, 1878, and was knighted in recognition of his services there. He published "The Map of Europe by Treaty," "Recollections of the Old Foreign Office," and edited "Hertslet's Commercial Treaties," "British and Foreign State Papers," "The Foreign Office List," and several collections of trade treaties between Great Britain and foreign countries. On the 5th, at Headington, near Oxford, aged 77, **Miss Rosamund Davenport Hill**, eldest dau. of Matthew Davenport Hill, Recorder of Birmingham. She first took active interest in education in 1851, when she began teaching under Miss Carpenter in the St. James's Back Ragged School, where she introduced several reforms. In 1879, after her father's death, she and her sister visited Australia, impressions of which visit they afterwards published, as well as a life of their father. Miss Davenport Hill was first elected to the London School Board for the City division in 1879, and sat on the Board for eighteen consecutive years. She was assiduous in her attendance; was Chairman of the Cookery Committee, and a member of the School Management and Industrial Schools Committees, taking the school at Brentwood under her special care; also Chairman of Managers at Greystoke Place. She did not take much part in debates, but was universally respected for her practical work and zeal for the

interests of the children. On the 7th, in Rome, **General Annibale Ferrero**, Italian Ambassador to Great Britain, 1895-8. He was a distinguished officer in the Italian Army, and possessed considerable scientific knowledge. On the 8th, at Brussels, aged 56, **General Lucas Meyer**. Born in the Orange Free State, he emigrated to the Transvaal and took part in politics. He was President of the Zululand Republic for the two years of its existence, and represented Vryheid in the first Volksraad. On the outbreak of the war he took the field in command of Vryheid burghers, but was unsuccessful as a general, and broke down in health. He took a prominent part in the peace negotiations, and afterwards visited England. On the 8th, in London, aged 69, **Alexander Michie**. He spent the greater part of his life in China, where he was sent on various commercial missions, and acquired special knowledge of the country. Author of "The Siberian Route from Peking to Petersburg" (1864) and "An Englishman in China" (1900), and correspondent of the *Times* for several years. On the 9th, the result of a street accident, **Major-General Kennett Gregg Henderson, C.B.**, a veteran of the Indian Mutiny Campaign (medal), Chinese Expedition, 1860 (medal with two clasps), Nile Expedition, 1884-5 (mentioned in despatches). On the 10th, at Buillon in the Doubs, aged 66, **James Tissot**, an artist who attracted great attention by his series of 350 water-colour drawings illustrating the life of Christ. They were exhibited in London, 1896 and were the result of several years' work, both in Palestine, where he lived for a long time making sketches, and in France. Before this he had painted portraits and pictures of modern life in Paris, such as the series "La Femme à Paris," but his last years were entirely devoted to his great religious work. On the 10th, **Colonel William Lambert**, of the Indian Staff Corps, who had more than once been mentioned in despatches for services in Afghan and border warfare, and was in later years Deputy Judge-Advocate General in the Bombay command. On the 13th, **Rev. Paul James Turquand**, one of the best-known Congregational ministers in London; for nearly forty years Minister of the York Street Chapel, Walworth, which is now known as Browning Hall and worked as a Congregational Settlement. On the 14th, **Lieut.-Colonel William Taylor**; first commission, R.A., 1863. Served in Egyptian War, 1882, and was mentioned in despatches in the Burmese Expedition, 1886-7. On the 14th, in London, aged 67, **Captain John Grant Malcolmson, V.C., M.V.O.**, his Majesty's Hon. Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms. He served in the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry with the Persian Expeditionary Force, 1856-7; he received the medal with clasp and the Victoria Cross for his courage in rescuing a dismounted comrade from the middle of a square of the enemy. On the 15th, at Homburg, aged 53, **John Gage Prendergast Vereker**, fifth **Viscount Gort and Baron Kiltarton**. He was Captain 4th Brigade South Irish Division Royal Artillery; Acting British Consul at Cherbourg, 1876; succeeded to the title, 1900. He took much interest in scientific and ecclesiastical questions, being for many years Chairman of the Durham Diocesan Church Defence Committee. M., 1885, Eleanor, dau. of R. S. Surtees of Hamsterley Hall, Durham. On the 15th, at Harrogate, **Lieutenant-Colonel F. A. V. Thurburn**. He served with the army of Gwalior, 1843, and of the Sutlej, 1845; commanded the infantry regiment and guns of the Bhopal contingent at Kale Khevee, 1846, receiving thanks from the Governor-General; served both in military and political capacities in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, and was repeatedly mentioned in despatches; later he held several civil appointments in India. On the 16th, **Rev. Arthur Townley Parker**, incumbent of Burnley, 1855-1901, s. of Robert Townley Parker of Cuerden Hall, Preston. He devoted the greater part of the income of 4,000*l.* from that benefice to Church extension in Burnley, endowing six new churches. On the 22nd, **Sir Thomas Jamieson Boyd**, for many years head of the firm of Messrs. Oliver & Boyd, printers and publishers; Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 1877-82; three times Master of the Merchants' Company of Edinburgh; for ten years Chairman of the Scottish Fishery Board; served also as a Royal Commissioner for Educational Endowments for Scotland, and in other public capacities, and was Hon. Colonel of the Queen's Edinburgh Rifle Volunteers. On the 23rd, **Sir Robert Henry Davies, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.** Born 1824, s. of Sir David Davies, K.C.H., physician in ordinary to William IV. and Queen Adelaide; Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, 1871-7, and member of the Council of India, 1885-95. On the 23rd, at Montreal, aged 65, the **Hon. Joseph Royal**. He was a journalist, founding various papers in Canada, including *L'Ordre* (1859), *La Revue Canadienne* (1864), and *La Manitoba* (1870). He was a member of the Manitoban Legislature and of several local Administrations, and Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territory, 1888-93. On the 24th, in Whitechapel, aged 55, **Rev. James Arthur Faithfull**. Educated at University College, Oxford, he held various curacies; was Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene, Islington, 1894-8, and Rector of Whitechapel from 1898 till his death. He belonged to the Evangelical school,

and was a very active worker, taking part in municipal matters and work among the Jews. On the 24th, aged 49, **Hon. Arthur Child**, since 1890 Chief Justice of St. Lucia, in which capacity none of his decisions were ever reversed by the Privy Council. On the 26th, at Oldlands, near Uckfield, **Sir Campbell Clarke**, Paris Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* from 1876; was a considerable art critic, an officer of the Legion of Honour and of Public Instruction. On the 27th, at St. Andrews, aged 65, **Major-General Sir James Makgill Heriot-Maitland, R.E.**, youngest s. of James Maitland-Heriot of Ramornie, Fifeshire. He served in the China War, 1857-9, being specially mentioned for gallantry; also in Canada and the Soudan; commanded the Royal Engineers in the Southern District, 1886-91, and was D.A.G. for that district corps, 1891-6. On the 27th, aged 59, **Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Temple Wright**, of the Indian Medical Service (retired), the inventor of ambulance vehicles for field service. On the 28th, aged 86, **Rev. Joseph Angus, D.D.**, an eminent Baptist minister, educated at Stepney College and Edinburgh University, where he had a distinguished career. In 1849 he was appointed President of Stepney College, removed in 1857 and since known as Regent's Park College, for the education of Baptist and other Nonconformist Ministers, which post he held for a very long period. Was an English Examiner to the University of London and the Civil Service of India, a member of the company of New Testament revisers and for ten years a member of the London School Board. On the 28th, aged 79, **Thomas Frederick Grimsdale**, formerly in large practice in Liverpool, where he was a pioneer in surgical work relating to midwifery and diseases of women. On the 31st, aged 61, **John Trivett Nettleship**, a well-known painter of animals, s. of Henry John Nettleship of Kettering. He studied art at Heatherley's and the Slade School, and exhibited regularly at the Grosvenor and New Galleries and the Royal Academy. He made a special study of wild animals, his pictures being almost always of animals, of very various kinds. He published "Essays on Browning," and some other works. In August, at Hampstead, aged 86, **George Dalziel**, one of the firm of Dalziel Brothers who produced the series of Dalziel's Illustrated Editions and raised wood engraving to a high pitch of perfection. They employed artists such as Millais, Ford Madox Brown, Sir Edward Poynter, Tenniel, and others, to work for them, and produced many finely illustrated books for which artists and engravers worked together. In August, at sea, **Captain Charles Oldfield Nicholetts**, commandant 5th Bombay Infantry; had medal for Afghan War, 1879-80, and later was mentioned in despatches for services with the Burmese expedition. In August, aged 80, **Rudolf von Bennigsen**, who, having been a member of the Hanoverian Diet, became, after the incorporation of Hanover in Prussia, one of the founders of the National Liberal party, of which for many years he was the leader in the Reichstag. He was also President, 1873-9, of the Prussian House of Deputies and (1883-97) Ober-Präsident of the Province of Hanover. In December, 1877, Prince Bismarck wished to make him a Prussian Minister, but it could not be arranged. He was respected by all parties. In August, **Alexander Sutherland**, Registrar of the University of Melbourne; born in Glasgow, 1852; went out to Victoria when a youth with his parents; had a distinguished career at the Melbourne University; was actively engaged in teaching for many years; wrote a very successful "School History of Australia," and other works on Australian history, and a treatise on the "Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct."

SEPTEMBER.

Sir Frederick Abel.—On September 6th died, aged 75, Sir Frederick Augustus Abel, eldest son of J. L. Abel, of Woolwich. He devoted his life to chemistry, studying it at the Royal Polytechnic and the Royal College of Chemistry, then (1845) just opened, where he remained for six years, during five of which he was assistant to the Director, von Hofmann. He succeeded Faraday as Professor of Chemistry at the Royal Military Academy, and in 1854 was appointed Chemist to the War Office. In this position, which he

held for thirty-four years, he devoted much attention to the study of explosives for military purposes, devising such improvements in the preparation of smokeless powder as to enable it to be safely manipulated. In 1888 the Government appointed a special committee, over which Abel presided, to examine the various kinds of smokeless powder and their adaptability to the Lee-Metford rifle. The committee sat for several years, and in the end devised a powder, known as cordite, mainly composed of gun-cotton and

nitro-glycerine, which is now the standard powder of the British services, and has been widely imitated abroad. Besides his work on gun-cotton, he carried out, with Sir Andrew Noble, elaborate investigations into the processes attendant on the firing of black powder, made important contributions to the theory of detonations, and with other chemists investigated the explosive power of petroleum, bringing out first the Abel "open-test," and ultimately the Abel "close-test" apparatus for determining the flash point of the oil, which latter instrument was legalised, 1879. He was organising secretary and director of the Imperial Institute from 1887 till his death, being instrumental in establishing its well-equipped research laboratories. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, 1860, and received its Royal medal, 1887; was at various times President of the British Association and other scientific societies; President of the Iron and Steel Institute, 1891, and awarded its Bessemer medal, 1897; was Rede Lecturer at and Hon. D.Sc. of Cambridge. He was made C.B., 1877; a Knight, 1883; K.C.B., 1891; a Baronet, 1893, and G.C.V.O., 1901. Married, first, Sarah, daughter of James Blanch, of Bristol, and second, Giulietta de la Feuillade.

Professor Virchow.—On September 5th, at Berlin, aged 88, died Rudolf Virchow, a most distinguished man of science, who was also for many years a prominent politician. He devoted himself to medicine immediately on leaving school, and that, on its scientific side, coupled with social and municipal politics, formed the absorbing interest of his life. He was led to take part in political life by his indignation at the state of things he found in Silesia, whither he had been sent, 1848, to examine into an outbreak of typhus. He wrote a report denouncing the evils he found, which brought him into disfavour with the official authorities. He was soon after elected to the Prussian Assembly, though too young to take his seat there. Thus baffled politically, he returned to science, and took the chair of Pathology at Würzburg. In 1856 he published his famous "Cellular Pathology," which raised him at once to the front rank of scientific men. It was founded on the work of Schwann and Müller, and Sir James Paget—a life-long friend of Virchow's—gathering them together, and by its demonstration of the fact that the cell is the unit

of life and always originates in some pre-existing cell, whether in health or disease, providing a scientific basis for medicine. After the publication of this book he was appointed Professor of Pathology at Berlin University, and devoted some years to scientific work. He became a member of the Municipal Council of Berlin, and carried on practical work in the water supply, drainage, and so forth of Berlin alongside of his teaching, research, and writing. In 1862 he was elected to the Prussian Chamber by three constituencies, and threw himself with much ardour into Parliamentary life. He had heated passages of arms with Bismarck, who disliked his plain speaking and finally challenged him to a duel on his obtaining the defeat of the Government, 1862. In the campaigns of 1866 and 1870-1 he worked in organising ambulance work and afterwards took a quieter part in politics, resigning the leadership of the *Freisinnige* party, 1878. He became a member of the Reichstag, 1880. He visited England several times, delivering the Croonian Lecture before the Royal Society, 1893, and the Huxley Lecture at Charing Cross Medical School, 1898. His eightieth birthday was made the occasion of a demonstration of world-wide respect, which he received with the modesty which characterised him through life. He continued to work till the accident—a fall from a tramcar—on January 3, which was the beginning of his last illness.

Emile Zola.—The great French novelist died in Paris on the night of September 28-9 from an escape of carbonic acid gas in his bedroom. Emile Zola was the son of François Zola, a civil engineer, half Italian, half Greek, his mother being Mdle. Emilie Aubert, a Parisian. He was born in Paris, 1840, and passed his childhood in Aix, where he went to school. In 1858 his mother—his father having died eleven years before—moved to Paris, where he continued his education, but with no great success, being ploughed for the *baccalauréat*. For the next few years he lived in great poverty, working as a clerk and trying to make money by his writings—quite unsuccessfully till 1865, when some articles and short stories of his were published in *Le Petit Journal* and *La Vie Parisienne*, and a novel, "La Confession de Claude," also appeared. Zola then determined to devote himself to journalism, and wrote literary and art criticism for the *Événement* till dismissed by the editor because of the

unpopularity caused to the paper by his violent style. After this he produced two novels, "*Le Vœu d'une Morte*" and "*Les Mystères de Marseille*," the latter paid for at a penny a line and written simply as ordered, and both were complete failures. But at the same time he was writing "*Thérèse Raquin*," which reached a second edition, and shortly after began the famous *Rougon-Macquart* series. These novels were published by Lacroix, who agreed to undertake a considerable number, and Zola aimed in them at showing the whole of life, with special reference to his views on heredity. The undoubted greatness of their literary merit is much marred by the coarseness of their detail, but they remain a wonderful cycle of fiction. The first, "*La Fortune des Rougons*," appeared in 1871, and was followed by "*La Curée*," "*Le Ventre de Paris*," "*La Conquête de Plassans*," "*La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret*" and "*Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*." But none of these attracted much notice till "*L'Assommoir*" appeared, at first as a serial in *La République des Lettres*, and afterwards as a book. It passed through several editions at once, and was hotly attacked and defended. "*Nana*" followed and made an even greater sensation, and the rest of the series appeared in steady succession and were eagerly read, raising their author to a position of undoubted eminence among novel-writers. A new series was ready to succeed the *Rougon-Macquart* one—that of the "*Three Cities*," "*Lourdes*," "*Rome*," "*Paris*," in which the dramatic narrative became somewhat subservient to the philosophy taught by their author. These were again followed by the books in the series of "*The Four Gospels*," of which "*Fécondité*," "*Travail*" and "*Vérité*" had been published, the last as a serial still running in the *Aurore*, while "*Justice*" was left quite unfinished at the time of Zola's death. Zola will be remembered not only for the great series of novels which he produced with such astonishing wealth of imagination and power, but also for his startling intervention in

the Dreyfus case, on which he wrote a fiery and eloquent attack on the military authorities entitled "*J'accuse*," which probably did much to bring about the re-hearing of the case against Captain Dreyfus. For his action in this matter M. Zola suffered much in loss both of money and popularity. He was violently abused, and obliged to ask for police protection. Tried for his attack on the officers of the *État-Major* concerned in the condemnation of Dreyfus, he was condemned; but under pressure from his friends, though very unwillingly, he escaped to England, where he lived in hiding for many months. Ultimately Dreyfus was "pardoned," and his literary champion was able to return to France, where he was again welcomed, and pursued the literary work which was the supreme interest of his life till the moment of his tragic death.

The Queen of the Belgians.—Marie Henriette Anne, Queen of the Belgians, died at Spa on September 19. She was daughter of the Archduke Joseph, Palatine of Hungary, by Marie, Duchess of Würtemberg, and was aunt of the Queen-mother of Spain and great-niece of Marie Antoinette. She was born in 1836, and brought up in Hungary. On the eve of her seventeenth birthday she was married to the Duke of Brabant, heir to the throne of Belgium, to which he succeeded in 1865. Before that time the young Duchess had become very popular in Belgium, and three children—two daughters and a son—had been born to her. After her husband succeeded to the Throne, the Queen had many great sorrows, in the death of her only son, 1869, and the execution of her kinsman, Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, while in 1899 she suffered the tragic loss of her son-in-law, the Crown Prince Rudolph of Austria, who had married her second daughter, Princess Stéphanie, and the destruction by fire of her favourite palace at Laeken, 1900. The Queen was always very fond of animals and was a splendid horse-woman. In her later years she had lived much at Spa and had been rarely seen in public.

On the 1st, aged 77, **Major-General James Anthony Steel**, who served from beginning to end of the Indian Mutiny Campaign, for which he received medal and brevet-majority. On the 2nd, **Lieutenant John Henry Stainton Burder, R.N.**, specially promoted for services during the Egyptian War, 1882. On the 3rd, in London, aged 75, Robert Bourke, first and last **Baron Connemara**. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and called to the English Bar, he sat for King's Lynn from 1868-86, and was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Mr. Disraeli's Government, 1874, and again under Lord Salisbury, 1885-6, being specially acceptable to the House of Commons for his manner of answering questions, which were very numerous during the Bulgarian crisis. In 1886 he was appointed Governor of Madras, which post he held till 1890. He was much liked in India, where he pro-

moted by numerous tours the improvement of railways and irrigation. He visited the cholera and famine stricken district of Ganjam and received the Duke of Clarence on his visit to India. M., 1863, Lady Susan Broun-Ramsay, eldest dau. of the Marquis of Dalhousie, which marriage was dissolved, and he subsequently married Mrs. Coleman, of Stoke Park. On the 6th, at Nottingham, **Philip James Bailey**, poet, born 1816, called to the Bar, 1840, but never practised. In 1839 he published "Festus," a poem which excited great admiration at the time and went through eleven editions in England and thirty in America. He also published "The Angel World" (1850), "The Mystic" (1855), and "The Universal Hymn" (1867), but they added little to his fame. He lived very quietly in North Devon and afterwards at his birthplace, Nottingham, and his great poem is now very little read. In 1901 Glasgow University, where he matriculated seventy years before, gave him the honorary degree of LL.D. On the 6th, at Abinger Hall, Dorking, aged 46, **S. E. Spring-Rice, C.B.**, eldest s. of Hon. T. C. W. Spring-Rice. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he had a distinguished career; was Private Secretary to successive Financial Secretaries, and to Sir W. Harcourt as Chancellor of the Exchequer; Auditor of the Civil List since 1899; a very able Treasury official, whose early death caused much regret. On the 9th, aged 80, **Canon John Cotter Macdonnell**, biographer of Archbishop Magee, whose chaplain he was, 1873-91, and who gave him a Canonry at Peterborough, 1883. On the 9th, **William Allen Butler**, born 1825, a New York lawyer of high position, who in 1857 published a poem entitled "Nothing to Wear," which attained extraordinary popularity on both sides of the Atlantic. On the 10th, aged 84, the **Rev. Benjamin Heath Drury**, s. of a Harrow master. He was educated at that school (entering in 1822) and at Cambridge, where he took a first class in the Classical Tripos and became a Fellow of his college (Caius). He took orders and was an assistant master at Harrow, 1845-63; tutor of Caius College, 1864, and afterwards its President; an elegant classical scholar, and contributor to "Arundines Cami," which his brother, Henry Drury, edited. On the 10th, aged 64, **George Hector Croad**, Clerk from 1871 till his death to the London School Board, which he served with great ability and devotion, as the head of a large administrative staff, in which, as Lord Reay, Chairman of the Board, said, he secured efficiency and earned not only the respect but the affection of his subordinates. On the 11th, aged 73, **Henry Riversdale Grenfell**, a Director of the Bank of England and Governor, 1881-3; sat as a Liberal for Stoke-on-Trent, 1862-8; a prominent bi-metallist. On the 11th, aged 81, **Major-General William Morton**, who had the medal with two clasps for Chillianwallah and Gujerat. On the 13th, **Lieutenant-General Edward Chippindall, C.B.**, which distinction he won for services with the Black Mountain Expedition. In his earlier military career he served through the Sikh Campaign, and at the Siege of Mooltan, and also through the Crimea. On the 16th, aged 61, **Rev. Hubert Mornington Patch**, a somewhat advanced High Church clergyman, who, after holding several curacies, was Vicar of Coggeshall, Essex, 1885-91, when he was appointed Vicar of St. Mary's, Charterhouse, where he did much excellent work, especially among factory girls. On the 17th, **Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Torrens Lyster**. He served in the Pedroite Army in Portugal, 1833-5, and in Spain under Sir De Lacy Evans, 1836-40, being twice decorated with the Order of St. Ferdinand for charges of cavalry. On the 17th, aged 75, **General Sir Robert White, K.C.B.**, Colonel of the 21st Lancers. Served with the 17th Lancers in the Crimea, and in the Balacava charge led the squadron of direction, being severely wounded and having his horse shot under him (brevet majority and medal with three clasps); served in the Central Indian Campaign, 1858-9, part of the time in command of a flying column. On the 17th, aged 59, **Hamilton Owen Rendel**, youngest s. of the famous engineer, James Meadows Rendel. Educated at Cambridge, whence he entered the Elswick Works, and on the retirement of Mr. Westmacott, whom he had assisted, became head of the engineering department. On the 21st, at Malta, aged 55, **Rear-Admiral Burges Watson**, at the time of his death second in command in the Mediterranean. Had been Superintendent of Pembroke Dockyard, 1896, and of the Malta Dockyard. On the 21st, from an accident at polo, **Captain and Brevet-Major Hubert Edward Vernon, D.S.O.**, born 1867, second s. of Sir Harry Foley Vernon. Served in South Africa, 1896, with Mounted Infantry, being mentioned in despatches and receiving D.S.O. and medal, also in 1899-1900 when he was again mentioned in despatches. On the 22nd, at sea, aged 40, **Major Alexander James Shaw**. Served with the Burma Expedition, 1885-7, and with the China Expedition, 1900, when for his services as D.A.Q.G. he received the brevet of major and was mentioned in despatches. On the 23rd, aged 80, **Rev. Daniel Fraser**, for many years Principal of the Airedale College for the training of Congregational ministers,

and actively connected in various ways with educational work in Bradford. On the 24th, **Colonel Richard Hugh Carew, D.S.O.**, late R.A.M.C., born 1841. Was mentioned in despatches and awarded the D.S.O. for services as Senior Medical Officer with the Sikkim Expedition, 1888; and again mentioned in despatches for his services as P.M.O. with the Tochi Field Force, 1898. On the 25th, aged 72, **Joseph Richardson**, head of an important Tees shipbuilding firm; five times Mayor of Stockton-on-Tees, and four times contested South-East Durham as a Liberal, being returned twice, 1892 and 1898. On the 25th, **Dr. Œchelhäuser**, for many years a very influential member of the German National Liberal party; founder of the German Shakespeare Society; edited a popular German edition of Shakespeare's works, and was author of "Studies from Shakespeare." On the 26th, aged 60, **John Latey**, the spirited editor of the *Sketch*, also until 1902 of the *Penny Illustrated Paper*, and at one time Assistant Editor of the *Illustrated London News*. In September, aged 59, **Colonel E. C. Plant, C.B.**, commanding the Bristol Engineer Volunteers, to which position he rose from its ranks between 1861 and 1867. Was to have commanded the whole of the Volunteers drafted into London for the Coronation Day, June 26; was many years on the staff of Clifton College and founded its Cadet Corps. In September, aged 86, **Dr. Edward Eggleston**, an American writer of note; the author of several novels, among them "The Hoosier Schoolmaster," and "The Circuit Rider," dealing with pioneer work in the West, also of "The Beginners of a Nation," "The Transit of Civilisation," and other historical books. In September, aged 54, **Gustave Wertheimer**, a well-known animal painter, particularly of lions, also a skilful portrait painter; but his work had gone out of fashion and he died in great poverty. In September, aged 67, **Alexander R. Shepherd**, formerly Territorial Governor of the District of Columbia. He renovated the town of Washington, spending \$40,000,000 on drainage and other works there. In September, aged 74, **Horace Gray**, from 1881 to within three weeks of his death one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, a post in which he exhibited great learning, ability, dignity and absolute impartiality. In September, aged 84, **Rev. W. Spicer Wood, D.D.**, who, after a Cambridge course of remarkable distinction, was for nearly thirty years the highly esteemed headmaster of Oakham Grammar School.

OCTOBER.

On the 1st, in his 61st year, **Lieutenant-General John Ignatius Morris, R.M.L.I.**, who had seen much service and was in command of the Sandbag Camp outside Suakin in 1885, and afterwards Commandant at Suakin Town. On the 2nd, at Forres, **Sir Felix Mackenzie**, formerly Provost of Forres and a leader of the Volunteer movement in Scotland. On the 3rd, **Robert Ferris**, a ship's carpenter, who had accompanied the Stanley Expedition for the discovery of Livingstone, and had rendered good service in African exploration. On the 3rd, **Lionel Johnson**, a littérateur and scholarly critic, whose promising career was cut short at the age of thirty-five. On the 3rd, **E. J. C. Morton**, a barrister and Liberal M.P. for Devonport, for which he had sat continuously since 1892. At Cambridge he was President of the Union, and he was an effective political speaker, both in Parliament, where he attracted Mr. Gladstone's attention, and on Liberal platforms. On the 3rd, **Robert Armitage Sterndale, C.M.G.**, Governor of St. Helena, who had served as a Volunteer in the Mutiny and filled various posts in the Indian service. On the 5th, **Madame Rachel Eloise Blondel**. She was a French poetess of repute, authoress of "L'Eau de Printemps" and "La Mort n'est pas," who withdrew to England after the disasters of the Franco-German War and maintained herself for thirty years by teaching, dying at the age of 88. On the 5th, **Prebendary Henry Hutchinson**, Rector of Clee with Cleethorpes, Great Grimsby, in which neighbourhood he had spent his entire clerical life and was greatly esteemed. On the 5th, **General John Augustus Fuller**, formerly Political Resident at Kolhapur. He had had a distinguished military career in India, and was present at the siege of Mooltan. On the 5th, aged 66, **Vice-Admiral Francis Henry Blackburne**, who served as a midshipman both in the Baltic and the Black Sea during the war with Russia, receiving the medals for both campaigns and the Sevastopol clasp. On the 6th, **Liu-Kun-yl**, Viceroy of Nanking. He was a Hunanese, and in 1860 commanded an Imperial army against the Taiping rebels. During the Boxer movement he was Viceroy of Nanking, and the most prominent amongst the Yang-tse Viceroys who held down the Boxer movement in the Yang-tse Valley, and in the preservation of order and the lives of foreigners acted in accord with

the representations of the British Government, though at the same time maintaining loyalty to the Throne at Pekin. In this way he rendered inestimable service to civilisation and the integrity of China. He took a leading part also in the negotiations with Sir James Mackay which resulted in the Commercial Treaty of 1902. On the 6th, in the Cathedral Precincts, Canterbury, **Canon George Rawlinson**, a distinguished Orientalist and historian of the East and brother of the more famous Sir Henry Rawlinson. He was born in 1812, and gained a first class in classics at Trinity College, Oxford, becoming Fellow of Exeter (1840) and tutor of his college, 1841. He took Orders, and in 1846-7 was Curate at Merton, but returned to Oxford in 1847 and devoted himself to literature and University work. He took an active part in promoting the University legislation of 1854, and was Camden Professor of Ancient History, 1861-89. His important series of volumes on the Seven Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World came out, 1862-76. He was made a Canon of Canterbury by Mr. Gladstone in 1872, and in 1888 was preferred to the rich benefice of All Hallows, Lombard Street. On the 7th, aged 24, **Lieutenant Douglas John Dickinson**. He had commanded a section of mounted infantry in South Africa, his work being highly commended in Lord Roberts's despatches. On the 7th, **Lieutenant-General R. S. Baynes**, who had done much gallant service in the Crimea (mentioned in despatches) and in the Mutiny, losing a leg during an assault at Delhi and obtaining a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy. On the 8th, aged 76, **Dr. John Hall Gladstone, F.R.S.** He was a distinguished worker in science, and by his electrical and optical researches had added to the sum of knowledge. He had been Fullerian Professor of Chemistry at the Royal Institution, President of the Physical and the Chemical Societies, had served on various technical commissions, and for twenty-one years had been a prominent member of the London School Board, besides taking an active part in religious and philanthropic enterprises. On the 8th, at Liverpool Royal Infirmary, **John Kensit**, a well-known Protestant agitator and bookseller. Mr. Kensit was originally a draper's assistant, but for many years had identified himself with anti-ritualistic clamour, and shortly before his death had inaugurated a band of so-called "Wicliffites," who, under his leadership, made open protest against ritualistic practices. In a disturbance at Liverpool arising out of one of these protests he was the victim of a dastardly assault which undoubtedly accelerated his end, the real cause of which, however, was an attack of double pneumonia. His associates claimed him as a martyr to their cause, and his funeral at West Hampstead was made the occasion of a great Protestant demonstration. On the 10th, aged 71, **Captain John Palmer, R.N.** He had seen much service in West Africa, the Crimea and the Far East during the fifties and sixties, and for many years was Queen's Harbour Master at Chatham. On the 11th, aged 82, **Canon Francis H. Murray**, Rector of Chislehurst. Was one of the early Tractarians, an influential member of the High Church party, and one of the compilers of "Hymns Ancient and Modern." On the 11th, **Major Esmé Stuart Erskine Harrison, D.S.O.**, who saw active service in India and in South Africa, being twice mentioned in despatches. Born 1864. On the 13th, **Sir John G. Bourinot**, Clerk of the Dominion House of Commons and a prolific writer on Canadian topics. Born 1837. On the 13th, **Peter Brotherhood**, the inventor of a new type of steam-engine and high-pressure air-compressing pump. Born 1838. On the 14th, aged 85, **H. Syer Cumming**, a Vice-President of the British Archæological Association and distinguished antiquarian. On the 14th, **General George Crommellin Hankin, C.B.**, who from 1843 to 1887 served with distinction in various Indian campaigns, being mentioned in despatches in the Afghan Campaign, 1880. Since his retirement he actively interested himself in Church and Friendly Society matters. On the 17th, **Dr. Adolph Rasch**, for many years a well-known physician in London and chief physician at the German Hospital at Dalston. In later years he had lived at Halle an der Saale. On the 18th, **Commerzienrath Carl Spindler**, head of a great Berlin firm of dyers and noted for the establishment of a model colony for the housing of his employes. On the 19th, **Rev. Canon George Frederick Maclear**, Warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. Born 1833; was for fourteen years Head Master of King's College School, and had written handbooks of Scripture history and works on European religious history. He had been Warden of St. Augustine's since 1880. On the 19th, **M. Émile Demagny**, a distinguished official who had filled various positions in the French Foreign and Home Offices. On the 19th, **Lieutenant-Colonel Montagu de Salla M. G. A. Clarke**, who served with distinction in the Crimea, where he was severely wounded and taken prisoner (mentioned in despatches) and also in the Maori War of 1866. He was Convener of the County of Nairn. On the 22nd, aged 83, **John Faed, R.S.A.**, a well-known and popular painter of domestic scenes. On the 22nd, **M. Hauser**, of the Swiss Federal Council, and President of the Confederation in 1892 and

1900. Born 1837. On the 22nd, aged 73, **Sir William David King**, who had been four times Mayor of Portsmouth. On the 22nd, aged 90, the **Rev. J. T. Wigner**, a leading Baptist minister who had held pastorates at King's Lynn and Brockley; editor of the "Psalms and Hymns" used by the denomination. He had twice been President of the Baptist Union. On the 22nd, aged 74, **Colonel W. B. Coltman**, commanding officer of the Inns of Court Rifle Volunteers, a prominent Chancery barrister and founder of the Chancery Bar Lodge of Freemasons. On the 23rd, the **Hon. Lady Biddulph**, formerly Extra Bed-Chamber Woman to Queen Victoria, of whom she was an intimate friend, and Lady in Waiting to Princess Henry of Battenberg; dau. of Mr. Frederick Seymour, and wife of the late Sir T. Myddelton Biddulph. On the 25th, **Henry Casson**, the eminent equity draughtsman and conveyancer; born 1830. On the 25th, aged 88, **Dr. William Vaughan**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Plymouth, and uncle of Cardinal Vaughan. On the 26th, at New York, aged 86, **Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton**, inaugurator of the Women's Suffrage movement in the United States; dau. of Judge Cady; m., 1840, Henry B. Stanton, one of the early American anti-slavery agitators. On the 29th, **Arthur James Stark**, painter of Thames Valley scenery and of animal subjects. On the 29th, aged 89, the **Rev. Professor David Lewis Evans**, Unitarian minister, and for many years Professor of Hebrew and Mathematics at Carmarthen College. On the 31st, the **Very Rev. Robert Aloysius Butler**, Rector of St. Charles's Roman Catholic Church, Notting Hill—an Ultramontane of much learning and piety. On the 31st, **Professor Eugen Hahn**, of the Berlin Municipal Hospital, an authority on intestinal surgery, and one of the earliest operators on cancer of the larynx. On the 31st, aged 73, **Henry Chandos-Pole-Gell**, of Hopton Hall, Wirksworth, Derbyshire, one of the founders of the Shire Horse Society and an old member of the Council of the Royal Agricultural Society; m., as second wife, a dau. of the late Sir E. Manningham Buller. In October, aged 78, **Robert Thornhagh Gurdon**, first Baron Cranworth. Lord Cranworth was educated at Eton, and from 1880 to 1892 sat in Parliament for divisions of Norfolk, first as a Liberal and then as a Liberal Unionist. He was Chairman of Quarter Sessions and of the Norfolk County Council. He was raised to the Peerage in 1899. In October, in Griqualand East, **General Christian Botha**, formerly commander of the Boer forces on the Natal border in 1900 and a successful raider in Zululand, where he gave the British troops much trouble. In October, in Somaliland, during an engagement with the Mullah's forces, **Major G. E. Phillips, D.S.O.** He was in his thirty-eighth year, and had seen much service in South Africa.

NOVEMBER.

On the 14th, on board his yacht at Weymouth, **George Alfred Henty**, a special correspondent of the *Standard*, and a prolific writer of boys' books known throughout the English-speaking world. He was born in 1832; educated at Westminster School and Caius College, Cambridge, and went out to the Crimea in the Surveyor's Department, thus gaining knowledge of military affairs and a taste for a roving life, which made routine duty in peace somewhat distasteful. He resigned his Government appointment, and became attached to the *Standard*, which he served as special correspondent in the Austro-Italian War, in the Tyrolese Campaign with Garibaldi, in the Franco-German War, in Ashanti, in Spain, in the Khiva Expedition, and in the Servian War. A long spell of peace turned his energies to more varied literary work, and the editorship of a magazine for boys (*Union Jack*) in his leisure hours was the starting-point of his incursion into and conquest of the field of litera-

ture for boys. With unbroken regularity he turned out three or more volumes each year—a blend of history and imagination, the first always trustworthy, and the books manly in tone and sentiment. Many of the tales had an enormous circulation, and in the world of boyhood Henty had wonderful popularity as a literary magician. He had a large circle of personal friends.

On the 19th, aged 78, **Field-Marshal His Highness Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar**. He was the son of the late Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar and Princess Ida of Saxe-Meiningen, and was born at Bushey Park. He entered the army in 1841, and became a keen professional soldier. In 1851 he married Lady Augusta Catherine, daughter of the fifth Duke of Richmond—a morganatic union, Lady Augusta being, however, in 1866 granted the title of Princess in Great Britain by royal decree. Prince Edward accompanied his regiment, the Grenadier Guards, to

the Crimea, and served as Major with much distinction, being present at Alma, Balaklava, Inkerman, and the siege of Sevastopol. He was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, and became A.D.C. to Lord Raglan, and was engaged in the attack on the Malakoff and the Redan. After the peace he became A.D.C. to the Queen, and Major-General in 1869. In 1870 he was given the command of the Home District, and successively commanded the Southern District and the forces in Ireland. After completing his service in Ireland, he retired in 1890, after fifty years of active employment.

On the 28th, at his residence at Hampstead, **The Rev. Joseph Parker**, pastor of the City Temple, Holborn, for many years one of the most prominent Nonconformist ministers in England, and a preacher whose great and genuine gifts and whose eccentricities had gained him world-wide renown. He was the son of a Northumbrian stonemason, and was born at Hexham in 1830. The only education he received which was worth having was that which he gave himself, but when in youth he determined to join the Congregational ministry, it was deemed unnecessary

to pass him through any college before giving him itinerant work. His fame as a local preacher in Northumberland gained him introductions to London, where as a young man he preached at the Whitefield Tabernacle, and studied at University College. His first call was to a chapel at Banbury, and from 1858 to 1869 he was pastor of Cavendish Street Chapel, Manchester, where he rose to eminence in Nonconformity. In the latter year he was summoned to London to succeed Dr. Spence at the old chapel in the Poultry, and set to work to build the City Temple when the site of the chapel was sold. The new building was opened in 1874, and year by year continued to be crowded beyond its great seating capacity. Dr. Parker was a preacher of remarkable and almost extravagant originality, with great elocutionary power, and his sermons sold throughout the world. He had a strong *penchant* for journalism, and was a frequent—and pungent—contributor to the *Times* on matters of Church and social interest. He had paid visits to America, where he was known as the “Beecher of England,” and he had a wide acquaintance among distinguished people outside his own communion.

On the 2nd, aged 61, **Lennox Browne, F.R.C.S.E.**, a distinguished throat specialist. On the 7th, at Bedale, **George Anderson**, the famous Yorkshire batsman of the middle part of last century. On the 7th, aged 50, while home on leave, **Mr. H. C. Hill**, Inspector-General of Forests to the Government of India. On the 7th, **John Francis Taylor, K.C.**, a distinguished journalist whose contributions on Irish affairs were for many years an important feature of the *Manchester Guardian*. On the 8th, **Sir Frederick Perkins**, several times Mayor of Southampton. On the 8th, through falling out of a tram, **Sir James Graham-Montgomery**, of Stobo Castle. The deceased baronet was an old Guardsman and had seen service in the Egyptian campaigns. On the 10th, aged 60, **Sir Alexander Mackenzie, K.C.I.E.**, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the holder of various other high posts during the thirty odd years of his Indian career, and the author of a valuable history of British relations with the north-east frontier tribes. On the 10th, in the Sea of Marmora, at the age of 70, **Costaki Anthopoulos Pasha**, a former Governor-General of Crete and, since the death of Rustem Pasha in 1895 Turkish Ambassador to the Court of St. James's. On the 11th, in Western Australia, **Colonel James Tierney Skinner, C.B., D.S.O.**, which distinctions and mention in despatches he had earned by his work in the Commissariat and Transport (subsequently Army Service) Corps in Nile warfare, 1884-6. From 1893-9 he was A.Q.M.G. at headquarters. On the 12th, **Major-General William John Vousden, V.C.**, who had served with great distinction in various Indian frontier campaigns and died at the age of fifty-seven while acting as Inspector General of Cavalry of the Indian Army. On the 12th, aged 90, **William Henry Barlow**, the designer of St. Pancras Station and other works on the Midland Railway, to which he was Consulting Engineer, besides being associated with the building of the Clifton Suspension Bridge and the Forth Bridge. On the 13th, **Lieutenant Frederick Brooks Dugdale, V.C.** from an accident in the hunting field. Mr. Dugdale, who was a son of Colonel Dugdale of Seizincot, Gloucestershire, won his V.C. for an act of great gallantry during the war in South Africa. On the 17th, **Lieutenant-General Sir John Stokes, R.E.** He was born in 1825, and served in the Kaffir wars of 1845-51 and in the Crimea; also on the International Commission on Suez Canal dues. He was Vice-President of the Suez Canal Company after his retirement from the Army in 1887. On the 17th, the **Rev. Hugh Price Hughes**, an eloquent and popular Methodist preacher and platform orator. He was born at Carmarthen

in 1847 and began to preach at the age of fourteen. He took an M.A. degree at London University and after serving in various ministries established in 1887 the West London Mission. In 1898 he was elected President of the Wesleyan Conference, and for fourteen years previous to his death had been editor of the *Methodist Times*, in which he vigorously defended the South African War. He had written various books, but his *forte* was in pulpit and platform oratory before uncritical audiences, by whom his fervid eloquence and passionate invective were enthusiastically admired. On the 18th, aged 86, the **Abbé Rougeyron**, for sixty years a missionary in the South Seas, whose name is associated with the acquisition of New Caledonia by France. On the 18th, at Wimborne, aged 81, **John Watts**, one of the great sheep farmers of Australia, and for some time Minister of Lands and Works in Queensland. On the 19th, aged 87, **Dr. Henry Oldham**, the distinguished obstetric physician and lecturer on midwifery at Guy's Hospital. On the 21st, aged 71, **Colonel William H. White**, who had served in the Burmese war of 1852-53 and in the Mutiny, where he commanded the British Resident's escort during the outbreak at Haidarabad. On the 21st, **Robert Malcolm Kerr**, for forty-two years Judge of the City of London Court, whose unconventional manner of dispensing justice gained for him a great reputation and made him a terror to shady solicitors, money-lenders and unscrupulous litigants. On the 22nd, **Sir William Roberts-Austen**, chemist and assayer to the Royal Mint; a Fellow of the Royal Society and President of the Iron and Steel Institute. On the 22nd, at the Villa Hügel, near Essen, **Frederick Alfred Krupp**, head of the greatest industrial enterprise in Germany. He was born in 1854 and played a great part in the enormous development of the Essen works and in the creation of the industrial colony which made the firm as famous for its success as a model employer as for its artillery and ammunition. He became head of the firm on the death of his father—its founder—in 1888 and was a friend of the present Emperor. He was a member of the State Council and of the Upper House of the Prussian Diet. In later life he was the victim of vituperative socialistic attacks and on his death his honour was vigorously defended by the Emperor in a speech to the Krupp workpeople after the funeral at Essen on the 26th. On the 22nd, the **Rev. George Townsend Warner**, Rector of Alfold, Surrey, for twenty years previously headmaster of Newton College. At Liverpool, on the 23rd, aged 80, **James Hakes, M.R.C.S.**, a ceaseless opponent of ritualistic practices and the originator of the Bell-Cox prosecution, which involved him in a loss of about 3,000*l.* On the 23rd, **Captain S. T. S. Lecky**, an officer of the Merchant Service, who rendered services cordially recognised both there and in the Navy to practical navigation by chart making and by his writings. His "*Wrinkles in Practical Navigation*" (1881) went through ten editions and is a standard work. On the 24th, aged 47, **Lieutenant-Colonel Gilbert F. A. Norton, R.A.**, s. of the Hon. James Norton, some time member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales; a distinguished soldier, mentioned in despatches no fewer than five times for service in the Soudan Campaign (brevet majority), in Bajaur, 1897-8, and in the Tirah Expedition. On the 24th, **Arthur Cuthbert Medd**, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford; an energetic Liberal whose premature death cut short a career of much promise. On the 25th, **Colonel Edmund Hardy**, who after a long and distinguished career in the Indian Army was for twenty-six years Secretary of the English Church Union. On the 26th, aged 86, **Dr. MacEvilly**, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam since 1881. On the 26th, aged 85, **Provost Richard Browne**, for nearly half a century in charge of St. Anne's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Leeds, a much respected and popular clergyman. On the 28th, **Captain Henry Rotherham**, who took part with distinction in the relief of Peking and Tien-tsin in 1900. In November, **Major-General C. Fitzgerald Creagh**, a distinguished soldier whose record began with the Crimea. He played a prominent part in the Zulu War of 1879 and commanded a battalion in the Nile Expedition of 1884-85. In November, while serving with the Waziri Expedition, **Lieutenant-Colonel Valens Congreve Tonnochy, C.B.**, commander of the 3rd Sikh Infantry—a distinguished Indian soldier who had taken a conspicuous part in Indian frontier warfare since 1881. In November, killed while displaying great gallantry during the Waziri Expedition, **Captain George E. White**, of the 3rd Sikhs, who had seen much service on the Indian frontier and was severely wounded at Dargai. In November, aged 62, **Dr. David Little**, of Manchester, President (1901) of the Ophthalmological Society of the United Kingdom, who had a very large practice as an oculist in the North of England. In November, aged 78, **Charles Forbes Rivett-Carnac**, who as magistrate at Dacca did excellent service during the Mutiny. In November, at Capetown, the **Rev. John Brebner**, formerly Minister of Education in the Orange Free State. In November, **Herr Heinrich Rickert**, leader of the Moderate Radical party or "*Freisinnige Vereinigung*" in the Reichs-

tag and the Prussian Chamber. Born 1833, was first a municipal official at, and for the last thirty years of his life representative of, Danzig in both the Imperial and Prussian Parliaments; in 1879 seceded from the National Liberal party in opposition to Prince Bismarck's Protectionist policy and organised the Liberal Union which combined with Herr Richter's Freisinnige party. Since 1893 Rickert and his followers, never numerous, drew nearer to the Government on Imperial questions, he joining the Danzig branch of the Colonial Society; but on domestic questions like the tariff he and they maintained the Radical attitude. In November, at Kabul, **Sirdar Yahiya Khan**, uncle of the Ameer Yakub Khan and a person formerly of great importance in Afghanistan. In November, at Calcutta, **Sir John Woodburn**, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He joined the Indian Civil Service in 1862 and rose rapidly to the Secretaryship to the Government of the North-West Provinces, in 1882. He was appointed a member of the Viceroy's Council in 1891, and in 1894 was made Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. In 1898 he was made Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, a post he filled with much distinction and success.

DECEMBER.

The Most Rev. Frederick Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury.—Frederick Temple was the second son of Major Octavius Temple, sometime Governor of Sierra Leone, his mother being a Miss Carveth, a Cornish lady, and he was born November 30, 1821, in the Ionian Islands. His early education was obtained at Helston and at Blundell's School, Tiverton, of which he retained happy recollections, and from which he passed with a close scholarship (1838) to Balliol College, Oxford. His family circumstances were narrow, and want of means prevented his cultivating an extensive undergraduate acquaintance. But he read resolutely, and in 1842 obtained a First Class both in Classics and Mathematics. Elected shortly afterwards to a Balliol Fellowship, he became College Lecturer in Mathematics and Logic, and in 1845 junior Dean. From 1848-55 he was Principal of Kneller Hall, Hounslow, an institution intended at that time for the training of masters for Poor Law Schools, and from 1855-8 was one of Queen Victoria's Inspectors of Schools. He gave evidence of a decidedly Liberal colour before the Duke of Newcastle's Commission on National Education (1857), and in the same year, on the resignation of Dr. Goulburn, Temple, who, while at Oxford had been ordained deacon (1846) and priest (1847) by Bishop Wilberforce, was appointed Head Master of Rugby, and proceeded to the degrees of B.D. and D.D. About the same time he was appointed Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Queen Victoria. The period of his head-mastership was very successful, the school recovering much of the prestige which it had enjoyed under Arnold. Profound respect was the feeling of the boys for their

head-master, and if then and in after life the respect universally commanded by Temple included a certain element of awe none, whether boys or men, who were brought into close touch with him could ever doubt the strength of his human sympathies. It was while he was at Rugby, in the early sixties, that there occurred the remarkable incidents connected with the volume called "Essays and Reviews," written by several hands, and containing some matter which judged by the standards of orthodoxy of that day was very unsatisfactory. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, indeed, refused to condemn it, but it was condemned more than once by the great majority of the Bishops acting together. It was hardly alleged in any quarter that objection could be taken to Temple's essay on the Education of the World, which was the first in the volume, and a prefatory note expressly stated that each author was responsible for his own contribution only. But when in 1869 it was announced that, on Mr. Gladstone's advice, Dr. Temple had been nominated to the Bishopric of Exeter, a passionate outcry was raised, both in High and Low Church quarters. Mr. Gladstone, who, having read Temple's Rugby sermons, was assured of his soundness in the Faith, disregarded the clamour, and Temple was duly elected, though with a strongly opposing minority in the Chapter, and consecrated, though with a protest from several Bishops immediately before that rite. Having become Bishop, Temple for the sake of relieving tender consciences, announced the withdrawal of his contribution from future editions of "Essays and Reviews." At the same time he refused to express regret for its original

publication therein, or censure of the other writers in the volume.

The opposition to him died away with extraordinary rapidity in the Exeter diocese and in the Church at large. His energy, his manliness, his unaffected devoutness, and his warm appreciation of good ministerial work wherever he found it, even among those with whose advanced ritualistic practices he was personally quite out of sympathy, established him in the respect and affection of West of England churchmen, and there was not a word of anything but approval, when, in 1885, Mr. Gladstone recommended his appointment to the See of London vacant by the death of Bishop Jackson. He was powerfully instrumental in securing, while at Exeter, the reduction of that See to manageable proportions by the erection of the Bishopric of Truro for the County of Cornwall. In London, while not attempting to maintain the social traditions of the occupants of the See, his episcopal administration was characterised by the most strenuous devotion to the discharge of its overwhelming mass of multifarious duties—a fact which facilitated the increase which was made in his time to the force of Suffragan or Assistant Bishops in London. Marked features of Dr. Temple's London episcopate were the holding of monthly conferences of Suffragans and Archdeacons on diocesan matters, and the organisation of rural-decanal conferences which he annually addressed, and also the founding of an order of lay preachers. He also laboured unceasingly in the cause of total abstinence and foreign missions.

On the death of Archbishop Benson, 1896, Dr. Temple was recommended by Lord Salisbury, with general approval, for the Primacy. As Archbishop he presided over the Lambeth Conference of 1897 in a manner which attracted to him the regard of the Anglican

Bishops assembled from all parts of the world. With Archbishop Maclagan, of York, he issued a dignified vindication of the Catholic position of the Anglican Communion in reply to an Encyclical from Pope Leo XIII. He developed the practice of common consultation among the members of the English Episcopal Bench on matters of general concern, and particularly with reference to the so-called crisis which arose in the Church in 1898 with regard to ritual excesses—for the occurrence of which it must be acknowledged that his own extremely lenient policy both at Exeter and in London towards advanced clergy, so long as they were devoted workers, was in no inconsiderable measure responsible. The "hearing" by the two Archbishops at Lambeth of arguments with regard to certain matters of which the lawfulness was in dispute, was an earnest and impressive endeavour to determine the doubtful points, informally indeed, but by a high tribunal, the spirituality of which could not be questioned. The decisions or "opinions" rendered were against the Ritualistic practices on each point, the ceremonial use of incense and of lights, and the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. The reasoning advanced by the Archbishops was a good deal canvassed, but the wish expressed by the Bishops, that the Lambeth "opinions" should be observed, obtained pretty general acquiescence from the clergy. The pathetic circumstances of Dr. Temple's last speech are referred to at the close of the "English History." He had, it was said, expected that the effort would break down his remaining strength. That, nevertheless, he made it was entirely in accordance with a character, the rugged strength and nobility of which had won the unqualified respect, and something like the affection, of the whole English people.

On the 1st, aged 72, the **Right Hon. Sir Ralph Thompson, K.C.B.**, who had been Under-Secretary of State for War, 1878-95. On the 1st, **Commander Charles Frederick Hill**, who took a distinguished part in naval warfare in the Baltic in 1854, and afterwards in China and in Paraguay. He was honourably mentioned in despatches and on seven occasions gazetted for services in face of the enemy. On the 1st, aged 80, **Dr. James Laird Patterson**, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Emmaus, a convert to Roman Catholicism in 1850. On the 2nd, aged 82, **John Hungerford Pollen**, who, after being a Fellow of Merton in the forties, and Vicar of St. Saviour's, Leeds, in the fifties, seceded to the Church of Rome. He was an intimate friend of Thackeray, an authority on Fine Arts, of which for some years he was Professor in Cardinal Newman's Dublin Roman Catholic University, and on which he wrote in the latest volumes of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." He painted the roof of Merton College Chapel when Fellow, and in 1857 co-operated with Rossetti and Burne-Jones in the decoration of the Oxford Union. On the 3rd, **Sir Frank Green, Bart.**, one of the senior Aldermen of the City of London, and Lord Mayor in the year of his Majesty's accession. He took an active part in City business, and during his mayoralty instituted the national me-

monial to Queen Victoria, which reached 230,000*l*. On the 3rd, **Heinrichs Landmann** ("Hieronymus Lorm"), a distinguished Austrian poet, who lost his hearing in youth and also became blind. He was the inventor of a special finger language, by which he was able to dictate his verse, which was remarkable not less for its pessimism than for its beauty of form. On the 4th, aged 77, **Major-General Robert Bruce Chichester**, who did good service in the Mutiny, and later with the Kaibar column in the Afghan War of 1878-79, when he won the C.B. On the 4th, **Alexander Mackay, LL.D.**, the author of various educational works, the chief being "Foreign Systems of Education." On the 5th, the **Right Rev. Edward Hyndman Beckles**, formerly Bishop of Sierra Leone and a well-known London clergyman, who held the vicarage of St. Peter's, Bethnal Green. On the 6th, **Major-General H. T. Oldfield**, whose life from 1849 to 1882 was spent in various Indian campaigns and in the suppression of the Mutiny, in which he served with distinction. On the 7th, aged 63, at Washington, **Thomas B. Reed**, a great and patriotic American Parliamentarian. For several years he was Speaker of the House of Representatives, in which his masterful methods restored orderly procedure, and set up rules which, though challenged by the Democrats, were sustained by the Supreme Court, and are now recognised and enforced by both parties. On the 7th, from suicide on board a Cunard liner, **Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Lamb**, a famous rifle shot. He had served with distinction on the Tugela, where he was wounded and lost an eye. On the 8th, **Colonel Harry Leslie Blundell McCalmont, C.B.**, Conservative Member for the Stowmarket Division of Cambridgeshire, inheritor of the estate of the late Hugh McCalmont (which was estimated at 3,000,000*l*.), owner of the famous race horse Isinglass, and a very well-known figure on the Turf and in the yachting world. On the 8th, in London, **Graf Wilhelm von Schlieffen auf Schlieffenberg Mecklenburg**, well known for his ambulance work during the Franco-Prussian War, and as a scientific agriculturist in Germany. On the 10th, aged 84, **General William F. Nuthall**. In the Burmese War of 1852 he had gained much distinction. On the 10th, **His Highness Raja Bije Sain Bahadur**, Rajah of Mandi. He was born in 1846, and succeeded to the throne as a boy of eleven. He was one of the most able and loyal of the Indian Princes. On the 10th, aged 91, the **Rev. Frederick Aubert Gace**, Vicar of Barling, Essex, and author of the notorious "Gace's Catechism." On the 11th, **Dr. Samuel Fenwick**, an eminent physician, associated for many years with the London Hospital. On the 12th, **Professor Harry Livingstone Withers**, occupant of the Chair of Education at Owens College, Manchester, and a recognised authority upon the theory and practice of education. On the 12th, aged 91, **Dr. James Cornwell**, a famous educationist; from 1846-56 Principal of the Borough Road Normal College, and author of many school books which for many years had a great vogue. On the 13th, aged 76, **William Killigrew Watt**, formerly a prominent citizen of Bristol, who had represented Gloucester in Parliament as a Conservative, 1873-80. On the 13th, aged 80, **General Sir Crawford Trotter Chamberlain**. Served in the Afghanistan Campaign of 1839-42, and in the Punjab in 1848-9 (mentioned in despatches and brevet-majority). During the Indian Mutiny he greatly distinguished himself in the disarmament of native regiments; and was thanked by the Government, and promoted Lieutenant-Colonel. On the 17th, **Sir Edward Stock Hill**, a prominent shipowner and successful advocate of telegraphic communication between light-houses and lightships round the British coast. On the 21st, the **Very Rev. William R. W. Stephens**, Dean of Winchester. Born, 1839; was a moderate High Churchman and Liberal. He published various works, notably a biography of his father-in-law, Dean Hook, and an excellent history of the Church under the Norman and Angevin Kings, which was his personal contribution to the valuable continuous history of the English Church from the earliest times, which he was editing with the Rev. W. Hunt. On the 24th, at an advanced age, **Sir Arthur Hodgson**, who in the forties took a prominent part in developing the Colony of Queensland. He was a Shakespearian scholar, and for many years lived at Stratford-on-Avon, where he made the preservation of the Shakespeare memorials his special care. On the 27th, aged 80, **Dr. R. F. Weymouth**, the first to pass (in 1869) the London University examination for the degree of Doctor of Literature; was headmaster of Mill Hill School from 1869-86, since which he devoted himself to literary work, his writings being mainly philological. On the 28th, the **Right Rev. John Wogan Festing**, the Bishop of St. Albans. Dr. Festing was born in 1837, and graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge. After serving for several years as curate in Westminster, he was given the Vicarage of Christ Church, Albany Street, and on the resignation of Dr. Claughton in 1890 was preferred to the See of St. Albans, which had been declined by Canon Liddon. Dr. Festing, who was a bachelor, proved an admirable administrator of the diocese,

and was widely esteemed. On the 28th, **Samuel Wasse Higginbottom**, Conservative M.P. for the West Derby Division of Liverpool. He was a colliery owner and shipowner, and a Wesleyan. On the 30th, **Samuel Danks Waddy, K.C.**, Recorder of Sheffield. Mr. Waddy was a Wesleyan and a Liberal, who spent many years in Parliament, and combined local preaching with a large practice at the bar, and with keen devotion to politics. He was the son of a Wesleyan minister, and was born in 1830. On the 31st, **Karl von Crämer**, leader of the Liberal party in Bavaria, who raised himself from the status of a factory hand to a position of much wealth and influence in politics. He was one of the most eloquent speakers in Germany. On the 31st, **Dr. Max Schede**, Professor of Surgery at the Bonn University, and during the Franco-German War the introducer of sublimate as an antiseptic in surgery. In December, aged 72, **Major J. T. Collier**, a pioneer of the Volunteer movement and a man who had for many years devoted himself to the welfare of destitute lads in London and to various philanthropic enterprises. In December, at Ballarat, aged 72, **Robert Malachy Sergeant**, a pioneer of the Australian gold industry and manager of the famous Band of Hope Mine. In December, **Major Edward Peach**, Indian Staff Corps, and D.A.Q.M.G. on the Headquarter Staff; wounded with the Burmese Expedition of 1885-8; mentioned in despatches and made brevet-major for services as Chief of Staff to Sir F. Carrington in the late war; author of "Savage Warfare," a book officially recommended to the Army and subsequently adopted as a text-book for infantry training. In December, aged 62, **Thomas Nast**, who, born in Bavaria, was taken to the United States in childhood, and became celebrated as a caricaturist, in which capacity he powerfully contributed to the exposure of the abuses prevalent under the "Tweed Ring" in New York, 1870-5. In December, at Shanghai, the **Rev. Ange Zottoli, S.J.**, the author of a dictionary of the Chinese language and a Chinese scholar who enjoyed a high reputation even among the *literati* of the Empire. In December, at Davos Platz, aged 28, **Lucius Henry Gwynn**, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and a noted cricketer and Rugby football player. In December, while at sea, off Aden, **Henry Verney**, tenth Lord Willoughby de Broke, a famous master of the Warwickshire hounds. Born 1844; M., 1867, a dau. of James H. Smith-Barry. In December, at Washington, **Major Walter Reed**, an American Army surgeon who conducted experiments in Cuba with regard to mosquitoes as the cause of yellow fever infection, with the result that sanitary measures were taken, practically stopping that disease in Havana.

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